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We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them. They master us and force us into *the arena*, where like gladiators we must fight for them.—*Heine.*

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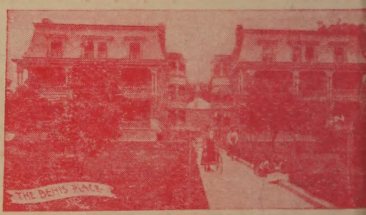

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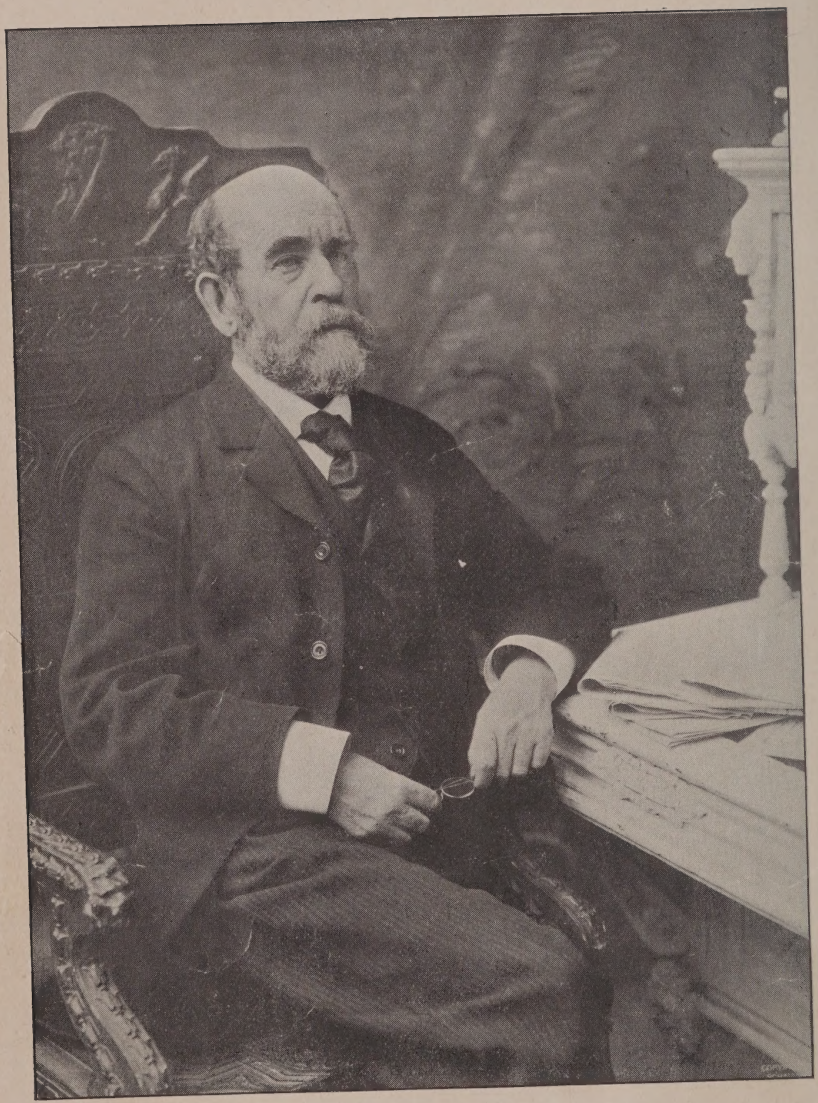

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—2 Henry IV, Act iii, sc. 1.

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THE ARENA.

VOL. XIX. JANUARY, 1898. No. 98.

FREEDOM AND ITS OPPORTUNITIES.

PART II.

BY GOVERNOR JOHN R. ROGERS, OF WASHINGTON.

"But since we live in an epoch of change, and, too probably, of revolution, and thoughts which are not to be put aside are in the minds of all men capable of thought, I am obliged to affirm the one principle which can, and in the end will, close all epochs of revolution—that each man shall possess the ground he can use, and no more."—*John Ruskin.*

OF LATE much dissatisfaction with our form of government has been expressed by good and well-meaning people, who like Mr. Edward Bellamy sigh for the coming of what they are disposed to call "The Coöperative Commonwealth," in which, by means of a multiplicity of laws, rules, and regulations and a very small amount of physical exertion upon his part, the individual citizen is in future to live a life of ease and pleasure. Though paved with the best intentions the road here pointed out leads to a lower depth over which man's past history has written "All hope abandon ye who enter here."

The remedy for oppression is found only in men who cannot be oppressed. This is nature's goal: the evolution of better and stronger men, not the mere getting of bread and butter for a world full of weaklings. He who is not ready and willing at all times to fight for his rights will shortly have no rights worth fighting for. Men who are unwilling to assert their rights will inevitably be subordinated under any form of government. The constant and never-ending struggle of life may not be pleasant to contemplate. But it is a fact. And it is an inevitable fact, which cannot be escaped save by the sur-

render of both rights and duties. Mere pleasurable anticipations cannot form the basis of useful life. Life is a warfare, and the straight and narrow path is very unlike the primrose path of dalliance pictured by our modern theorists.

In all ages broad-minded and far-seeing men have not hesitated to declare that the right of access to land in some free and independent way is absolutely necessary to the creation of strong and stable nations and men, and that in no other way can freedom and the rights of men be preserved. Thousands of years ago this was as well known and understood as it is to-day. The myths and mythology of the most ancient peoples conclusively prove it. In the mythology of Greece and Rome this truth was expressed in the fabled story of Antæus, a giant, or renowned athlete, who was said to be the son of Neptune and Terra (sea and earth, or land and water). He inhabited the Lybian desert (where land was free) and successfully wrestled against all comers, for whenever thrown to the ground he received fresh accession of strength from mother earth, rising stronger than ever from his contact with the soil. Hercules, however, the crafty god of strength, detecting the source of his strength, held him up in his arms and strangled him in the air. So ran the tale.

Doubtless the common people among the Greeks and Romans, to whom the priests told this story of the gods, believed it true and thought Antæus a real personage, but the better educated among them probably knew perfectly well that this story contained one of the greatest truths—probably the most important to man's temporal welfare—which it is possible to state. Antæus symbolized the human race, which deprived of its hold upon the soil is quickly weakened and destroyed. The city must be constantly recruited from the country. By contact with nature only does man become strong and resourceful. The first thing for the youth to learn is above all things self-reliance. This he must have, to be a man, whatever else he may lack. For it there is no possible substitute. Without it he must have a master. He is not fit for freedom, and to dependence and slavery will he naturally and certainly descend. Now, as anciently and ever, man's health, strength, and virility come from contact with the soil.

Life is a struggle, a school, a test of fitness. No struggle, no school; no school, no fitness; no fitness, no future.

I find the following in a newspaper. It is as true a statement as was ever made, come from what source it may.

David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University, says, in the *Popular Science Monthly*, that "the essence of tyranny lies not in the strength of the strong, but in the weakness of the weak." The remedy for oppression is in men who cannot be oppressed. "This was the remedy our fathers sought; we shall find no other." "The problem in life is not to make life easier, but to make men stronger." "It will be a sad day for the Republic when life is easy for ignorance, weakness, and apathy." "It is by individual will that the thousands in this country who complain of oppression will become free."

Man's life upon this earth is governed by certain unchangeable laws, fixed in the decrees of nature: men make no new ones; they only discover them. Having discovered them, if the course of their lives and their statutory enactments are in consonance therewith, happiness is the result, otherwise humanity pays the fixed and certain penalty. Statute law is like its makers, very imperfect.

Before the law was written down with parchment or with pen;
Before the law made citizens, the moral law made men.
Law stands for human rights, but when it fails those rights to give,
Then let law die, my brother, but let human beings live.

All wealth—which is the only remedy for poverty—is created by the application of human exertion to land or to its natural products. If men are denied access to land they are then unable to create wealth for themselves. If they work for others the profits of their labor are taken from them. This, in short, is the sole origin of great wealth on the one side and poverty on the other. No man accumulates large wealth unless he is enabled in some crafty way to obtain the fruits of other men's labor. If access to land is open to all, men cannot be forced to work for insufficient pay; they are then free to work for themselves. If men possess their little self-supporting homesteads, free from debt and taxation, they are then free, strong, brave, and inclined to make much of their independence when in the presence of those who may try to impose upon them. Let us, then, endeavor to restore to men those natural opportunities which will enable them to protect them-

selves. This can be done by a change in our laws. And it will be done whenever our citizens determinedly and persistently demand of their lawmakers a restoration of those natural and inalienable rights guaranteed by our Constitution as the self-evident gift of the Creator to all.

I hold that our form of government, in its first intent—and in its basic form to-day—is the best imaginable, and that whatever of ill has become, by lack of that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty, a part of its administration will yet be remedied by the courageous and resolute assertion of man's natural rights under the law. And I hold, too, presumptuously perhaps, that even among educated men there is great prevailing lack of perception of the real facts in the case. And facts form the conditions with which we have to do, not mere theories of what we may fancy ought to be and is not.

Suppose you summon one of these decriers of our institutions. He shall be a man of education, refinement, and large ability, sincerely desirous of the welfare of his kind. You say to him: "In the American theory of government the individual citizen is the unit, the origin and source of political power. Individuals met and delegated certain powers to an agency denominated government, only what was absolutely necessary being so delegated. Our fathers were particularly jealous of their individual rights; all not delegated being reserved."

After a moment's reflection he will reply: "Yes, I presume you are right."

"Why, certainly," you say; "no one can deny that. The Constitution of the United States, the basic law of the land with which all laws must agree, makes this very clear. It begins thus:

"'We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.'

"The ninth and tenth amendments are as follows:

"'Article IX. The enumeration in the constitution of cer-

tain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.'

"'Article X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.'

"The several State constitutions all contain substantially the same statements. As samples the following will suffice:

"Preamble to constitution of Massachusetts:

"'The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity, and happiness.'

"Article I, Constitution of Pennsylvania:

"'Section 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness.'

"Article I, Constitution of Washington:

"'Sec. 1. All political power is inherent in the people, and governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and are established to protect and maintain individual rights.'"

Now you say to him: "It is clear that under the system of government in force in these United States each individual has retained certain rights which are both natural and inalienable; that is, these rights are the gifts of nature which have been reserved by the individual, over which neither government nor our fellow citizens have control; they are inalienable and indefeasible, and cannot be rightfully alienated or taken away either by the permissive act of the individual citizen himself, by other citizens, or by government. Government has no control over these natural rights, because in the construction of our form of government these things have been expressly reserved. The only exception is this: It is clear that in the

exercise of natural right one must not invade the equal right of others. Our right comes to an end where that of others begins."

After a moment's reflection your intelligent citizen aforesaid will rather doubtfully admit that probably you are right —in theory at least. But if you ask him to state fully what these natural rights are, thus expressly reserved to the individual, he will at once refuse to commit himself.

Suppose you interrogate him further. You say: "One's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in the presence of natural conditions and in the absence of statute law, as upon a hitherto undiscovered island for instance, would enable him to maintain an existence, would it not?" He is obliged to admit that it would.

You then ask him if it is not true that the frightful poverty and misery of the poor in our so-called civilization arise because of the fact that they are unable to maintain an existence without becoming subject to their richer fellow citizens by the payment of ruinous tribute in the shape of rent, profit, and interest collected in a thousand forms, both open and concealed. That is, natural rights are denied unless one is able and willing to pay for them. And again he is compelled to admit the truth of your contention.

Quote again the language of our constitutions; remind him that even Blackstone declares that no human law is of avail if contravened by divine or natural law, and ask him what need there is for talk of better or juster forms of government when citizens have not wit enough, strength enough, or courage enough to assert plain constitutional rights under our present form of government, and his reply may readily be inferred, for it is everlastingly true that freedom is only maintained by "those who know their rights, and knowing dare maintain."

Our form of government is all right, but our people are not. The fault is with them. Possibly, when they have been sufficiently oppressed they will assert themselves. It is to be hoped they will, for, otherwise, freedom is become impossible. Liberty is for men, and strong men only have ever tasted its sweets.

When thrown upon his own resources and in the presence

of natural conditions man is able to maintain an existence. He can escape from the monopolist and the slave-driver, but progress is slow and improvement becomes difficult if not impossible. Something more than a mere animal existence is necessary, for man lives not by bread alone.

If we view that primary state of society in which each man builds his own habitation, makes his own weapons, and hunts his own food, we are at once aware that improvement and advance are almost impossible. Advance begins with the division of labor. When once this has been established exchange of services and products takes on a new and almost absolute importance. Indeed, exchange must take place or the forward march of the race is stayed.

And in this connection it is curious to note that all the great inventions which like gifts from heaven have carried the race onward, have been so many direct aids to the exchange among men of ideas, services, and products; for in this way, and in this way alone, has advance been secured. The mariner's compass enlarged man's ability to effect exchanges, established commerce, and carried over the earth to all the knowledge previously confined to the few. The invention of gunpowder destroyed feudalism, broke down the walls of separation between petty principalities, and made it possible for the first time for men of one country freely to traverse another. The art of printing, following hard after, gradually dispersed among men the thoughts, the discoveries, and the aspirations of the ablest, the wisest, and the best. In later times the wonders of steam and electricity have all tended in the same direction, to facilitate the exchange of thought and the products of industry. Mirabeau thought letters and money to be the greatest inventions of man, and these are plainly seen as the very corner stones of exchange and of modern life. For the present has well been called the commercial age. The very life of the modern is fashioned by the laws of trade and the necessities of exchange. Whatever tends to increase and broaden its scope is of advantage, not only to those directly engaged, but, finally, to all. Whatever tends to check, to destroy, or to hinder prevents to a greater or less extent that

final conquest of nature by man which is the ultimate goal of all the physical activities of life.

A few hundred years ago the mediæval barons held almost absolute sway over the lives and fortunes of our fathers, their subjects. Exchange which paid them no tribute could not exist. Descending with their armed retainers from their castles among the crags, they lived and throve by unblushing robbery and the right of the strong to seize and to hold. Trade, as we know it, had no existence, and semi-barbarism ruled. And yet the barons of old lived, as do their modern exemplars, simply by denying to the common man two plain natural rights: the right to the soil, and the right freely to exchange the products of labor. And since the world began, all tyranny has been enforced by these simple means, and by no other. Times change, and methods with them, but at bottom the scheme of the tyrant is always the same. The plan is simple in the extreme. And since man has had an existence upon this earth tyanny in a large way has only been possible when men have first been deprived of these natural rights. And men are always deceived, or deceive themselves. For not only have the few in all ages been able thus to deprive the many of their natural, inalienable, and indefeasible rights and thus reduce them to poverty and serfdom, but they have also been able to make the vast majority think it right that it should be so. And in this dastardly work of deprival religious teachers in every age have not been wanting who have proved themselves the minions of power. Indeed, without the support of teachers of religion tyranny cannot exist.

That this is the one only method ever employed should be clear to every reflective mind. For if men are in undisputed possession of the soil and secure in the right freely to exchange the products of the labor of both hand and brain, they are then able to maintain not only an independent existence, but also to go forward in the race of life. All things become possible to them, for when these rights are once fully attained and fully conceded, mankind for the first time is freed from the unjust power of concentrated wealth, and tyranny becomes impossible.

He only is free who is in full possession of his natural, or

God-given rights. Nor can this be successfully denied; for if anything is refused him which is his by right divine, evidently the man is restrained and, hence, not free. Still many will hold that some portion of man's natural right is very properly withheld. But by what authority? Government with us is constituted only for certain specified ends. Authority is limited to given instances and cases; all else is refused by the very instruments which constitute that authority. The constitutions of the several States and of the United States clearly declare the purpose of government to be to protect and maintain the individual rights of the citizen. No man has ceded any portion of his individual and natural rights. No man can do it. They are inalienable. Therefore, they are in his possession—if he have the courage to assert and maintain them.

Comprehensively and at bottom these rights are two: Free Soil and Free Exchange, or exchange at cost for the products of labor. That is all, but it is much, for perfect freedom in the exercise of these rights, limited only by the equal freedom of other men, and full security in the results flowing therefrom, comprise all the natural rights of man upon the earth. These are, it will be seen upon reflection, exceedingly comprehensive. All other rights are artificial and conventional.

The right to life includes something more than mere non-interference with the act of breathing. In real truth it is a right to a living; that is, *an opportunity to obtain a living without hindrance or tribute imposed by one's fellows.*

Surely no honest man can or will claim that permanent industrial peace is possible or even desirable until all are able to possess those natural favors designed by the Creator for all his children. For, if this world is governed at all, the governing intelligence, call it what you will and place it where you may, had knowledge of man and of his needs when it placed him on this earth and in possession of those rights coming from the nature and condition of things, and hence termed "natural." The fiction of English law by which men are said upon entering society to give up natural right has done infinite harm, for it is an acknowledged fiction, unsupported

by our constitutions; contrary, indeed, to them and to the genius of our institutions.

That the right to untrammelled exchange is a natural right ought to be clear to all who will reflect that in a state of nature, or under a proper administration of law, no just demand anywhere exists for its limitation. The claim set up that tribute upon exchange is necessary to the support of government is seen upon examination to be false, urged only by those who in a covert way are thus enabled themselves to levy a tax upon the manual laborer. For all luxury, all privilege, all tyranny are now, and have ever been, possible only because of ability first obtained to deprive the manual laborer of those rights, powers, and privileges admittedly and self-evidently the gift of the Creator to all His children. Much talk is made by pseudo-economists of the "wages of superintendence," and we hear much of the vast value to the world of the directive skill of the despoilers of labor. But all these live by imposing their luxurious support upon those whom they have first deprived.

If we suppose for a moment that all manual laborers were transported to another country, it will then be clear to the dullest comprehension that labor of the hands is the one essential to life which cannot be dispensed with. For the wealthy who are left must then consume the wealth previously obtained from the laborer, and when this has been expended or has wasted away, which must very soon occur, they can then begin themselves to labor with their hands, or die. The great wealth coming from their brains will not long support life.

Men talk of keeping the commandments! The first one is: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." And no man ever yet evaded this primal natural law without throwing the burden of his support upon some other man who was thereby obliged to labor more as a result. Naturally this other rebelled, and the necessity for compulsion arose. Compulsion has been easily brought about by first depriving the laborer of natural right. Necessity then compels him to submit to the exactions of the despoiler. This is the method always employed. No other is necessary. And the despoilers have made men think it right that it should be so. Here

is the origin of social injustice and of economic inequality. Here, and nowhere else!

If in possession of the two great rights, which when fully stated comprise all, the laborer cannot be forced. He is then free. He can not only maintain an independent existence, but the means of improvement and advance are his. By combination with his fellows all the facilities of modern life would shortly be obtained, and the former magnate would be forced to offer better terms. But the former serf would be in no haste to comply. Wages would rise. The laborer would then be able to set his own wage. "The labor question" would be at an end. The dignity and importance of manual labor would then be recognized by all. For the first time in all the history of the world the laborer would be free. All would not be obliged to labor upon land, but all laborers will gain liberty only by opening the escape valve which allows the unemployed and the unsatisfactorily employed to avail themselves of the natural right to land and exchange.

That mastery is always obtained by the few over the many by the machinery of deprival may be readily seen if we suppose all men everywhere to be in full and undisputed possession of large wealth. Suppose all, without exception, to possess an equal amount of the good things of life,—houses and lands and all the attributes and belongings of a vast estate. Each and every man is then forced to labor with his hands. He can employ no one who is not equally desirous of employing him. Now gold has lost its value, for value is but an estimation of the human mind, and its power over men is gone, simply for the plain reason that gold depends for its value upon the absence of it in the pocket of him it is intended to influence. Under these circumstances each man must plough his own field and dig his own garden. All are forced to observe the primal law of labor in this instance simply because no man is deprived. Hence it follows that the shrewd and the designing have always seen clearly the necessity of first depriving men that they may afterward degrade them to their service. For otherwise it becomes impossible.

That men must first be deprived before the tyranny of wealth can exert its power is made still clearer if we suppose,

still further, some great convulsion of nature by means of which numbers of these same wealthy landed proprietors lose their possessions and are reduced to poverty; they are then forced to apply for employment to those who have not so lost their wealth. Immediately, wealth in the hands of the few, which when possessed by all had lost its force, regains its power. It has now power over labor. Before it had not. And its power in this instance, as in all others, depends upon the necessities and the poverty of the many. Without this poverty, without these necessities, it would lose its power to oppress. Hence the prevailing desire on the part of mammonism, capitalism, the money power, or whatever name be used to express the prevailing power of wealth, to deprive others of the good things of life.

Many, no doubt, who have followed thus far will refuse to assent to this rather plain statement of the case. They will say that it is not the desire or intent of the accumulators of money to decrease the opportunities enjoyed by the common herd. But that this is the result, and the absolutely necessary and certain result, of all their actions admits of no dispute.

Through the modern plan of combination among masters and competition among laborers, the capitalist proposes by practical deprivation, in the manner heretofore described, to prevent the laborer from obtaining just and proper control over his own labor. Having done this he reduces the wages of labor, which by means of the presence of the unemployed he is enabled to do, thus preventing the reasonable and proper aspirations of the laborer, for himself and his children, from ever being realized. But if the unemployed were made independent by the possession of natural right he could not do this. The laborer would then be able to set his own wage. He would then be really free—free to accept or reject the offers of the capitalists. Now he is not. "Freedom of contract" is a delusion.

The question at issue between the capitalist and the laborer is not only a political one, but it is in a most eminent degree a moral and a religious one. It is the question of the ages—this devilish power of greed against the rising claims of humanity; an irrepressible conflict, upon which wait the hopes

and aspirations of men; for until it is settled, and settled as it should be, moral development in the world is at an end. But the capitalist will claim to the end that he has "a right" to some portion of the laborer's product, for if he could not possess himself of it he himself would be obliged to labor, and to this he is opposed.

But for the laborer, under the present *régime*, no hope appears—while he remains a laborer for hire. The capitalist, and the apologists for capitalism, tell him that. They say: "Work, save, collect interest from some other laborer. Get some form of legal advantage over men poorer and more dependent than yourself; do as we have done; do anything to get out of the position of a laborer; then you may hope, but not otherwise."

The laborer is thus forced to occupy a dependent position. But the laborer is dependent on other men only because other men, with his consent, have deprived him of natural right. Dependence is always a second step in the degradation of humanity. It is an effect. The cause is a fraudulent deprival. The few deny to the many the clear and self-evident gifts of the Creator to all mankind.

And this is the hard case of the laborer, of the maker of values, of the creator of wealth—forced into subjection by being first deprived of his just, his natural, and his constitutional rights! Men tell us that the present unjust economic conditions are the result of competition. But this is manifestly untrue. How can he compete who is bound hand and foot by the law? How can he defend himself who is first deprived of his natural and God-given means of defence? Stripped stark naked, manacled by the law, he is thrown into the arena, and in this defenceless condition is asked to compete with the armed and mounted millionaire provided with all the enginery of conquest! And this is the competition of the market. This is the "free competition" of the cowardly, purse-proud crew that prate of "freedom of contract" and of the absolute nature of "the law of supply and demand"! Who is it that does not know that they have long ago cornered supply and limited demand by first binding the laborer fast? Take off those un-American chains, those unconstitutional

chains; free the producer of values by placing in his hands those natural means of defence given him by the Creator. Free the laborer! Then, face to face and man to man, ye pampered absorbers of value, the laborer will meet you. He only asks, and only needs, a fair field and no favoritism. Give him this, and your present power over him is gone. Then competition will be just and right, whenever it is free and fair. Then we shall have free competition, for you, my fine sirs, will be obliged to compete with one another for the services of him you would employ. Then the laborer can refuse to work unless you bid enough to satisfy his demand. Free competition is what the laborer needs; it is what the world needs; but it must be free, and exist between free men. And he only asks what is self-evidently his by the law of nature and by the constitutions of the land. "Governments are established to protect and maintain individual rights." Why don't they do it? Simply because the grasping and greedy members of society have made the laws depriving men of natural and indefeasible rights, and the laborers and producers of value have allowed them to do it. Being themselves controlled by the party whip, and because of the fear they have of its lash, they have proved themselves too cowardly to assert their rights under the law by changing it in a just and constitutional manner!

Restore these natural and inalienable rights, and all will be well, and our economic affairs will regulate themselves. This is the American answer, the constitutional answer, and the answer of justice to the cry of distress. Freedom is still the goal. Now, as ever, Liberty is the cry of the soul of man.

And how is this to be secured, do you ask? In reply, and conscious of the fact that I can here only roughly outline a few principles which should guide us, allow me to quote from the one man who by his writings did more to make the Declaration of Independence a possibility than any other, Thomas Paine. He says:

> Man did not enter society to become worse than he was before, nor to have fewer rights than he had before, but to have those rights better secured. His natural rights are the foundation of all his civil rights.
>
> Civil rights are those which appertain to man in right of his being a member of society. Every civil right has for its foundation some natural

right, pre-existing in the individual, but to the enjoyment of which his individual power is not in all cases sufficiently competent.

He then sums up as follows:

First: Every civil right grows out of a natural right; or in other words is a natural right exchanged.

Secondly: Civil power, properly considered as such, is made up of the aggregate of that class of the natural rights of man which becomes defective in the individual in point of power, and answers not his purpose, but when collected to a focus, becomes competent to the purpose of everyone.

Thirdly: The power produced from the aggregate of natural rights, imperfect in power in the individual, cannot be applied to invade the natural rights which are retained in the individual, and in which the power to execute is as perfect as the right itself.

I have grouped the natural rights of man under two heads:

First. The right to security in the use of a sufficient portion of the earth's surface for self-support free from the claims of rent, tax, or the oppressive power of money. In short, a free home upon the soil which no power can wrest from the family, said homestead to be limited in money value so as to cover the necessities of life; all above this valuation to be taxed; all below it to be free from the claims of the sheriff for taxes or the demands of future would-be mortgagees. For, if this right to a home upon the soil is a natural right, whence comes the power to tax or take away? Henry George admits this as a natural right, but would in his system allow this free gift of the Creator only to men able to pay. That is, he puts the right of man upon the auction block, and he who is able to pay most is to be given most of natural right!

Secondly. The right of the producer of wealth to complete freedom of exchange with others for all the products of hand or brain; or, exchange at cost, secured by the civil authority, where the ability of the individual is defective in power. Exchange at cost secured by the civil power includes in its scope the question of government ownership and control of the means of exchange, including railways, telegraphs, telephones, and all the machinery of money. For it is self-evident that, if by means of these instruments of exchange specially favored and wealthy individuals are to be allowed to collect tribute above the cost of service, whoever is thus forced to submit to the exactions of a favored few is not a free citizen. Who does not know that the tribute thus exacted is the cause

of all economic inequality among us? And who is there that cannot see that this inequality is secured by first depriving the citizen of his self-evident, inalienable, indefeasible, and constitutional right to free exchange?

I have endeavored to state these truths in few words, thus: *Public things to the public; private affairs to the individual.*

All rights can readily be secured under the forms of law now provided, whenever the people have the virtue and the courage to demand their constitutional rights by persistently asserting themselves, as honest men should, and as brave men will.

On considering man's relation to the soil two rights plainly appear: first, the right of the individual to the use of natural opportunities for self-support, or the preservation of life; secondly, the right of organized society to whatever may be necessary for public use, it being understood that the right to occupy and use, only, is held by man. The right of the public to land is simple, as Paine has it, the right of individuals "brought to a focus." The right of the many to any particular spot or piece of land is, as a matter of course, greater than that of any one individual, provided it is needed for public use.

On whatever land is used or needed for use by the public, though nominally in the possession of individuals, and on whatever is held by individuals in excess of natural right, the right of the public to levy taxation, or collect tribute, seems clear, taxation being in reality an assertion of sovereignty. On land held, used, and occupied by the individual citizen as a necessary means of support, and not needed for public use, the right of taxation does not obtain, from the absence of just ground for its exercise. The individual in this case is simply in possession of an *inalienable* right, the right to apply labor to natural opportunities for self-support, and this fundamental natural right not even the public can rightfully abridge or deny.

The better to explain my meaning I have here set forth a proposed constitutional amendment. Properly, a constitution should be mainly a bill of rights. Hence, here is the place for

the statement of a fundamental right. Each State should fix the amount exempted at whatever sum may be sufficient to cover enough land for self-support, and no more. From a somewhat extended inquiry I am convinced that the provisions here set forth, if enacted into law, would still leave, upon any proper estimate, or assessment, nine-tenths of land values still subject to taxation.

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Section 1.—Real estate, or land and all usual improvements, to the value of a sum not to exceed two thousand five hundred dollars ($2500) held, used, and occupied in good faith as a homestead by any usual and private family, the head of which family shall be a citizen of the United States and the State of Washington, is hereby forever exempted from all taxation of every kind and character in this State. Provided, that all lands and natural opportunities used or needed for public use or business, as certain limited and restricted areas in towns and cities, all mines, forests, waterfalls, or other natural opportunities not available for cultivation or as dwelling-places be and the same are hereby expressly exempted from the provisions of this article.

Section 2.—The right of every family described in Section One of this article to the exclusive possession of a homestead, held, used, and occupied as described in said Section One and valued at a sum not exceeding two thousand five hundred dollars ($2500) shall not be abridged or denied by reason of any contract, agreement, mortgage, or other instrument or promise whatsoever, verbal or written, made or executed by the possessors of said homestead after this article shall have been adopted in proper form by the people of this State.

Section 3.—The legislature shall have power to enact all laws necessary to carry into effect the due intent and meaning of the provisions of this article.

OUR INTERSTATE PROTECTIVE TARIFFS.

BY JAMES J. WAIT.

EVERY four years, or oftener, the business of the country is disturbed by agitation of the tariff question. Politicians excite themselves to the borders of hysteria, and the press keeps the voters divided by party lines on what should be a purely economic problem. Such great public interest has been thereby aroused that it is surprising so few are aware that the railroads form practically a third house of Congress, and have established protective tariffs of their own. This has not been brought to public notice probably because the intricacies of the railroad question are so little understood, a discussion of the subject usually involving too many technicalities for the uninitiated. It has been the aim of our government to keep internal trade absolutely unrestricted, and while the most ardent protectionist would not dream of applying his principles to domestic commerce, the same railroads which have nullified the protective tariff upon many imports by means of discriminating rates, also maintain barriers between the States.

The statement that we have a protective system within the borders of the country, favoring one locality or individual as against another, of sufficient magnitude to be a restraint to trade, will doubtless be met with incredulity. Attention is therefore invited to some of the facts. It is probable that this state of affairs has been brought about, not by deliberate intent to accomplish the result as a whole, but by the strife of each carrier to secure business and protect itself from the extraordinary competition to which transportation interests are subjected. Until within a short time ago merchants who were injured satisfied themselves with an individual remedy by means of rebates or similar concessions, overlooking the fact that competing markets were probably accorded equal facilities; but now that freight tariffs are something more than the paper they are printed upon, their inequalities concern-

ing localities are becoming more apparent to commercial interests. Since the Interstate Commerce law has become a menace to the shipper, and no protection to him against his neighbor who is not law-abiding, a more general remedy must be sought. We are all familiar with the maps issued by the passenger agents, showing that each has the "short" line, but only the few who are conversant with the details realize how cities have been moved about the map, and geographical distance annihilated by the changes in freight tariffs. A few examples* of these discriminations will make the foregoing clear.

The freight tariffs applying upon manufactured articles from the Ohio river to the Southeastern States are on a much higher relative scale than those applying from the Eastern seaboard. In some cases much shorter distances have actually higher rates.

This is the result of an adjustment reached nearly twenty years ago, providing for a division of traffic to restrict the former disastrous competition among the railroads in the territory south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi river. While the agreement itself may not so state, there is fairly good evidence that the hidden basis was an understanding that the lines running coastwise should carry manufactured articles from Eastern territory, and that Western lines should carry provisions and grain products. To this end what are known as the "class rates" are so high from interior points that they are burdensome, and sometimes prohibitory. On the other hand the rates on provisions and grain products are made to encourage movement from the West. In some cases they appear unusually low when compared with merchandise rates.

The rates from Atlantic cities to Colorado and Utah are lower than from Detroit. Periodically they are less than from the Mississippi river.

The explanation offered is that the low rates are forced by water competition through the Gulf ports. The distance from Galveston to Denver is about the same as from the Mississippi river to Denver, so that they are a practical gift of 2,500 miles

* Figures and tabulated statements are omitted for the sake of brevity.

free water transportation, marine insurance, and rehandling. These rates apply not only from the coast cities, but the cost of shipping to tide water is absorbed from points as far west as a line drawn through Oil City, Pa., and sometimes including Pittsburg. A similar condition affects Texas, with the addition that it has been further proposed to make rates from the East the same as those applying from Kansas City.

The rail and lake rates from New England to Duluth are only a little higher than to Sault Ste. Marie. What are known as Missouri-river rates apply from the head of Lake Superior to the far West.

If a merchant on the Missouri river freights his manufactured goods from the East *via* the Lakes, and makes a sale to a customer in Butte, Mont., the property must pay a toll, nearly equal to the cost of rail transportation from New York to Chicago, more than if the business had been handled by his Northern competitors. This is not balanced in corresponding territory. If he makes a sale in Salt Lake City the freight cost *via* the competing route is the same as his, so that to a point straight west of him he has no protection, while he may be barred out from competition at a point straight west of Duluth. This situation is the result of the policy of the roads whose termini are at the head of Lake Superior to control the business *via* that route. The president of one of them is said to have remarked that in a few years he would confine the merchandise business of the interior States to a line drawn through Sioux City. One of these roads has its own steamboat service from Lake Erie ports, and sometimes makes the same rates on heavy goods from the manufacturing districts of the Mahoning valley as are in effect from the Missouri river. If this continues there is little question but that the prophecy quoted above will be accomplished.

Points on the Missouri river from Kansas City to Omaha inclusive are grouped, the same rates applying in and out on through business. The average distance to Omaha on the north and Kansas City on the south from St. Louis is longer than the distance from Milwaukee to St. Paul. The average distance from Milwaukee to the Missouri river is just about the same as from St. Louis to St. Paul. Milwaukee rates are

one-third higher to the Missouri river than from St. Louis. St. Louis rates are five per cent only higher to St. Paul than from Milwaukee, which is about half the distance.

This situation was objected to as follows by the head of the freight department of one of the roads interested:

> It is our opinion that the present adjustment is unfair and unwarranted, and we believe that the rates from St. Louis to St. Paul-Minneapolis should bear the same relation to the rates from Milwaukee as the rates from Milwaukee to the Missouri river bear to the rates from St. Louis to the Missouri river.

This seems a perfectly fair proposition, but it was defeated. Carloads of heavy goods manufactured at St. Louis pay one half-cent more freight to St. Paul than if shipped from Milwaukee. If shipped from Milwaukee to the Missouri river they are charged five cents per hundred more than if shipped from St. Louis, the relative distance and conditions being practically alike. A fraction of a cent per hundredweight is frequently sufficient to influence the sale of heavy merchandise.

The interstate Texas tariff provides very low carload rates upon over one hundred commodities without corresponding reduction in the less than carload rates, resulting in undue advantage to persons shipping in carload quantities, to the detriment of the small shipper. This situation is duplicated in Montana, Colorado, Utah, and to some extent to the Pacific Coast. It is peculiar to these localities, no such disparity existing in the East.

Some railroad officers call this Texas tariff "the Dingley bill applied to Texas" and "protection run wild," saying they would be glad to alter the discriminating rates but for the attitude of the Texas Railroad Commission, which has notified them that any change is punishable by drastic reductions of their local rates. The Texas Commission appears to be helping the big fish to eat the little ones, and evidently still believes the doctrine of State Rights, for it has intimated that any order of the Interstate Commerce Commission correcting this evil will be nullified through its control of rates within the State.

A prominent merchant recently testified that "a number

of failures of retail merchants in late years were due to overbuying. The insolvents say they were forced to overstock because of the (relatively) exorbitant freight rates on less than carload quantities. They are forced to purchase more goods than they require in order to get around the railroad tariff, which is almost prohibitive of small shipments of staple goods."

The San Francisco *Call*, under heading of "Higher Rates for Retailers," makes use of the following:

> One of the most important actions taken at the recent meeting of the Rate Committee was the widening of the difference between carload lots and less than carload lots, to the advantage of the wholesaler and to the detriment of the retailer.

When we consider that by reason of long distance and expensive roadbeds the freight cost into these portions of the country from the manufacturing districts is sometimes more than the value of the goods, and that the differences between carload and less are frequently more than any profit obtainable by the dealer, the effect can readily be appreciated. The motive behind this adjustment may be imagined from the following: The freight rates from the East to a large territory beyond the Rocky Mountains are made by adding the rates to the Pacific Coast, which have been forced down by the Panama water competition, to the rates from the coast back to the objective point. This, of course, places a premium on goods shipped to the coast in carloads and reshipped back in small lots, or in mixed cars, as against small shipments from the East. The carload rates upon nails, fence wire, staples, etc., are the same. Generally speaking, the carload rates apply upon mixed cars of these articles all over the United States, from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Pacific Coast east-bound; but to the Pacific Coast west-bound they are applicable upon straight carloads only of 30,000 pounds. Some retailers in this intermediate territory, who cannot afford to purchase at one time this amount of each of the above commodities, desired permission to apply the carload rate upon mixed cars. This seemingly innocent request was met by the following protest, bearing the names of eleven large houses:

> We are advised that the proposition is before the Trans-Continental

Roads to modify the commodity tariff so as to admit of the mixing of barbed and plain wire and wire nails in carload lots from the Eastern cities to the Pacific Coast. Such action would be a great blow to the interests of the Pacific Coast; therefore, we urge you in behalf of our Association to resist this change to the bitter end.

That is, merchants who can buy in large quantities, and reship in mixed carloads to intermediate territory at carload rate, prevent the small merchant from shipping direct from manufacturing points to his place of business in mixed carloads at carload rate. Some of the low carload rates to the Rocky Mountains and peculiar restrictions covering shipments of canned goods and the like are frankly admitted by the roads to have been made at the demand of large dealers, who threatened inimical local legislation as an alternative.

Because but a few of these protective tariffs have been cited, it must not be inferred that they are the only ones. Instances might be continued indefinitely if anything more were necessary to show their character and effect. One cause of the discrimination against localities is the effort of lines built through a poor country to increase their business by diverting shipments from the short lines to an unnatural route. This can be done only by considerable concessions in the cost. They seek to justify these reduced rates by the claim that the haul is partly by water, ignoring the fact that sometimes the rail mileage of the water and rail route is longer than the short-line distance having higher rates. When the rates by such circuitous routes are made much lower than the all-rail tariffs, there usually follows a reduction over competing routes between terminal points, but not necessarily from intermediate competing territory. When business is poor the long lines resort to various devices, legal and otherwise, to secure tonnage, while the direct and strong lines are slow to follow, not wishing to demoralize their other traffic. This places an added burden upon communities already handicapped by the wrong adjustment of tariffs. The Interstate Commerce law has failed to stop this rate-cutting, the scare occasioned by the Brown decision having worn off; and it is a curious fact that some roads in the hands of the United States Courts are the worst offenders. The findings of the Commission correcting discriminat-

ing tariffs also lack enforcement, and it is no secret that the support which is sometimes given by mercantile bodies to legislation adverse to railroads, is largely due to irritation caused by uncorrected abuses of this kind.

It is human nature that those centres which are more favored and the roads which profit thereby should be slow to abandon their advantages. Complaints to the railroad associations have, for this reason, seldom accomplished anything, and now that they have been declared illegal there is no machinery to persuade a road to advance its rates where relatively too low. The remedy at the hands of the Commission is a reduction of the competing rate, which may be in itself just and reasonable, but such authority as it has so exercised has been denied by the courts. A cure for all this is easy to suggest, but its application may be another matter.

The railroads have been complaining of poor earnings, in common with all other lines of business, and many merchants, holding railroad securities, shrink from an attempt to redress their grievances because the only apparent remedy is a reduction of rates. Almost any business man can point out rates which are relatively or actually too low; and there are many "commodity" rates through the West, discriminating in effect if not in intent, for which there is in general no commercial necessity. If the railroads would make neighborly concessions from their present discriminations against locality, advancing these rates, their earnings as a whole might be considerably increased, and the injured localities and individuals might be relieved without injustice to others. Failing in this we must have Federal authority capable of enforcing its decrees, and clothed with the power to raise rates which are too low commercially or unremunerative to the carrier, and to do this promptly, not after years of costly and wearying litigation.

This protective system is as sectional as any question since slavery was abolished, therefore national control is imperative. Merchants, manufacturers, and distributers who suffer from it should join with the progressive railroads in the effort to place the rate-regulating (not rate-making) power in the hands of the Commission, and to lessen the excessive competition,

injurious alike to the morals of the people and to the railroads, which is the primary cause of illegal discrimination. Railroad managers who realize that it would be better to have their rates controlled by the government than fixed by their piratical competitors, can, no doubt, be trusted to continue their pressure upon Congress; but there is danger in legalized pooling, with the present discriminating basis, unless commercial interests awake to the necessity of making the power of the Commission strong enough to compel equal justice to all, while securing it for the carrier.

OUR FRIENDS THE ENEMY.

BY JOHN D. SPENCE.

"Canada is a nation. Canada is free: and freedom is her nationality."
—*Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada.*

Hazelton, Pa., Sept. 11.—Twenty-one corpses lie to-night in ramshackle frame shanties about this hill-top town. Forty maimed, wounded, and broken figures toss on the narrow cots of the Hazelton hospital. Of these it is almost a certainty that five will be added to the death list before another day dawns. Such was the execution done yesterday afternoon by 102 deputy sheriffs armed to the teeth upon about 150 ignorant foreigners whose total armament consisted of two little penknives. These facts are undisputed.—*Press Despatch.*

MR. GOLDWIN Smith, jealous that the people of the United States shall not be misled by appearances, or perhaps irritated to observe the tide of events setting so strongly against his dictum of "manifest destiny," writes to the New York *Nation* in part as follows:

How often has the action of the great forces, sure in the end to prevail, been suspended, and long suspended, by that of secondary forces or by adverse accident! ... The time will come when American statesmen, now so indifferent to this question, will see that if it was worth while to spend all that blood and money in averting the establishment of an antagonistic power to your south, it is not less worth while to bestow political effort in averting the establishment of an antagonistic power to your north, and that the British Canadian is at least as desirable a citizen as the Southern white or negro.

It is not necessary to comment upon the inference to be drawn from such language. At its worst, the suggestion is so dangerous that one hesitates to believe that Mr. Smith penned the words with full perception of the evil purpose to which they may so easily be distorted. At its best, it is a suggestion that the "political" resources of a nation of approximately seventy millions of people, professing personal and political freedom, should be exerted in some unexplained manner to destroy the independence of a nation, only five millions strong, whose sole political aims are liberty and peace, whose government is a pure democracy, and whose relations with the United States have been always friendly except when the United States have insisted on unfriendliness.

It is true that Mr. Smith has in the past disclaimed any intention of advising coercion. It is difficult, however, to dissociate that idea from the words above quoted. To the ordinary United States reader the coupling of the proposition to acquire Canada with the reminder of the fierce struggle to preserve the Union must be suggestive, if not inflammatory. Politicians and newspaper men, in their hurried public life, are not apt to discriminate so nicely as Mr. Goldwin Smith no doubt would wish. Already the fruits of his suggestion are apparent. The Philadelphia *Press,* which is perhaps not aware that Mr. Smith has heretofore plainly indicated that coercion, political or military, would be disastrous to the Union no less than to Canada, spoke in a recent issue as follows:

> Canadian politicians are using the privileges they enjoy to build up a hostile nation on our northern frontier. The United States ought to begin a systematic policy which will make the separate existence of Canada first unprofitable and then impossible.

These words seem, at all events, to be the natural outcome of Mr. Smith's advice. Is it fair to conclude that he himself has advanced to that position? If so, it is hard for some of us in Canada to believe that the people of the Union, knowing the facts, will in the least agree with him. We believe that in that case Mr. Smith misunderstands the people of the United States, as throughout long years spent in Canada he has misunderstood (we think) the people of this Dominion.

One cannot assume, however, that Mr. Smith has wandered so far from his former position. Nor, in calling his opinions in question, is it necessary to deny his high personal character, his generous public spirit, his real desire for the welfare of this continent. These are above question, though devotion to a political proposition may perhaps blind him sometimes to obvious facts. But it is only to state the absolute truth to say that his views on this question are most unpopular in Canada; and his own popularity has suffered accordingly. Mr. Smith, who would be the last person to affront another in private life, has never fully realized, and therefore fails at times to respect, the sensitive national feeling of his fellow citizens. Witness his letter to the *Nation:*

> British statesmen, on the other hand, will learn the hopelessness of

their attempt to keep five millions of North Americans out of North America and attach them to Europe.

One is tempted to use strong language respecting this implication. Mr. W. D. Howells, amazed as he is at the glow and thrill inspired throughout the British Empire at the name of England, which awakens in his countrymen only a "cold disgust," tells us that if ever that "mighty Empire is to perish it will die first at the heart. Canada will not grow cold first, nor Africa, nor Australasia, nor India, but England herself." Mr. Howells, I venture to assert, is incomparably nearer the truth than Mr. Goldwin Smith. But Mr. Smith is a student of affairs, and he knows that the British policy of *laissez-faire*, the absence of any such active interest as he indicates, has been a cause of complaint in Canada; he knows that Canada is Canada by her own efforts, because she is free, because she is contented, because she has absolutely no desire to sink her identity by annexation, because British connection assures her independence, and because her people are proud of their British citizenship and of their place in the free British brotherhood. But that Mr. Smith should thus draw the lash across the faces of his countrymen at a moment when, by reason of their participation in the great national sacrament of last June, they are filled with a renewed and wholly elevating national elation, shows how little he has understood them. The feeling against him is not unnatural. What, let me ask, would be the treatment accorded to a resident citizen of the United States, living under the protection of its laws, who should seem to urge a foreign power to destroy its constitution? But it is the clearest evidence at once of the assured strength of Canadian nationality and of the absolute freedom of speech and action in Canada that such of his utterances as those already cited are little noticed and are in no way interfered with. Their only result is that he is, politically speaking, sent to Coventry; Canada denies herself the benefit of his public services. In politics there are none so poor as do him reverence.

His influence is perhaps most surely destroyed by the unpleasant dogmatism with which he assumes that there can be but one solution of a complex international question; and that the great movements of national sentiment which stir the

Canadian people from time to time are but the backwash of the flood which is "manifestly" bearing them towards annexation to the United States. On this point there are those who venture to dispute the teachings of history as interpreted even by so great a student of it as Mr. Goldwin Smith, and who make so bold as to deny to Mr. Smith a place among the prophets. Their right to differ is certainly not less when Mr. Smith progresses from prophecy to counsel, and undertakes to advise a great nation to hasten, by artificial "political" efforts, the operations of nature, lest perchance foreordination might fail of its end. To determine the value of the advice, it may be profitable for us, as loyal citizens of this North-American continent and of the world, to inquire, with an open mind, why the United States should deem it worth their while to interfere in any way with the national development of Canada.

What then is this new political birth which you are invited, fellow Americans, to strangle in its cradle? What is the menace to the Republic which lurks in the aspiration of this young people? Why should you destroy—why is your government at this moment apparently seeking, like a modern Herod, to destroy—this newborn nationality?

The Dominion of Canada, thirty years ago an idea, is to-day a fact. A well-wisher of the United States, a supporter of that Liberal party in Canada which has always advocated the fairest and friendliest relations with the United States to which the United States would give their concurrence, a Canadian who believes that the basic principles of the Declaration of American Independence can be furthered by the healthy growth of the democratic Canadian nation, may perhaps be permitted to suggest what the Dominion of Canada means, to us and to you.

One thing it does not mean. Mr. Smith's language seems apt, at times, to foster the crude notion that Great Britain harbors vague designs, backed by military force, upon the free institutions of this North American continent. That notion, to us too absurd to be amusing, has inspired more than one ill-natured cartoon in New York comic journals. The facts disprove it. Britain's friendliness to the United States and

Britain's confidence in the friendly good sense of the American people are nowhere more conspicuous than here. From seaboard to seaboard of Canada not one soldier is under arms in the pay of the British government. Not one real fortification has been erected anywhere against attacks from the south. The United States and Canada have both practised the millennial virtue of disarmament, for which the nations of Europe sigh; and that state of affairs may be preserved by treaty as easily as, by the same means, the two powers are restrained from constructing or placing armed vessels on the great lakes. Mr. Smith himself tells us that militarism in democratic Canada is utterly impossible. Canada's permanent militia (humorously dubbed her "standing army") is composed of fewer than 1,000 men! Its usefulness is obvious; but as a menace to the United States it is laughable. The ordinary active militia are simply civilians organized for defence after the fashion of the national guard. In the light of these facts, which are the more impressive when we remember the tremendous length of the Canadian frontier, the purpose of the few fortifications which actually do exist on the seaboard, east and west, and of the British regulars detailed to defend them, becomes clear. Not American, but European complications are those really provided against: Britain is bound to protect all the coasts of her vast empire against possible attack. But as for the United States—as the Canadian Minister of Militia well said during the Venezuelan irritation: "Canada's first line of defence is the good sense of the American people." Do not mistake me if I insist upon her ultimate defence: the determination of her citizens (not boisterous, but quiet and resolute as was proved by her attitude during the same unhappy crisis) that they will continue to manage their own affairs. If it should ever happen, in the perverse foolishness of international politics, that troops of the United States should overrun Canada (with what opposition we may not boast), it is that quiet determination that would make their power in Canada a weakness and their victory ultimately the greatest of all defeats.

Another delusion of the ill-informed, which Mr. Goldwin Smith would serve the continent by removing, is that British

power on this hemisphere is that of a foreigner, holding Canada in subjection and ever seeking to extend the area of despotic institutions here as throughout the world. It seems inconceivable to those who have learned to know and prize British freedom that such a notion should require contradiction. But that such a notion exists, numerous conversations with otherwise intelligent citizens of the United States have attested; and indeed some United States newspapers proclaim it to the world. Surely it is time that people should learn the truth; surely it cannot harm the great Republic to know that as the French Jacobins of 1792 (when British liberty was much more restricted than now) hailed the United States, Great Britain, and France as the three free peoples, so to-day Great Britain and the United States stand together in the forefront of the battle for human liberty. Possibly, as we believe, Great Britain, like the Tennesseean's dog, is "a leetle ahead!" So wide indeed is British freedom that on the continent of Europe England is reviled as the harborer of anarchists. The right to march and to speak in public, sometimes forbidden to United States workingmen on pain of death by shooting, is so fully established in monarchical England that any attempt to interfere with it, even on pretence of averting violence, raises a storm of indignation from end to end of the island kingdom.

The fact is, many of the people of the United States fail to understand the attitude of the British people at home and abroad, towards them, towards popular rights, and particularly towards that great fight for freedom, the American Revolution. Not holding a brief for the Queen, one cannot say how Her Majesty regards the handiwork of her ancestor, George III. Her friendship for the American people has been proved again and again. But, whatever her sentiments and however kindly and wisely she may have expressed them, it is no disrespect nowadays to her crown and dignity to say that her personal views are no longer of prime importance in British affairs of state. Great Britain is no longer, as George would have had it, the British crown: it is now the British people. And from end to end of Britain and from shore to shore of the Canadian Dominion, intelligent Britons recognize the Ameri-

can Revolution, in spite of some excesses, as one of the great series of battles which have forever established their liberties and made them free, at home and abroad, above all other nations of the earth. Britons everywhere may well claim Washington, with Hampden, as their own. They justify the Revolution; they deplore the bungling administration which made it a necessity. None the less do they deplore the separation, of sentiment rather than of government, which has been its result.

It is unfortunate that so many of the people of the United States should shut their eyes to this greatest fact of modern political history—the final triumph of democracy in Great Britain. One would suppose that that triumph would be hailed with jubilation by the great champion of democracy in the West. But it seems hard to realize that without bloodshed, without disastrous political upheaval, by gradual and almost imperceptible change, Great Britain has become a republic. A republic, it is true, under the guise of a monarchy, preserving all the advantages and some of the evils of monarchical institutions—but nevertheless a republic in the real sense. For she possesses a government whose only right to govern rests avowedly upon the consent of the governed; whose policy is more open to the influence and more easily changed by the will of the common people than that of the United States themselves. From year to year she moves forward along the path of greater freedom; and if at the bidding of the people a so-called Conservative cabinet takes office, with its Most Noble Marquises and all the rest of its glittering aristocratic equipment, it is only that it may carry into legislation the less radical (sometimes the most radical) proposals of the Liberals who have gone before.

As in Britain, so in Canada. Democratic as we are in this Dominion, loving that liberty for which Britons and Americans—and Canadians—have fought in the past, and of which the United States is one great monument, we can view our position as Canadian and British citizens with perfect contentment. We can even assure our brethren of the Republic that we would that they were not almost but altogether such as we are, the bonds of affection that link us to Britain not excepted.

Canadians will suffer tyranny and misgovernment no more patiently than did the Thirteen Colonies. We too have had our little differences with the officials of the mother country. Even before 1837 we asserted our right to govern ourselves in our own way within the colonies. A few years later this right was conceded; and what we know as responsible government—government by a committee of parliament which holds office only so long as it enjoys the confidence of the direct representaties of the people—was inaugurated throughout all the British American provinces. By a gradual evolution of the principle of local self-government, full political rights have been secured to the Canadian people, till at the present moment the elective Parliament of the Dominion, representing the people of the (now) confederated provinces, with the territories, is in absolute control of all the internal affairs of Canada within the federal jurisdiction, subject to none, answerable to none, save and except the people of Canada alone. Imperial veto—though existent in the words of the constitution—is avowedly a myth, so far as the administration of Canadian affairs is concerned. We are free to govern and misgovern ourselves as we please. We have exercised our right by imposing a harsh tariff on goods from Britain, until recently making no distinction in her favor as against foreigners; and by regulation of immigration from Britain as from other countries.

Apart from one or two matters of peculiar difficulty and of minor importance, it is only when imperial foreign relations are concerned that Canada's complete autonomy becomes questionable. In this regard, the evolutionary forces are still operating; they have not yet reached the perfection of their work. But there is no disagreement and no impatience. Britons in Great Britain and Britons in Canada recognize the necessity for entrusting the delicate business of foreign diplomacy to one central authority; and the difficulty of providing at present for representation of the outlying districts of the empire on the bodies in which that central authority is vested. But mark here the most extraordinary feature of Great Britain's magnificent colonial policy. While the cost and the heavy responsibility of foreign diplomacy are borne by the mother country, she makes no treaty, enters on no undertak-

ing, affecting the rights of her colonies without consulting the colonial governments concerned. Thus, Canadian representatives, technically owing their appointment to the home government, but in reality the nominees of Canada, have taken part in negotiations at Washington. A Canadian sat as one of Great Britain's representatives on the Behring Sea tribunal at Paris, and Canadian counsel appeared for Great Britain before it. To the fullest extent, therefore, British statesmen freely concede the right of the colonies not only to manage their own affairs, but to be heard in all affairs of the empire which affect them. They recognize, indeed, that Canada is no longer a colony in any sense of that word known to history.

The present year has seen a striking demonstration of the working of this policy. Two imperial commercial treaties, of great importance and of long standing, one with Germany, the other with Belgium, were objected to by Canada on the ground that, having been concluded before the present liberal policy had been fully developed, they assumed to apply to the colonies as well as to the mother land, and hampered the adoption of certain Canadian commercial legislation. On this objection, notice was given to the two countries concerned that Great Britain would take advantage of a clause in the treaties empowering her to terminate them on a year's notice. Thus Great Britain has changed her own commercial relations with these two countries and has to a certain extent imperilled an important part of her trade, in pursuance of the policy under which untrammelled freedom is the portion of all States of the British Empire.

Since 1776, how great a change! Taxation without representation, the evil which the Revolutionary fathers decried, has actually given place to representation without taxation. Our views are sought and are heeded; our interests are consulted; and not one dollar of tribute in any form crosses the Atlantic. Is it strange that, knowing Great Britain as we do, appreciating the magnanimity of her policy, not only to us but to the world, we should feel uneasy under such conditions; that we should desire a change, not that we might give less, but that we might give more in return for so complete and generous a recognition of our rights as British citizens? With

entire confidence it may be asserted that if one-half the benefits enjoyed by the Canadian people had been conceded to the Thirteen Colonies, the American Revolution would never have darkened—or brightened—a page in history.

It is hardly necessary to refer again to the fact that the prerogative of the crown in Great Britain has dwindled steadily, till now the royal authority rests almost solely on personal influence, varying with the weight which greater or less tact, experience, and good judgment give to the views of the sovereign in the opinion of her responsible advisers. In practical effect, the Queen is chairman of the executive council of the kingdom, moderating but in no case controlling the action of her ministers so long as those ministers represent—and they must represent—the people. Democratic as such a system is, it yet falls short of the completeness of popular rule in Canada and in the other outlying states of the British Empire. For the Governor-General of Canada, appointed by the imperial cabinet to represent the crown, is expressly instructed to follow in all things the advice of the Canadian ministers, representing the Canadian people. Trained diplomat, practised and highminded statesman as he invariably is, absolutely non-partisan in Canadian politics, he is a useful pivot of our constitution. But it follows from the shortness of his term of office and from his non-acquaintance with the minor currents of Dominion politics, no less than from the settled principles of our government, that his influence and authority here must be small—less, even, than the attenuated power of the crown in Britain. Therefore, of fixed design, the Canadian Prime Minister and his Canadian cabinet are left in absolute control, subject to their immediate responsibility to the elective House of the Canadian Parliament.

The autonomy thus enjoyed by Canada in respect of her federal affairs extends downward throughout the whole system of her government. The Provinces which compose the great Canadian confederation are themselves autonomous in respect of provincial matters. The spheres of Dominion and of Provincial jurisdiction are defined by law; and the Dominion Parliament cannot infringe provincial rights. Like the Dominion, the Provinces are left free to mismanage, if they

please, the matters which lie within their jurisdiction, the Dominion right of disallowance being jealously circumscribed and at all times sparingly exercised. Not even with the Provinces does the principle of self-government cease to operate. In the Province of Ontario, for instance, the counties, and below them again the townships and other municipalities, have their own local equipment for the conduct of local affairs. So from the Dominion as a whole to the paltry backwoods township or school-section the larger or smaller communities are assured of their right to do as they will with their own. And when we reach at last the individual citizen, for whose life, liberty, and happiness all governments exist and all good laws are contrived, Canada may boast that within her borders he enjoys a security for life and property, a freedom of speech and of action, which Britain with her crowned democracy, the United States with their government of the people, by the people, for the people, may perhaps hope to equal but assuredly cannot excel.

These are the facts. With the facts before them, why should the people of the United States accept the advice of Mr. Goldwin Smith to interfere by "political" effort with a nation so situated? Canada asks nothing but liberty to govern herself in her own way; and it would pass the wit even of Mr. Goldwin Smith to point out in what respect she is "antagonistic"—in what respect her political methods and aims are inimical to the United States or to the social and economic principles in whose name the Constitution of the United States was framed. Canada, were she not the most modest of nations, might well maintain that in six at least of her seven Provinces the creed of the great Declaration is of more actual moment than it is south of the boundary line. Her laws are more liberal; her policy is broader and more generous. If, commercially speaking, Canada, while setting her door ajar to Great Britain, has closed it in part to the United States, the fault of that closing is not hers. Again and again she has offered reciprocity—a neighborly policy—and again and again has her offer been refused. Her present tariff is in express terms a standing offer of reciprocal low duties. Her people have been harassed by petty labor laws which have tended to embitter international

relations, but only within the past year has she been driven in self-defence to enact similar legislation, which she herself regards as contemptible and prepares to enforce with a sorry heart. While United States adventurers are flocking into the Klondike and flocking out again with their thousands of Canadian gold from that icy treasure-house which Canada has thrown open to all the world alike, narrow and illiberal legislation still stands upon United-States statute books which makes it impossible for a Canadian to acquire a mining claim from the United-States government. Yet United-States citizens, thus enriched by Canada's generosity, continue to denounce the mining royalty (exacted from British subjects and aliens alike) as a "steal"; and New York journals threaten war if Canadian laws are enforced on Canadian territory. The United-States tariff trespasses so far on international courtesy (to use no stronger phrase) as to endeavor, by discriminatory duties, even to compel the employment of United States citizens on Canadian soil. The United States have not yet outgrown the small-souled laws as to property rights of aliens, which were swept away in the old Province of Canada as early as 1849. Canadian and British schoolbooks teach a friendly attitude towards the Republic; whether those of the several States reciprocate in this matter the people of the Union are the best judges. Will it be believed that in this down-trodden, unenlightened colony, ground under the gilded heel of a European despotism, the one school history which is authorized by government from end to end of the Dominion in substance justifies, while it deplores, the American Revolution?

It is easy to multiply examples of the greater generosity of Canadian laws and institutions. It is easy to show—the New York *Nation* has indeed already shown—that if five millions of North Americans are, as Mr. Smith complains, kept out of the North American continent, they are kept out, so far as all but political identity is concerned, not by Britain, not even by their own efforts, but by the deliberate policy, I venture to call it the shortsighted and illiberal policy, of the legislators of the United States.

Notwithstanding such exclusion, Canadians consider that they are very well situated as they are. Their position as

British citizens on the American continent has had peculiar advantages for them, in enabling them to weigh carefully the benefits and the evils of one government and of the other. It could be shown, possibly, that the mass of the British-Canadian people, escaping the insular self-contentment of Great Britain and the continental assumption of the United States, have gained a greater knowledge and formed a truer estimate of both these nations than either of them has of the other. To Canada, therefore, may be allotted the task of bringing the two great English-speaking nations to a better understanding. She gives to the one, without coercion, her loyal sympathy; to the other, without servility, her friendly respect. She knows that in matters of commerce one is the natural complement of the other; and that therefore their commercial interests are one. She knows that in matters political the aspirations, and in great part the achievements, of the two peoples are the same; that to the honest, public-spirited citizen in Great Britain the Union Jack is the symbol of the same high national ideals as thrill the best of the people of the United States at sight of the Stars and Stripes. She knows that the expansion of the British Empire—so criminal in the eyes of foreigners—is the insuppressible output of that same virility of race which on this continent has subdued savage man and savage nature, and carried peace, freedom, commerce, and the common law of England from sea to sea, following the starry flag of the Union here as they follow the Union Jack throughout the world. She knows that so far as the United States are concerned, Great Britain has no thought of any but the most friendly rivalry; nay, that great nation, which declines the alliance and braves the dislike of every other power on earth, goes out of its way to court the friendship of the American Republic. Why? United States comic papers—and some not intentionally comic—are pleased to intimate that the British lion fears to resent the twisting of his tail by United-States politicians. But, whatever their faults, the British people are no cowards. If, with their vast empire, they must at last go down, they will fall fighting for their Union as the Republic fought for hers. They have no fear of the United States; their real sentiment is deeper and more

generous. In their hearts they claim the United States as their natural ally, pledged as a nation to the same great aims. Therefore they have borne with words and deeds that in the case of any other nation would inevitably have led to war; therefore they are waiting yet, not with encouragement, for the awakening of the United-States people to the recognition of the essential unity of empire and republic. The form of government is little; the welfare of the common people is all.

Here, then, the Canadian people take their stand. It is not impossible that some day when the great schism of 1776 has been healed, not by a reunion of the two nations under the same sovereign or under the same president—that is not essential, perhaps not desirable from any point of view—but by the growth in the United States of the friendly feeling which is universal in Great Britain, though United-States newspapers and public men do much to destroy it, Canada may find her relations with the Republic immensely improved. For honorable commercial intercourse much freer than at present, with great mutual advantage, she is already prepared; and no sane reason against such intercourse, with or without political union, can be urged on the part of the United States. But from political union, as such, Canada has nothing whatever to gain. So satisfactory is her present position that even the bribe of free entry to United-States markets does not tempt her to seek a change. She has solved difficult problems; to-day, a French Catholic Prime Minister, equally eloquent in both languages, is at the head of her government, supported with enthusiastic loyalty alike by his own French province of Quebec and by Protestant fellow citizens of British origin. Her judiciary, with exceedingly rare exceptions, is above reproach. Municipal government is relatively pure and efficient. Law and order are maintained throughout a region larger than the United States—in itself a magnificent achievement for five millions of plucky people. Her Indian administration has compelled the admiration of the civilized world, for it has throughout been based on justice; and treaty rights have been scrupulously respected. Wealth is more evenly distributed, labor and capital work together with greater mutual respect, commercial depression is less severe,

panic is more rare, and financial institutions are more stable, than in the United States. What has a republic to offer us that we do not already possess? Nothing—absolutely nothing!

But I am aware that such a discussion is after all somewhat unseasonable. Annexation is not a live issue in either country. Perhaps, unlike Mr. Smith, the people of the United States are content to await the operation of "manifest destiny" without struggling to assist it. But the truth probably is that the matter is of little or no interest to them; they are wrapped up in themselves and in their own country; most of them, like most of mankind, are too careworn with the effort to make a living, even in this Western land of golden promise, to trouble much about national affairs; they know little and care less about the sturdy Dominion to their north. At present, at all events, they do not seek to annex Canada, nor to crush her by "political" or military effort. Why should they? What is their temptation to so great a sin against their own national creed? Is it territorial extension of a nation already larger in continuous arable acreage than almost any other civilized state? Is it the increased population which would correspondingly increase the military resources of a people happily placed beyond the dread of foreign war? Is it that for all time war may be averted on this continent? —diversity of interest will lead to war even with identity of government, as the Union has already proved. Is it terror inspired in a nation of seventy millions by the military menace of five millions scattered along its borders? Is it fear of the rivalry of those five millions in commerce and in the productive arts? Is it political ambition, leading a party to desire to add to its strength by foreign conquest? Is it a willingness to secure the aid of the clean blood and healthy public spirit of the Canadian people in coming conflicts with real dangers that beset the Republic? Is it advantage to be gained by a handful of United-States operators, as may at least be suspected in the case of another annexation proposal now before the world? Is it a desire to increase the markets of United-States manufacturers or the field of activity of United-States trusts?—a high ambition to extend the jurisdiction of

deputy sheriffs and of government by injunction? If none of these, what then? The simple truth is, that the plain, honest, common people of the United States have absolutely no cause to desire the annexation of Canada as a result of political or military coercion. There can be no greater reason for the exertion of political effort by the United States to absorb Canada than by the State of New York to absorb the State of New Jersey.

Nor have the plain, honest common people of Canada any reason to wish to be annexed. They are not impervious to argument. They are without proof that the change may be made with honor and advantage. Prove to them that the Republic has outgrown petty hatreds a century old. Prove to them that her government conduces more largely to human freedom than does the present government of Canada in particular and of the British Empire as a whole. Prove that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are more certainly the birthright of her citizens than of ours. Prove that within her bounds justice is more evenly administered, that the laws are more generous and more strictly enforced, that the poor are indeed free, and equal with the rich, that both her great political parties are wrong, the one in charging repudiation, the other in charging plutocratic selfishness, as the policy of its opponents. Prove that lynching and similar lawlessness, absolutely unknown in Canada, are not attributable, when they occur across the line, to defects in political, judicial, or social conditions which Canada escapes. Prove that trade is less hampered by harsh and childish restrictions. Prove that the intelligent and public-spirited, rather than the ignorant or self-seeking, prevail in the councils of the Union; that Federal, State, and municipal politics are less corrupt; that the shameful influence of the lobby is more swiftly purged by wholesome public censure. Prove that race cleavages, class hatreds, and sectional jealousies are less vital and less menacing. Prove that in throwing in her lot with the Republic, Canada will thereby lessen the foolish and wholly baseless antagonism to Great Britain of which United-States journals give ample evidence. Prove, above all, that as a part of the Union she will not be driven by jingoes to bear a share

in unjust and useless war with that great country whose justice she knows, whose freedom she enjoys, whose history and aims engage her enthusiastic sympathy—prove these things, and Canada may waver from her course.

But she is far from being assured of them; and it will take much to move her. Not for a little will she surrender her two great privileges: British citizenship and the wideness of British freedom. Already she has shown to the world that political rights weigh more with her than prospective commercial advantage; more than once has she proved that even in the face of the very gravest danger—threatened with all the cruelties of unprovoked invasion—she will not quail before coercion. Separation from Great Britain would cause real sorrow to Canadians; their flag and their country are objects of sincere, often of passionate, attachment. As matters stand, separation, even with Great Britain's consent, could not be effected without war. So long at least as the United States maintain their present attitude towards the Dominion and towards Great Britain, Canada's course is clear. Her Parliament will consult her interests, without reference, as the Toronto *Globe* puts it, to the vagaries of United-States legislation, which may help her to-day and hurt her to-morrow. Assistance in solving political and social problems she will give always when she can; cordial coöperation in all good national works. But political and commercial self-dependence will be her unchanging motto.

Let none of us be boastful overmuch. Glaring national faults rebuke our pride in Great Britain, in the United States, in Canada. Well may we cry, with the poet of British imperialism:

> For frantic boast and foolish word,
> Thy mercy on thy people, Lord!

Not the foolish feuds of governments but the uplifting of the common people is the present-day work of the world. In that work, to which both are pledged, let the English-speaking nations help one another—not hinder. They need have no antagonisms; brag and bluster and the lust of conquest are more often the signs of weakness than of strength.

Toronto, Canada.

MUNICIPAL PROPRIETORSHIP.

BY AUGUSTUS LYNCH MASON, A. M.
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MANY conscientious persons adhere closely to the doctrine that the less work government has to do and the more that is left to private effort and individual initiative, the better both for government and people. But in respect to municipal institutions, practical circumstances are having more influence than political theories. Rapid expansion of cities brings into view most serious problems. The massing of people into small territory renders inadequate simple forms of government which did passably well in earlier days. Crowded populations become restless from discomfort. They are critical of their surroundings, and demand stronger and more efficient public service.

Municipal institutions throughout the United States and England have been unsatisfactory and are undergoing radical reconstruction. Accounts published in recent years of Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, and other great cities read like a dream to one who is unfamiliar with the swift evolution of municipal government. These cities have been steadily increasing their governmental functions, until now one or other of them owns and operates municipal lodging-houses, model tenements, assembly rooms, farms, art galleries, bands and orchestras, gas-works and electric-light and -power stations, street railroads, ferries, steamboats, ship canals, laundries, bath-houses, and other institutions which have heretofore been left to private effort and capital. We hear with mild surprise that lodgers who hire beds in municipal lodging-houses are provided with evening entertainments, and at least one city employs an organist to give free organ recitals. Some of these cities sell or lease gas stoves; and one place in France is reported, where school children are given noon meals and presented with new suits of clothes in spring and fall, at public expense. Yet another town is said to maintain a munici-

pal restaurant. In short, the growth in these directions is so rapid that no list of municipal functions can long remain complete. There are yet to be mentioned schools for instruction in the arts of manufacture and design, in engineering and surveying.

In considering the grounds for increasing municipal activities there ought to be general agreement upon the proposition that such questions are not to be determined by any universal rule. Each case must stand by itself and be determined by practical considerations. Thus, if it be insisted that a city should enter upon some new work, such as the construction and operation of gas-works, it is not a sufficient negative argument to say that government should not engage in business, but should leave it to private enterprise. Nor is it a satisfactory affirmative argument that quasi-public works should always be carried forward by government. Expediency rather than theory is the true test for the determination of such questions.

Police Power. Many of the undertakings in which it may be claimed that a city should engage on its own account fall within well-recognized police powers of the municipality. Street-lighting as a protection to person and property stands on the same footing with the maintenance of a police force. Since street-lighting is a public duty, it is a purely practical question whether this can be done better and more cheaply by contract with a private concern or by the city itself. So with water-supply for fire-hydrants, street-cleaning, and sewer-flushing, it is purely a matter of business and of public economy whether the city purchase this service from water-works owned by private individuals, or construct and operate its own water-works. Many subsidiary branches of public service, such as fire-alarm telegraph, police telephone lines, and ambulance service, present no more serious difficulty than the simple economic question of relative cost and efficiency. The same consideration would exclude the city from engaging in many enterprises. Thus, while the city might require engines and wire and dynamos for an electric-lighting system, it would not engage in the manufacture of these articles, because they could be purchased more cheaply owing to the small amount needed.

Modern city life requires more extensive exercise of police power to protect public health. If private enterprise fails to furnish a cheap and abundant supply of pure drinking water, a city government has little excuse for not undertaking the task itself. The effect of unwholesome water upon the health and the lives of citizens is so serious as to be thoroughly understood by the public.

If a municipality should furnish pure water to its citizens, would not the same line of reasoning lead the city into the business of selling good meat, pure milk, fresh vegetables, and ripe fruit? The test of expediency readily discloses the distinction between water-supply and food-supply. Private enterprise furnishes good, cheap, and abundant food. This is the great task of the human race, to which everyone may contribute. Competition tends to produce the best qualities of food at lowest prices. In the case of water-supply there is no competition, so that cheapness and excellence can only be secured by municipal interference.

In the older cities of Europe it has been found necessary to condemn at public expense large tracts of densely populated territory filled with crowded and rotten tenements. Ancient buildings have been destroyed, narrow and offensive streets replaced with broad avenues, and plague spots transformed into blooming gardens. This is a very large application of the simple primary power to abate a nuisance. Now, if a municipality may remedy an existing evil of overcrowding population, why should it not prevent such an evil from coming into existence by encouraging the distribution of population? Cheap rapid transit is a most effective means for this purpose, therefore every American city is charged with the duty of providing street railway lines, with efficient service and low fares. Such lines readily distribute congested populations, enabling workers to live at great distances from their work and secure fresh air and wholesome surroundings for their families. Since a city government is charged with this duty, the real question of providing rapid transit by private contract or public proprietorship is purely practical. It does not necessarily involve any discussion of political theories, but is, in fact, determinable by simple business considerations.

Such enterprises do not involve any departure from the usual functions of municipal government. It is merely performing old duties in new and better ways; arguments for state socialism have no place here and no bearing on the issue. We are face to face with a practical question affecting the public good which goes no deeper than the use of new means and methods to accomplish old and well-recognized objects of government.

Municipal Profits. Recent municipal reformers have made a strong stand in favor of compensation to cities for public franchises granted by them. It has been pointed out that the people have been giving away privileges of enormous value and receiving no return therefor. It has been insisted that public franchises should be sold at auction to the bidder who would pay most into the public treasury for the privilege. This view has been supported by eminent authority, and has been received with general favor. It is incontestably a great advance over the giving of valuable franchises without compensation. It is taken for granted that those public officials who many years ago gave away franchises for street railroads, gas-works, and similar undertakings without compensation to the public treasury, were either knaves or fools. It is said that they either fraudulently parted with public property or were ignorant of the value of their gifts. These considerations have greatly strengthened the cause of municipal proprietorship in England. There great cities eagerly undertook these public works on their own account in order not only that they might retain control of public service instead of abandoning it to private contractors, but also for the definite purpose of earning money for the city treasury, and lightening the load of taxation. Naturally, taxpayers are pleased with any measure which will lessen their taxes. Inasmuch as the great cities of England and Scotland have only a restricted suffrage, in which, by means of plural voting and otherwise, property-holders have a preponderant influence, we understand why they are so far in advance of America in respect to municipal proprietorship and municipal profits.

Let us examine how a system of municipal profit works. It is immaterial whether profits are derived from royalties

or from municipal operation. If one-fourth of a city's revenues is derived as profits from quasi-public enterprises, everyone's taxes, it is urged, are proportionally reduced. Of nues is derived as profits from quasi-public enterprises, everybody shares one with another exactly alike. If taxes are reduced one-fourth, then a capitalist who pays $10,000 a year into the city treasury saves $2,500. His neighbor, having only moderate wealth, pays $1,000 taxes and saves only $250. Another citizen, whose taxes are $10 a year, saves only $2.50. A majority of citizens gain nothing at all from municipal profits, because they pay no taxes. This is the result which many reformers desire, but their position is one of hopeless inconsistency. With one breath they declare that these public franchises belong to the whole people equally, and ought not to be given away, but should be parted with only on just compensation being paid to the original owners of the right, namely the whole people. To the first proposition everybody agrees. Undoubtedly the ownership of these rights is originally in the whole people equally. No citizen has any greater right in the streets than any other citizen. But the system of municipal profits does not render compensation to all the people equally. It makes compensation for public franchises payable to taxpayers; and not equally to them, but ratably in proportion to their wealth, the richest deriving the most benefit, and the poorest deriving the least. The injustice of this revenue is double, because not only are its benefits distributed unequally, but it is paid equally by all people, irrespective of their property or income. The street-car fare of a common laborer, living at a distance from his work, will be as large or larger than that of the wealthiest citizen. Clerks, stenographers, workingmen, indeed the vast mass of industrious and moderately paid workers, feel the pressure of street-car fare and gas and water bills much more than their well-to-do neighbors. If such charges are made large enough to enable taxpayers of a city to benefit by municipal revenue and profits, there is not even the justice of an income tax, which at least is proportioned to the earnings of each worker. Advantageous as the scheme of municipal profit looks, as compared with old methods of private profits, the whole thing

is, nevertheless, intolerably unjust and cannot stand the test of candid discussion. If gas- and water-works and street railways are to be operated for profit, it is fairly questionable whether such an end may not be attained equally well by royalty contracts with private corporations as by municipal ownership and operation. But if we go to the root of the whole matter, these enterprises ought not to be operated for profit, therefore they ought to be owned and conducted by the municipality itself.

There is another consideration which weakens the argument for municipal profits. Such a fund, raised unjustly from the whole people equally, will, it is claimed, benefit taxpayers. But will it? Public moneys raised in this way are not likely to be expended with judicious economy. Nothing operates to secure public economy like the fear of increasing tax rates. The direct pressure of taxes upon the people will alone make them vigilant. A public fund to which each one makes indirect and imperceptible contributions is not likely to give anyone great concern, and will likely be spent in foolish and wasteful ways. If such is the case, the only benefit ever claimed from a system of municipal profits will have disappeared, leaving only a burden which bears hardest upon those who are least able to carry it, and most lightly upon those who do not feel it.

When a city government grants a franchise or engages in an enterprise for the sake of municipal profit, then indeed has government assumed radically new functions. It is no longer a mere instrumentality for preserving and promoting the welfare and safety of its citizens. It has a new and entirely different sphere of action. Its object is pecuniary gain, the same as any private individual. It has indeed entered the domain of individual effort and enterprise and assumed those very functions. But if a municipality enters upon these undertakings, not for gain, but solely in the exercise of public functions for the public welfare, it has not departed from its true sphere of action or infringed upon the domain of individual effort.

Since a municipality is charged with a public duty in respect to light, water, and transportation, is it a fulfilment of

that duty to turn the whole matter over to private concerns for long periods of years? Is not this an abandonment of true governmental functions? If a jail or sewer is to be built or a new street pavement to be laid, such undertakings may usually be accomplished best by private contract, but these are not continuing enterprises. When a jail is built there is no further administrative duty to be performed in respect to its construction. But the matters of light, water, and transportation require constant adaptation and change to meet the varying wants of the public. No contract can be made now which will certainly provide for all public necessities a few years hence. A city, when it has once tied its hands by contract, is often powerless in the presence of great public evils. Every contract with private companies in respect to these subjects cuts off from the city just that much of its power to perform its public duties. In this way our city governments keep trimming away their own powers, surrendering one function here and another there to private hands. Unable to recover these lost powers, public welfare may suffer, no matter what the exigency.

Municipal Administration. The great advantages to the people, particularly to those of small income, likely to accrue from the municipal operation of street railways, gas, electric-light, and water-works at cost, depend at last upon efficiency and honesty of administration. Many friends of this reform fear that municipal administration would break down at this point. Every successful business man knows that there must be a constant study of the expense account, rigid economy and scrupulous honesty in the management of these large enterprises. Useless employees must not be tolerated upon the pay-roll; able-bodied men must do a full day's work for a full day's pay. Rigorous discipline, prompt discharge for serious offences, tireless vigilance in preventing waste, sloth, and dishonesty are essential to a successful conduct of the business. If it is not so managed, the cost of operation will immediately increase. Conservative persons, having the public interest at heart, often believe that, if a city undertakes these enterprises they will be conducted so expensively that the people will pay as much for these public services as they do now. To this

may be answered, that if such a thing took place the people would be no worse off than they are now. Yet it is inconceivable that public administration could be so wasteful and dishonest as to absorb in expense the large profits which accrue to private owners.

These undertakings involve serious practical questions. In the condition of American politics, it may be anticipated that labor employed in these public undertakings would affiliate with organized labor in general. Questions of wages are likely to arise. If such undertakings were in the hands of public officials, would they have the courage to refuse an unjust advance in wages when demanded by the voters of their own city? If an employee who happens to be an influential local politician is guilty of dishonesty, drunkenness, or some serious breach of discipline, would public officers promptly discharge him, or would politic considerations prevail in his favor? The whole question of municipal management rests on these vital points. No experienced man can doubt that the entire organization of a great property will swiftly deteriorate into inefficiency and corruption unless vigilance and firmness characterize its administration.

The problem is primarily one for the legislature. These great enterprises ought not to be undertaken by our cities in the absence of most complete and carefully prepared statutes governing the administration of such properties. The manager must be an expert who retains his office in spite of changing politics. In well-governed cities the fire chief is not changed at each election. Each administration feels that the eye of the public is watchful of fire service, and a competent fire chief is too much valued to be lightly removed. Such would necessarily be the case with managers of municipal street railroads and similar enterprises. All employees should be protected by carefully framed civil-service rules, calculated to exclude political consideration from questions of employment and discharge. Purchase of supplies, payment of damage claims and every kind of expense should be in the hands of appropriate departments governed by most precise statutory regulations. All expenses should be published each year in

detail, in such form as to enable the public to understand readily how the money has been spent.

But the great safeguard in these public undertakings would be the fact that they are operated at cost, and that the public is to feel directly any increase or decrease of expense by an increase or decrease of rates. Every citizen would understand a change either way of a half cent in street-car fare. An administration could not hide inefficiency from the people, nor could merit fail of recognition. On the other hand, if such properties are operated for profit the public will not directly feel the effects of good or bad management, and failure might reasonably be feared.

The matter of raising or lowering wages and charges to the public ought not to be left without control; these subjects should be governed by stringent statutory provisions. Prices to the public should be high enough to pay ordinary operating expenses and interest on the investment. There should also be a fund for extraordinary renewals, replacements, betterments, and enlargements of plant. In the case of extension of gas, water, or street-railway lines to new districts, the original cost might be assessed to owners of real estate who are thereby benefited. After these expenses are provided for, if at the end of a fiscal year it appears that there has been gained a specified profit after charging off all expenses actual and contingent, the management should be required by law to make a reduction in prices to the public and an increase in wages to employees for the ensuing year. Or if, on the other hand, the operation in any fiscal year discloses a loss, the management should be required by law to raise prices and reduce wages for the ensuing year. The concrete results of any management would thus be brought home to every citizen. Under such a law no property in an average American city could be badly managed, or, at least, only for a very short time. Such a scheme would also obviate conflicts with employees by making them participate in the good or bad management of the property. Possibly there are better plans for the legal regulation of such undertakings. Any city might readily organize a commission composed in part of experienced business men and in part of skilful lawyers, who could construct a wise statute governing

the particular subject in hand. If such an experiment, properly safeguarded in law, cannot succeed, then popular government itself will not prove more fortunate.

Municipal proprietorship of these quasi-public businesses would reduce the actual living expenses of every family in the city. It would lighten the burden of the masses of moderately paid workers, whose interests government should scrupulously conserve. It would increase the attractiveness of living and make such a city more inviting as a place of residence. There would be an insensible but real accumulation of means by every member of the community. Such an increase in community wealth is more beneficial than the accumulation of the same aggregate amount in the hands of a few persons. Thus, a saving of only five dollars a year by each person in a city of two hundred thousand inhabitants, amounts to one million dollars. Such a distributed saving is vastly better than the accumulation of the same amount in the hands of a few capitalists.

Change from Private to Public Proprietorship. The best time for a city to enter upon this reform is usually the time of expiration of existing grants. In such case a municipality acquiring existing properties, either by agreement or by condemnation, would not be obliged to pay for any franchise value. The power of eminent domain is, however, broad enough, under a suitable legislative act, to reach even existing franchises. Whether a city should attempt in this way to buy back what it parted with is always a question local in its character.

In some instances a barrier to municipal proprietorship is to be found in constitutional limitations of municipal debt. To purchase or construct street railways or gas- or water-works requires a large amount of capital, which must be raised by the sale of bonds. If such bonds can be issued directly by the city, a great saving will be effected by reason of the lower rate of interest necessary to be paid. In some cases it might only be necessary for a city to condemn the equity of redemption of a property subject to existing mortgages, thereby reducing the municipal investment. A somewhat different method, avoiding all direct obligation on the part of a city,

would be the creation by the legislature of one or more auxiliary corporations, with all their capital stock owned by the city. The powers of such an auxiliary corporation would relate to the ownership and operation of one or more of these local enterprises. It might have officers quite independent of the city government, or the mayor and other city officials might be, *ex officio*, its officers. The debt of such an auxiliary corporation would not form any part of the city debt. It would represent the actual investment, and would gradually disappear by means of a sinking fund raised from the operation of the properties.

Whether this or some other plan is prepared in any case by practical business men and able lawyers, it is enough to say that no legal obstacle exists to these municipal undertakings which might not be obviated by suitable legislation. The chief danger of failure in such experiments lies in undertaking them without carefully framed laws for their government. Unless there are requisite legal safeguards, municipal proprietorship would likely prove an economic failure, and would thus discredit the people's cause.

JAMES G. CLARK, THE AMERICAN LAUREATE OF LABOR.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

O! blessings on him for the songs he sang!
When all the stars of happy thought had set
In many a mind, his spirit walked the gloom
Clothed on with beauty, as the regal Moon
Walks her night-kingdom, turning clouds to light.
Our Champion! with his heart too big to beat
In bonds,—our Poet in his pride of power!

THESE words, penned by Gerald Massey when the immortal author of the "Song of the Shirt" passed from view, are equally appropriate for our brave champion of humanity who has recently left us.

James G. Clark was in a true sense a prophet of freedom and an apostle of progress. At an early age he sang songs of the home, and the nation heard him gladly. His popularity was so great that as a song-writer he might easily have won enduring fame and worldly fortune from an easy-going conventionalism. But with Thomas Wentworth Higginson he could say:

At early manhood came a voice to me
That said to startled conscience, "Sleep no more."

The voice of divine duty called to him to sing the song of the burdened ones. No longer must he divert attention from crying wrongs or lull to sleep a popular sense too prone to close its eyes and ears to the supplications of those crushed ones who are robbed of the birthright to which all children of earth are justly entitled. No, he must take his stand with the minority. He must plead for the exiles of society. Perhaps no man understood better than did Mr. Clark that to fly in the face of public opinion was to sacrifice to a great extent the rising popularity which meant honor and ease. But between popularity and right the high-born soul does not hesitate.

To me nothing illustrates the essential divinity impearled in humanity more than the lives of the apostles of progress

and prophets of truth. They know full well that the calumny of the powerful, even if no other persecution comes from enthroned injustice, is to be expected; that, if from the vantage-ground of popularity they ascend high enough to dare to stoop to aid those who have fallen under the wheel, the crust of poverty, if not the "martyr's robe of flame," will be theirs. They see fame, honor, and riches awaiting them if they will sing a siren song in behalf of entrenched wrongs. And yet, with history and contemporaneous examples before them, with the full knowledge of what the choice means for each, these loyal sons of God deliberately range themselves on the side of the oppressed and wronged, choosing to suffer slander and misrepresentation, poverty and, perchance, persecution in the cause of justice and right, in preference to all the world can give for a silenced or a purchased voice.

The august and compelling power of justice and duty over noble natures was signally illustrated in the life of Mr. Clark. But there is something infinitely sad and tragic in the spectacle of this apostle of progress being weighed down in the closing months of his career by a sense of dependence, owing to having freely given all life's richest gifts to the cause of the people, who in turn forgot to properly look after their silvery-haired poet and prophet, though his works had inspired tens of thousands of hearts with new hope and courage, though he had

> Poured his heart in music for the Poor,
> Who sit in gloom while sunshine floods the land,
> And grope through darkness for the hand of Help.

I would not have it inferred that our revered leader was denied the loving care of the devoted relatives with whom he spent his closing days, for that would be the opposite of the truth. He was most tenderly cared for, but he was denied the independence which he had so richly earned, and which to a sensitive nature is what oxygen is to the lungs.

Mr. Clark's literary life was divided into two distinct divisions. The first epoch was that of a lyric poet and popular song-writer; the second was characterized chiefly by poems of reform and songs of freedom and justice. This is a reversal of the usual order. Instead of the enthusiast, the exultant

prophet, and the aggressive reformer in manhood's dawn, and the saddened and conservative singer of lays pitched in a minor key or songs with an undercurrent of disappointment, verses breathing doubt if not despair, we find the apostle of freedom growing more and more exultant as the silver light of the eternal morning glorifies his brow.

Whittier was early an aggressive reformer. His verses made a more profound impression on the people of the Eastern States than did the stirring songs of Mr. Clark upon the great Western audiences which were thrilled by the poet, composer, and singer in the early sixties. But when the great cause of Abolition was won, the Quaker poet became first and chiefly the singer of pleasing lays. Mr. Lowell, who, in the great conflict against slavery, probably wrought more than any other American poet for freedom, with the close of the struggle also ceased to be the standard-bearer of progress, and was no longer the aggressive champion of the oppressed. Indeed, the splendid faith which made his morning days so glorious gave place to a quiet contemplation which at times expressed itself in verses which are among the most pessimistic in our language, as for example in his musing on our degenerate days. And Tennyson, the young man, thrilled humanity with a new hope in "Locksley Hall," only to follow it with the chilling and soul-benumbing influence of "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After." These poets illustrate the rule in life. As age creeps on men become conservative and pessimistic. Only the elect leaders of justice and progress grow younger in spirit and more buoyant as the winter of life approaches.

Mr. Clark's most vigorous and profoundly inspiring verses were written after his brow had whitened with more than sixty winters. And what is more, his life had been filled with uncertainty. For him life had been a battle. What would have discouraged or soured most men seemed only to nerve him to new effort to bring about such fundamentally just conditions as would make it possible for all earth's children to enjoy life. He never seemed to dream of working for himself except as he worked for others, and the farther he advanced in life the more deeply he felt the solemn responsibility placed upon him by the Infinite to work for all. Indeed, the creed

of his life, in so far as it pertained to the life which now is, was well summed up in the following sentiment expressed in a poem written by him a few years ago:

All for one, and one for all
With an endless song and sweep,
So the billows rise and fall
On the bosom of the deep.
* * * * * *
And one human brotherhood
Pulsing through a thousand lands
Reaches for one common good
With its million, million hands.

The work of Mr. Clark's first period commenced when he was a very young man. Indeed, he was already fairly launched in popular favor when he reached his majority. He composed words and music, and also sang most acceptably to the public. His "Old Mountain Tree" was immensely popular, and his "Marion Moore" was long a reigning favorite in Boston and other Eastern cities. Other songs, such as "Meet Me at the Running Brook" and "The Rover's Grave," enjoyed the favor of song lovers. At the request of his mother, for whom he ever cherished the deepest love, he composed "The Ever-Green Mountain of Life," a song which in church, home, and school has been sung for nearly forty years, and whose popularity has in no way diminished.

In later years the poet's religious sentiments deepened and broadened. Heaven became more near, more real and tangible than when he had sung:

Our gaze cannot soar to that beautiful land,
But our visions have told of its bliss,
And our souls by the gales of its gardens are fanned
When we faint in the desert of this.

As the poet neared the bounds of life he felt that heaven was all around him. In common with many of the leading scholars and scientists of our century, Mr. Clark became thoroughly convinced of the truths which modern spiritualism claims to demonstrate. He believed that guardian angels attend the steps of all. He felt within himself that the grave was a doorway to a life of endless advance and progress, that a tender and compassionate God ruled over all, and that

in spite of all the perplexities and bitterness of life the banner over humanity was love. This great faith gave courage and buoyancy to his soul as age stole upon him. The materialism which, like creeping paralysis, is benumbing the vital energies of so many minds richly endowed by nature, had no influence upon him. His admiration for the great Prophet of Galilee, whose life he ever strove to imitate, was beautifully set forth in the following stanzas:

Sweet prophet of Nazareth, constant and tender,
Whose truth like a rainbow encircles the world;
The time is approaching when wrong shall surrender,
And war's crimson banners forever be furled;
When the throat of the lion no longer shall utter
Its roar of defiance in desert and glen,
When the lands will join hands, and the black cannon mutter
Their discords no more to the children of men.

As breaks the gold sunlight, when heroes and sages
Were rising and falling like meteors in space,
A new glory broke on the gloom of the ages,
And love warmed to life in the glow of thy face;
The wars of the Old Time are waning and failing,
The peace of the New Time o'erarches our tears;
The orbs of the Old Time are fading and paling,
The sun of the New Time is gilding the years.

The mist of the ocean, the spray of the fountain,
The vine on the hillside, the moss on the shrine,
The rose in the valley, the pine on the mountain,
All turn to a glory that symboleth thine;
So I yearn for thy love as the purest and dearest
That ever uplifted a spirit from woe,
And I turn to thy life as the truest and nearest
To Infinite Goodness that mortals may know.

O Soul of the Orient, peerless and holy,
Enthroned in a splendor all angels above,
I would join with the singers that raise up the lowly,
And praise Thee in deeds that are Christlike in love.
Let my words be as showers that fall on the highlands,
Begotten in shadows, expiring in light,
While Thine are the billows that sing to life's islands
In numbers unbroken, by noonday and night.

At the time when the cloud of civil war was looming up big and dark along our political horizon, and the passions and hopes of a great nation were rendering life oppressive and making suspense terrible for sensitive natures, the young poet

was summoned to the deathbed of his mother. While listening to her loving admonitions there came to him the words of his most beautiful lyric, "Leona." This poem was published in the New York *Home Journal*, then under the able editorial management of N. P. Willis and George Morris, and was more widely copied than any other poem published by that periodical. The following stanzas will give the reader a fair idea of the verses, which, though sad with the sorrow of parting, were rendered sweet by the presence of a faith which lights man's pathway in its darkest hours:

Leona, the hour draws nigh—
The hour we've awaited so long,
For the angel to open a door through the sky,
That my spirit may break through its spirit and try
Its voice in an infinite song.

Just now, as the slumbers of night
Came o'er me with peace-giving breath,
The curtain, half lifted, revealed to my sight
Those windows which look on the kingdom of light
That borders the River of Death.

* * * * * *

We have loved from the cold world apart,
And your trust was too generous and true
For their hate to o'erthrow; when the slanderer's dart
Was rankling deep in my desolate heart,
I was dearer than ever to you.

I thank the Great Father for this,
That our love is not lavished in vain;
Each germ in the future will blossom to bliss,
And the forms that we love, and the lips that we kiss,
Never shrink at the shadow of pain.

By the light of this faith am I taught
That death is but action begun;
In the strength of this hope I have struggled and fought
With the legions of wrong, till my armor has caught
The gleam of Eternity's sun.

Leona, look forth and behold:
From headland, from hillside, and deep,
The day king surrenders his banners of gold;
The twilight advances through woodland and wold,
And the dews are beginning to weep.

The moon's silver hair lies uncurled,
Down the broad-breasted mountains away;
Ere sunset's red glories again shall be furled
On the walls of the west, o'er the plains of the world,
I shall rise in a limitless day.

Oh, come not in tears to my tomb,
Nor plant with frail flowers the sod;
There is rest among roses too sweet for its gloom,
And life where the lilies eternally bloom,
In the balm-breathing gardens of God.

This brings us to the close of the work of his first period. His mother died, and his deepest emotions were moved as they had never been stirred before, while all around him the cause of the union of the States and the issue of slavery were being discussed. Life at this time appeared more stern than heretofore. He felt as he had never felt the personal responsibility which devolved upon him. Great issues involving the happiness of millions were up for settlement. He was no longer justified in remaining the "idle singer of an empty day." Nay more; even poems which at certain times would have been appropriate must now give place to the great cause which he felt demanded his best work.

He composed songs which he set to music and sang to vast multitudes in Northern towns. His "Freedom's Battle Hymn" was second only in popularity to Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic." In the interest of the Sanitary Commission and the Soldier's Aid Society he visited city after city electrifying the people as stirring song and music only can arouse and enthuse the awakened imagination. He became a very real factor in the cause of the Union, and his war poems ceased to be on the lips of the multitude only after the flags were furled.

The story of one of his poems composed at this period has a melancholy interest, in that it was prophetic. Among those who had learned to love the poet of the people was a young lady by the name of Minton, whose lover had gone to the front. Mr. Clark was greatly drawn to this young girl, whose wistful eyes told of the ever-present fear which was making her days one long period of indescribable suspense. One night, long after the poet had left the home of the Mintons, when travelling by rail, he was roused from a reverie by a sudden and powerful impulse to write some verses. He obeyed the impulse, scratching his poem under the faint light of lamps turned low and with the motion of the train rendering his writing almost illegible. The verses came to the poet

almost without mental volition, and after their completion he was startled by what he had written, for the lines were in the nature of a message from the soldier lover to his betrothed. He was represented as dying on the battlefield, where he had been shot. A year later the young soldier was shot fatally on the field.

The war closed, but the poet had come to understand that the human caravan could not rest; that civilization must advance or retrograde. A higher vantage-ground revealed nobler heights to be attained which had not been visible on the lower eminence. He refused to rest on the greensward by the wayside or to become a dreamer. For him new occasions taught new duties. He beheld the misery of the millions who to him were brothers and sisters. He felt that God had given to him a voice with which to speak for the voiceless and burdened ones. He became the prophet, champion, and friend of the toilers, throwing into their cause the same poetic fervor that had inspired Gerald Massey and Charles Mackay during the Corn Law agitation, and William Morris in behalf of the burdened wage-earners during the later years of his life. Throughout the past two decades Mr. Clark has written more really excellent poems of progress and songs of the people than any other poet in America since the war of the rebellion.* The following stanzas entitled "Freedom's Reveille" are a fair example of Mr. Clark's poems of the present:

The time has passed for idle rest:
  Columbia, from your slumber rise!
Replace the shield upon your breast,
  And cast the veil from off your eyes,
And view your torn and stricken fold,
  By prowling wolves made desolate,
Your honor sold for alien gold
  By traitors in your Halls of State.

Our mothers wring their fettered hands;
  Our sires fall fainting by the way;
The lion robs them of their lands,
  The eagle guards them to betray;
Shall they who kill through craft and greed
  Receive a brand less black than Cain's?
Shall paid procurers of the deed
  Still revel in their Judas gains?

*The best of these poems were written expressly for THE ARENA, and appeared from time to time in that magazine.

O daughter of that matchless sire,
Whose valor made your name sublime,
Whose spirit, like a living fire,
Lights up the battlements of Time,—
The world's sad heart, with pleading moan,
Breaks at your feet—as breaks the main
In ceaseless prayer from zone to zone—
And shall it plead and break in vain?

Fling off that golden garb of lace
That knaves have spun to mask your form,
And let the lightning from your face
Gleam out upon the gathering storm—
That awful face whose silent look
Swept o'er the ancient thrones of kings,
And like the bolts of Sinai shook
The base of old established things.

The promise of an age to be
Has touched with gold the mountain mist,
Its white fleets plough the morning sea,
Its flags the morning star has kissed.
But still the martyred ones of yore—
By tyrants to the scaffold led—
Transfigured now, forevermore
Gaze backward from the ages dead,

And ask: "How long, O Lord! how long
Shall creeds conceal God's human side,
And Christ the God be crowned in song
While Christ the man is crucified?
How long shall Mammon's tongue of fraud
At Freedom's prophets wag in sport,
While chartered murder stalks abroad,
Approved by Senate, Church, and Court?"

The strife shall not forever last
'Twixt cunning wrong and passive truth—
The blighting demon of the Past,
Chained to the beauteous form of Youth;
The Truth shall rise, its bonds shall break,
Its day with cloudless glory burn.
The Right with Might from slumber wake,
And the dead wrong to dust return.

The long night wanes; the stars wax dim;
The young day looks through bars of blood;
The air throbs with the breath of Him
Whose pulse was in the Red-Sea flood;
And flanked by mountains, right and left,
The People stand—a doubting horde;

Before them heave the tides uncleft,
Behind them flashes Pharaoh's sword.

But lo! the living God controls,
And marks the bounds of slavery's night,
And speaks through all the dauntless souls
That live or perish for the right;
His face shall light the People still,
His Hand shall cut the sea in twain,
And sky and wave and mountain thrill
To Miriam's triumphant strain.

Here is another. It is the stern voice of the prophet, the voice of Divine Justice warning a slothful and self-absorbed civilization, even as the Galilean warned Dives nearly two thousand years ago:

I have come, and the world shall be shaken
Like a reed at the touch of my rod.
And the kingdoms of Time shall awaken
To the voice and the summons of God;
No more through the din of the ages
Shall warnings and chidings divine,
From the lips of my prophets and sages,
Be trampled like pearls before swine.

Ye have stolen my lands and my cattle;
Ye have kept back from labor its meed;
Ye have challenged the outcasts to battle,
When they plead at your feet in their need;
And when clamors of hunger grew louder,
And the multitudes prayed to be fed,
Ye have answered with prisons or powder
The cries of your brothers for bread.

I turn from your altars and arches,
And the mocking of steeples and domes,
To join in the long, weary marches
Of the ones ye have robbed of their homes;
I share in the sorrows and crosses
Of the naked, the hungry, and cold,
And dearer to me are their losses
Than your gains and your idols of gold.

I will wither the might of the spoiler;
I will laugh at your dungeons and locks;
The tyrant shall yield to the toiler,
And your judges eat grass like the ox;
For the prayers of the poor have ascended
To be written in lightnings on high,
And the walls of your captives have blended
With the bolts that must leap from the sky.

The thrones of your kings shall be shattered,
And the prisoner and serf shall go free;
I will harvest from seed that I scattered
On the borders of blue Galilee;
For I come not alone and a stranger—
Lo! my reapers shall sing through the night
Till the star that stood over the manger
Shall cover the world with its light.

He felt the struggles and hardships of the poor as keenly as those who suffered most, and he viewed with profound sorrow millions of people being systematically, year by year, robbed of all they make above a scanty living by railroad corporations, usurers, and others who through special privileges are enabled to keep the breadwinners in a position of dependence, and thereby swell the inflated wealth of the few who are already immensely rich. The sadness he experienced at this carnival of law-sanctioned crime, this perpetual tragedy of the common life, was expressed in these lines:

I cannot join the old-time friends
In their merry games and sports
While the pleading wail of the poor ascends
To the Judge of the upper courts;
And I cannot sing the glad, free songs
That the world around me sings,
While my fellows move in cringing throngs
At the beck of the gilded kings.

The scales hang low from the open skies—
That have weighed them, one and all—
And the fiery letters gleam and rise
O'er the feast in the palace hall,
But my lighter lays shall slumber on
The boughs of the willow tree
Till the king is slain in Babylon,
And the captive hosts go free.

Here is a noble creation of Mr. Clark's maturer years, a recognition of the mother principle in life, something which I think no poet has before touched upon:

I am mother of Life and companion of God,
I move in each mote from the suns to the sod,
I brood in all darkness, I gleam in all light,
I fathom all depth and I crown every height;
Within me the globes of the universe roll,
And through me all matter takes impress and soul.
Without me all forms into chaos would fall,
I was under, within, and around, over all,

Ere the stars of the morning in harmony sung,
Or the systems and suns from their grand arches swung.

I loved you, O Earth, in those cycles profound,
When darkness unbroken encircled you round,
And the fruit of creation, the race of mankind,
Was only a dream in the Infinite Mind;
I nursed you, O Earth, ere your oceans were born,
Or your mountains rejoiced in the gladness of morn,
When naked and helpless you came from the womb,
Ere the seasons had decked you with verdure and bloom,
And all that appeared of your form or your face,
Was a bare, lurid ball in the vast wilds of space.

When your bosom was shaken and rent with alarms,
I calmed and caressed you to sleep in my arms,
I sang o'er your pillow the song of the spheres
Till the hum of its melody softened your fears,
And the hot flames of passion burned low in your breast
As you lay on my heart like a maiden at rest;
When fevered, I cooled you with mist and with shower,
And kissed you with cloudlets and rainbow and flower
Till you woke in the heavens arrayed like a queen,
In garments of purple, of gold, and of green,
From fabrics of glory my fingers had spun
For the mother of nations and bride of the sun.

There was love in your face, and your bosom rose fair,
And the scent of your lilies made fragrant the air,
And your blush in the glance of your lover was rare
As you waltzed in the light of his warm yellow hair
Or lay in the haze of his tropical noons,
Or slept 'neath the gaze of the passionless moons;
And I stretched out my arms from the awful unknown
Whose channels are swept by my rivers alone,
And held you secure in your young mother-days
And sang to your offspring their lullaby lays,
While races and nations came forth from your breast,
Lived, struggled, and died, and returned there to rest.

All creatures conceived at the Fountain of Cause
Are born of my travail, controlled by my laws;
I throb in their veins and I breathe in their breath,
Combine them for effort, disperse them in death;
No form is too great or minute for my care,
No place so remote but my presence is there.
I bend in the grasses that whisper of spring,
I lean o'er the spaces to hear the stars sing,
I laugh with the infant, I roar with the sea,
I roll in the thunder, I hum with the bee;
From the centre of suns to the flowers of the sod
I am shuttle and loom in the purpose of God,

The ladder of action all spirit must climb
To the clear heights of Love from the lowlands of Time.

'Tis mine to protect you, fair bride of the sun,
Till the task of the bride and the bridegroom is done;
Till the roses that crown you shall wither away,
And the bloom on your beautiful cheek shall decay;
Till the soft golden locks on your lover turn gray
And palsy shall fall on the pulses of Day;
Till you cease to give birth to the children of men,
And your forms are absorbed in my currents again;
But your sons and your daughters, unconquered by strife,
Shall rise on my pinions and bathe in my life,
While the fierce glowing splendor of suns cease to burn,
And bright constellations to vapor return,
And new ones that rise from the graves of the old,
Shine, fade, and dissolve like a tale that is told.

The closing years of the life of our people's poet were crowded with work. His pen and voice were ever busy. The great cause in which he was serving engrossed his thought. His remaining days were few, but the work to be done was great. Hence at a time of life when most men, even the most valiant souls, sink by the wayside to rest, he pressed forward to the front, sending forth message after message of cheer for the burdened ones, while with the courage of an old-time prophet he cried out against oppression and injustice. In the midst of his splendid work he was stricken down. That was last spring, and though his life was often despaired of he lingered until the seventeenth of September, when his serene soul passed onward.

Before his death he received many bright visions of his loved ones who had preceded him, and who were waiting to welcome him into the morning land; and at times the veil was lifted and he caught glimpses of the beauty of the home of the soul about which he had so beautifully sung.

The life of Mr. Clark, like his work, was an inspiration to all who knew him. He loved the world. He was one of those deeply spiritual natures whose very companionship was ennobling. His life was pure, temperate, earnest, and sincere. He was one of nature's noblemen—a prophet, a poet, a man. A high-born soul has passed to its royal heritage. The following tribute was paid to him by Mr. A. P. Miller, the author of "Consolation" and other poems, and his life-long friend:

No more the hills and fields he loved
With him shall smile, with him be sad;
No more the friends with whom he moved
Shall smile to greet him and be glad.

We, who live on beneath the skies,
Must wait and walk without him now,
Nor see, above his manly eyes,
God's signet on his royal brow.

"They do not need him there," we say,
Who feel his worth since he is gone,
"For heaven is made of such as he,
While here and there the earth has one."

But in the realms beyond the sun
His peers desired him face to face,
And prayed that, if his work were done,
He might be with them in his place.

So, bound with us, he wrought until
The Angel freed the fettered limb;
The heavens had some high place to fill
With long-tried Truth, and sent for him.

Softly his breath went as the sigh
Of south winds from some Isle of Rest;
Calmly he died, as stars that die,
Behind the gray hills in the west.

Like some great ship through life he bore,
Conveying love and human weal,
While every bark along the shore
Felt the wide impulse of his keel.

Brave heart, high mind, and noble soul,
Farewell! until we come to thee!
Rich was thy journey to the goal,
And great thy bliss and state shall be!

QUESTIONINGS FROM THE PEWS.

BY BENJAMIN F. BURNHAM.

I.

ON the rear edge of one of the throngs in a recent series of revivalist meetings in Boston stood a foreigner with an expression of perplexity. At the conclusion of the rapid speaker's discourse, he asked me:

"What means one word exclaimed so often to mine ear seeming 'donchenozat'?"

On being answered that it was the interrogatory phrase, "Don't you know that?" he replied:

"Ah! I see; eet ees a mere transitional expedient in extemporization. But one eez tempte. to answer back: 'Mistare Preacher, do you not yourself know zat you are ignoring a great many facts of science and history?"

I responded that this was precisely my own besetting impulse.

For instance, to question back: Dontyunothat Dr. Lyman Abbott and all the honest scholarly divines, both Protestant and Catholic, now concede and aver that the Bible is to be studied as any other literature,—as any other volume of miscellaneous writings made by various authors in different ages of the world, and that these same divines aver that inerrancy is not properly predicable thereof?* Dontyuno of "orthodox" Dr. Herrick's recent well-published utterance?†

Everywhere the cart was before the horse. . . . "The Bible is an inspired book; therefore it must be accepted and believed from end to end." Not so. But the Bible is crowded with truth that finds man in the deepest recesses of his nature, that satisfies his reason, and confirms

*See article, "The Scripture-Errancy Conflict," in THE ARENA for April, 1897, p. 776.

†"Memorabilia of Twenty-Five Years. A Sermon preached in Mt. Vernon Church, Boston, upon the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of his Settlement, by S. E. Herrick, D. D., April 12, 1896, with some Account of the Celebration," p. 29.

his conscience, and speaks to his despair, and makes him like God if he will heed it; therefore it has been given by inspiration from God.

Now if a man's position is changed in relation to a single great fundamental religious belief, the change inevitably affects the parallax and proportions of all his beliefs. To use a familiar figure, it is like the change from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican system of astronomy, which affected the whole conception of the universe. And so while an entire new circle of natural and physical sciences has been coming in to displace the old, there has been coming in also, and for the same reason, a new circle of philosophical and moral and theological sciences. The movement has been inevitable and resistless.

Dontyunothat Dr. Andrew D. White (ex-president of Cornell University, now again ambassador to Germany), in his "History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom," has shown that, from the Assyrian researches as well as from other sources, it has come to be acknowledged by the most eminent scholars at the leading seats of Christian learning that the accounts of creation with which for nearly two thousand years all scientific discoveries have had to be "reconciled"—the accounts which blocked the way of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, and Laplace—were simply transcribed or evolved from a mass of myths and legends largely derived by the Hebrews from their ancient relations with Chaldea, rewrought in a monotheistic sense, imperfectly welded together, and then thrown into poetic form in the sacred books which we have inherited? Dontyunothat, as to creation and evolution, Darwin's theory of natural selection is now adopted by leading universities (including the Catholic University at Washington), and conceded in sermons of high ecclesiastics in England, and in Professor Drummond's Chautauqua lectures in 1893?

Dontyunothat St. Augustine antagonized scripture to the theory of the sphericity of the earth (finally established by Magellan's circumnavigation in 1519-1522), that the hierarchy gained an ephemeral victory over Galileo, but that after a weary struggle the heliocentric theory triumphed over the geocentric? The battle between geology and theology, the clamor against Buckner and Lyell, Gladstone's scheme of compromise and its demolition by Huxley, and the final concession led by Dean Stanley,—dontyunothat?

One speculates curiously as to how far the assertive, positive

style of the evangelist will be modified when he shall have read Dr. White's chapter on prehistoric archæology, and studied the dogma of the fall of man in the light of anthropology, ethnology, and history. Can it be that he is ignorant of the overthrow of Archbishop Usher's chronology by discoveries in Egypt and Assyria? Has he viewed in the light of meteorology the dogma of "the Prince of the Power of the Air" stirring up storms? Does he recognize the triumph of chemistry and physics over the dogmas of magic, diabolical agency, and pious charms? Has he not studied the history of the opposition to vaccination and anæsthetics, and observed the progress of medical discoveries, gradually taking from theology what was formerly its strongest province, and sweeping away that belief in miracles which for more than twenty centuries was the stumbling-block in the pathway of medicine, and in so doing clearing higher paths, not only for science, but for religion?

How will it modify his utterances concerning Providence answering prayer (as though the benefit of prayer were objective and not wholly subjective) for him to read Dr. White's chapter, "From Fetich to Hygiene," relating the history of the triumph of sanitary science over the old theological view of epidemics, witchcraft, and exorcism? Will he not justify the amendment of the Book of Common Prayer, the refusal of Lord Palmerston to grant the petition of the Scotch clergy to appoint a fast-day to ward off the cholera, and the answer of a Philadelphia divine in 1893 to the bishop's call for special prayer for the like object, that "while the streets remained filthy such supplication would be blasphemous"?

In perusing Dr. White's chapter entitled "From Diabolism to Hysteria," will his glad smile on observing that "the thoughtful physician and the devoted clergyman are now constantly seen working together," change to a frown on reading further that "it is not too much to expect that Satan, having been cast out of the insane asylums, will ere long disappear from monasteries and camp-meetings, even in the most unenlightened regions of Christendom?" Which horn of Huxley's dilemma will he take concerning the legend of the transfer of certain "devils" into swine, causing them to plunge down the Gadarene precipice—that Jesus believed in demoniacal posses-

sion, or that the redactors are unreliable?* Will he take cognizance of the scientific view of the Dead-Sea legends, the origin of the legend of the tower of Babel, and, in the light of comparative philology, the gradual disappearance of the old theories regarding the origin of speech and writing?

Has he ever read Rousseau's "Emilius; or a Treatise of Education"?† If so, which horn of the Savoyard vicar's dilemma does he accept? Conceding to be wholly inadvertent his rather proletarian representation, "Agnostics 'll tell ye," etc., what will he reply to Mrs. Mary A. Ward's answer:

> Men like Harnack and Hausrath have no quarrel with Christian testimony; they have merely learnt not to ask of it more than it can give. They have come to recognize that it was conditioned by certain necessities of culture, certain laws of thought, that in a time which had no conception of history or of accurate historical reporting in our sense,—a time which produced the allegorical interpretations of Alexandria, the Rabbinical interpretations of St. Paul and the Gospels, the historical method of Josephus, the superstitions of Justin and Papias, the childish criticism and information of Irenæus, and the mass of pseudepigraphic literature meeting us at every turn before, in, and after the New Testament,—it is useless to expect to find a history which is not largely legend, a tradition which is not largely delusion?‡

Will he refrain from applying any *ad-captandum* epithet against her or against her "critical historian" who finds the result "the most natural thing in the world," when they "see the passion of the Messianic hope, or the Parsee conceptions of an unseen world which the course of history had grafted on Judaism, or the Hellenistic speculations with which the Jewish dispersion was everywhere penetrated, or the mere natural love of marvel which every populace possesses, more especially an Eastern populace,"—when they watch these forces "either shaping the consciousness of Jesus, or dictating the forms of belief and legend and dogma in which his followers cast the love and loyalty roused by a great personality"?

Our preacher's well-meant comments on certain social evils are a pretty fair delineation of what Hardy, in a preface to one of his novels, calls "the fret and fever, delirium and disaster that may press in the wake of the strongest passion known to humanity." But the prescribed remedies therefor, diversi-

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*See "Elsmere Elsewhere," p. 127.
†See translation, Boston Public Library, Appendix to 4405.27, p. 377.
‡See "Elsmere Elsewhere," Appendix, p. 122.

fied with scripture quotations, tempt us into a train of philosophizing he may not relish.

Education forms the common mind. Proletarian education makes the proletarian mind. Many an advocate of the parochial and of the Sunday school has naïvely confessed that "as the twig is bent, the tree is"—twisted. The disposition to study strictly and the capacity to reason impartially are conceded by all candid observers of our day to be more hampered than helped by childhood prejudices instilled by theological demagogues. The Protestant sees this in certain Catholics in history; the Catholic sees it in certain Protestants. The free-thinking Burns thereupon sings out:

> O wad some power the giftie gie us
> To see ourselves as ithers see us.

As with the old partisan politician who clings to the quadrennial platform, no matter what ridiculous accidents time may have brought to the planking, this type of "inclined" mind in the theologian grows more in evidence with advancing age and its characteristic self-absorption, self-pity, and testy impatience with any frisky inattention and lack of sympathy on the part of the younger world around. Good old patriot Hosea, in his retrospection, perceives a parallel between his own career and the fate of his country; but while with Polonius keenness tracing the trend of the public entanglement, he with Polonius weakness shoulders upon his Jahveh the responsibility of his unfortunate marriage. Sweet old philanthropic John retires to Patmos, pores over the book of Daniel, and in poetic rhapsody arranges into gemmed mosaic the precious associations of "twelve" and "seven;" but alas for the "scarlet" fuel he furnished the Millerites *et id omne genus!*

It is cheering to turn to a bright side of the picture. The evangelist preacher is not so literalistic as a momentary listener might fancy. He occasionally remarks: "We haven't the whole story; Jesus probably explained the matter more fully;" or: "I can imagine one of the bystanders exclaimed, 'Why, how's this?'" This is a concession of our right to reason upon the composition of the sacred books, to apply common sense in interpreting the inadequately reported sayings and doings of our blessed Master.

II.

Come then and let us reason together concerning "evangelistic" prayer, not by appeal to abstract metaphysics or to any Hebraistic traditions or Buddhistic dogmas or Protestant or Papal *ipse dixits*, but by investigating the question *de novo* in the concrete, by keeping our eyes open upon a few everyday occurrences. Among Christians there are three theories concerning Christ's precepts as to prayer: (1) the supplicational, which looks mainly to an objective benefit; (2) the aspirational, which aims chiefly at a subjective benefit; and (3) the intermediate, which takes for model the combination of the other two found in the Lord's Prayer, and views supplication as only a vehicle and a social aid to aspiration in the culture of Christian character.

(1) The supplicational view is that of all nations in their primitive condition. The Jews prayed seven times a day. In all Mohammedan countries, all men pray at fixed hours. The sacred books of the Hindus and the Parsees are one long liturgy of supplication. In Buddhist countries, the people assemble in the streets of the city at sunset for prayer. The walls of the Egyptian tombs are covered with supplications to Osiris and Amun. In the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, their general in command, Xenophon, before each day's march, offered public prayer to the gods of Olympus.

But among enlightened peoples no one prays that the sun may stand still and lengthen his day, or that his water tank may yield pure wine, or that a fish purchased may hold a coin just large enough to pay his tax, or for the restoration of the dead. But the movements of the clouds seem so irregular that an arbitrary power is associated with them, and some persons yet pray for rain or sunshine. But these become fewer and fewer as meteorology is more and more developed as a science. "That which a man soweth he shall not by prayer escape reaping."*

A writer in the London *Telegraph*, commenting on the mistake of the rector at Rhyl, North Wales, in opening his prayer book at the "Prayer for Rain" and supplicating "rain on the inheritance," when the Primate's circular had invited

*Moncure D. Conway in "Idols and Ideals," p. 65.

prayers for fair weather, commends the simple earnestness of the Orkney minister, who, in his daily admonishings of rough fishermen youth, had unconsciously acquired a petulantly peremptory style of address. The brevity of the Orkney summer precluding the raising of hardly anything except oats ("aits") and barley, the elders had requested him to pray for good harvest weather. He complied as follows: "Lord, gie us braw weather and a wee bit saugh of a breeze that will dree the straw and will nae harm the heads; but if ye blaw us sic a bletherin', rivin', tearin' blast as we hae been ha'in', ye'll play the vera mischief wi' the aits, and fairly spoil a'!"

We may smile, yet we can but sympathize with the colored clergyman from whose standpoint the Governor of the universe seemed at fault in letting the wicked oppressor flourish in luxury, while the poor oppressed ones could have none except what they might procure by stealth from chicken roosts, etc. So when after the assassination of President Lincoln he heard that Booth was hiding in his neighborhood, he prayed: "Lord, cotch him! and when dou hast cotched him, don't be so mercifu' as you are too apt to be—generally speakin'."

Possibly it was the same clergyman who, after losing his little hoard through misplaced confidence in the directors of the Freedmen's Savings Bank, was distressed with the dilemma whether to seek friends among the Democrats, or to resort to the New Testament Babylonish remedy of purifying the Republicans by fire. He prayed: "O Lord, dou knowest dese 'Publican party leaders—how dey done bu'st de Freedmen's Savin's Bank, an' how dey done let our poo' bredren in de Souf be 'timidated by de wicked Democrats, an' de poo' women an' chil'n be 'bused by de Ku-klux an' oder cruel bushwhackin' debbils down da. O-o-oh dese backslidin' 'Publicans! Lord, just take 'em up in de hollow ob dy grea-a-t, go-o-orgifu' han', an' hold 'em over de mouf of hell, an' scorch 'em, an' scorch 'em, an' scorch 'em! But don' let 'em drop in!"

Perhaps this was the same colored partisan who, in the fall of 1896 prayed: "O Lord, we want to keep politics out of our prayer-meetin's; but we can't help askin' dee to keep a

lookout for dat poo' miser'ble sinner, Bryan, who we hear is comin' into dis State [Virginia] han' in han' wid Satan. Don't let him do no harm; and if it aint askin' too much, forgive de sins dat he is commit'n ebery day. But be shu' to knock de stuffin' out ob him next November."

This climax of knock-out recalls little Johnnie's suspension of the rules when he knelt with his younger sister at the bedside, his inverted toes peeping from under his night-gown, and tempting her to tickle his soles. He winced an instant, and then compromised as follows: "Lord, please wait a moment; I've got to stop and knock the stuffin' out of Nellie." Let us hope that Johnnie's blows were not quite so effective as those from the fist of Peter Cartwright upon the rowdies who disturbed his prayer at an Illinois camp-meeting, or as those of Judge Rowntree,* who descended from the bench, knocked down a prisoner that was attacking the sheriff, resumed his seat, and on the ground of "contempt of court," considerably increased the penalty.

Some supplicationists openly avow that their theory is better supported by rhapsody and rhetoric than by reason and logic. They fondly quote pretty sounding aphorisms like that of Tupper: "Prayer is the slender nerve that moves the muscles of Omnipotence." The following passage from Dr. John Ryland, an English Baptist clergyman, is a good sample of their ultra-traditionalism and their bombastic style of advocacy:

> Prayer has divided seas, rolled up flowing rivers, made flinty rocks gush into fountains, quenched flames of fire, muzzled lions, disarmed vipers and poisons, marshalled the stars against the wicked, stopped the course of the moon, arrested the sun in its rapid race, burst open iron gates, recalled souls from eternity, conquered the strongest devils, commanded legions of angels down from heaven. Prayer has bridled and chained the raging passions of man, and roused and destroyed vast armies of proud, daring, blustering atheists. Prayer brought one man from the bottom of the sea, and carried another in a chariot of fire to heaven.

Preachers of this kind are fond of drawing inferences from coincidences. In his "Wonders of Prayer," H. T. Williams states that upon the death of a cow belonging to Rev. C. H. Spurgeon's grandfather, a neighboring missionary society sent

* "Leading in Law and Curious in Court," p. 575.

the loser twenty pounds sterling. Doubtless our colored brother above mentioned considers the result of the late presidential election an answer to his prayer. It is asserted that the Consumptives' Home founded by Dr. Cullis on the site of Grove Hall, Boston, is supported entirely by prayer. On the fact that it has its contribution-boxes in scores of public places, labelled with the name *and policy* of the institution, John W. Chadwick commented: "When a people are wasted by famine, it is not even necessary to *over*hear their prayers for succor; it is sufficient for those who can help them to hear of the fact."*

Concerning the supplicationists, Mr. Chadwick very forcibly adds:

> One shattered train, one sinking wreck, offsets all the imaginary interferences that have ever been recorded, and remands them at once and forever to the province of coincidence or overhearing or exaggeration. Of what avail the baby-house suggestion that God, anticipating human prayer, left certain openings in the network of his laws through which he can reach out handfuls of benefits and immunities,—winds out of some Æolian cave, or showers of needed rain, and quiet of the sea or of the heart? Law is an armor so compact that there is not a joint which interfering touch can penetrate. . . . To pray for so much interference as would quell one coming storm, or squeeze one raindrop out of a reluctant cloud, is to pray that the entire history of the universe up to date may be revised, and that God may change the essence of his nature with a view to our imaginary comfort or advantage.†

In short, supplicationalism amounts merely to thaumaturgy. In the case of prayers from diverse minds, Dr. Nehemiah Adams was wont to say that the Holy Spirit would lead each, if sought aright. But his son, Capt. Robert C. Adams, has declared:

> Intercourse with numerous Christians, many of whom I was convinced prayed earnestly for the guidance of the Spirit, showed me that the Holy Spirit led each man to different and often opposing views; though one devout and highly educated Christian assured me that no one ever studied the Bible prayerfully without believing as he did; but I found that his present adherents numbered only two.‡

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* "The Faith of Reason," p. 176. See Dr. S. I. Prime's "Five Years of Prayer, with the Answers." As to the so-called Christian Scientists, I am informed by a Unitarian clergyman who has done for them some excellent literary work, that it is very unjust to them to class them with the supplicationists, as did Rev. H. B. Heacock in the California *Christian Advocate*. See a reply to Dr. Heacock, entitled "Christian Science and the Bible with reference to Mary Baker G. Eddy's 'Science and Health,'" by Phare Pleigh, published by J. H. Wiggin, 27 Hammond St., Roxbury, Mass., 1897.

† "Faith of Reason," p. 179. ‡ *The Index*, Nov., 1881.

Intelligent readers will hardly expect here any long paragraph on "mind cure,"* or on the philosophy of the occasional consequences of supplication. A German savant discovered that the long-venerated bones of a saint were those of a donkey, but they had not been a whit less remedial on that account. A learned physiologist has remarked that any state of the body earnestly expected is very likely to ensue. A decade or two ago there was a woman in Belgium whose hands and feet bled every Friday, as if from nails driven into them. The priests said it was a miracle like unto the famous stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi. A commission of medical men appointed by the government declared that it was the result of morbid expectation, the whole energy of the victim's nature being directed to this end, so flattering to her ecclesiastical pretensions.

(2) Concerning the aspiration prayer, and referring to the words of Jesus, "Neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall men worship the Father," Dr. James Freeman Clarke wrote:

> The highest worship of all is to carry with us evermore the sense of that heavenly protection, that divine tenderness. It is to look in and to look up, at all times sure that he is near, that he is ready to pour his love into our soul. It is to feel, as Jesus felt, that we can do nothing of ourselves, and therefore to have our church, our oratory, our liturgy in our heart, wherever we are. In the midst of work, of conversation, of amusement, of daily care, we may thus walk in the spirit and live in the spirit. The Christian world is gradually passing into this highest style of prayer. It will not then pray less, but more, for God will then write his law in the heart, and all shall know him, worship him, and love him. . . . In the Psalms there is this very striking petition: "Unite my heart to fear thy name." The soul needs the unity which comes from devotion to something infinite, perfect, the ideal beauty and goodness of things. This unites the heart and life, and prevents it from being wasted and distracted in the endless variety of nature.

In the same vein is Emerson's beautiful appeal: "Is not prayer a study of truth, a sally of the soul into the unfound infinite? No man ever prayed heartily without learning something." What more solacing utterance on aspiration and res-

* See in the Boston *Globe* of May 6, 1897, an account given by a Puget Sound correspondent of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of the Puyallup Indian Shakers, the cures effected by their prophet Tow-a-luk (of whom there is a portrait, as also of the resuscitated Slokum), and the reform of vices which missionaries had striven in vain to eradicate.

ignation can be found, unless possibly the following lines of Wordsworth:

> One adequate support
> For the calamities of mortal life
> Exists—one only: an assured belief
> That the procession of our fate, howe'er
> Sad or disturbed, is ordered by a Being
> Of infinite benevolence and power,
> Whose everlasting purposes embrace
> All accidents, converting them to good.
> The darts of anguish fix not where the seat
> Of suffering hath been thoroughly fortified
> By acquiescence in the Will Supreme
> For time and for eternity, by faith,—
> Faith absolute in God, including hope,
> And the defence that lies in boundless love
> Of his perfections, with habitual dread
> Of aught unworthily conceived, endured
> Impatiently, ill-done, or left undone
> To the dishonor of his holy name.
> Soul of our souls and safeguard of the world! . . .
>
> How beautiful this dome of sky
> And the vast hills in fluctuation fixed
> At thy command! how awful! Shall the soul,
> Human and rational, report of Thee
> Even less than these? Be mute who will, who can;
> Yet I will praise thee with impassioned voice;
> My lips, that may forget Thee in the crowd,
> Cannot forget Thee here, where thou hast built
> For Thine own glory in the wilderness . . .
>
> Come labor, when the worn-out frame requires
> Perpetual sabbath; come disease and want,
> And sad exclusion through decay of sense!
> But leave me unabated trust in Thee,
> And let Thy favor to the end of life
> Inspire me with ability to seek
> Repose and hope among external things,
> Father of heaven and earth! and I am rich
> And will possess my portion in content.*

This recalls Buddha's aphorism: "The greatest prayer is patience"; and St. Jerome's: "Prayer is a groan"; and Anne Swetchine's: "Prayer has a right to the word 'ineffable'"; and Hannah More's: "Prayer is not the definition of helplessness, but the feeling of it"; and James Montgomery's: "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire"; and Coleridge's: "He prayeth best who loveth best."

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*"The Excursion."

(3) The intermediate theory is, that supplication is only a vehicle for resignation, a social aid to aspiration, a secondary means of Christian culture. It is no perversion of the word "instinct" to predicate of man a prayer instinct. Is not the expression, "religious instinct," although unscientific, sometimes properly predicable in accounting for the peculiar musical and sympathetic proclivities of hallelujah lassies? also for certain social anachronisms? The Welch-Putnam aphorism comes to mind, slightly modified: Religion isn't mere music, rhyme, and rhetoric—not by a considerable sight.

Doubtless some such idea suggested to Jesus his blessed substitution of "Our Father" for the old Jewish designations of God. I deem the day not far distant when unanimously will be carried Theodore Parker's amendment of this amendment: "Our Father—aye, our tender Mother!" Ah! the cry of a new-born babe! It says: "I am in pain and ignorance and hunger and fear. I know nothing." What? Ah! "I think: therefore I am." There is an Ego and a Non-Ego. I have but one impulse, a yearning to find in all this Not-Me—in all this strange new environment—a Somewhat that will relieve, shield, nourish me. Nothing more? Ah! that Somewhat will never satisfy this yearning unless it also have consciousness, be a portion of or in alliance with the Me sufficiently to sympathize with my soul-want. Nevertheless, my bodily want is the more immediately exigent of the two; and, in the process of its becoming satisfied, I have a glimmering sense of adaptation of means to end. With the comfort from the breast there comes to be associated a pallid face and two sweet, half-sad, half-glad loving eyes looking down at mine. My solace is in exact ratio with my earnest belief that the new-found responsive Somewhat is able and willing to bear my sorrow and to supplement my void, my perishing need of knowledge, strength, and communion. Soon I peacefully slumber. On awaking, I experience the same sense of want; I find myself apprehensive that I am alone.

Now suppose reason (or any other third unknown entity) were to intervene and exclaim: "The original Somewhat, no longer *x*, the Being that has demonstrated herself to your spirit as a power not yourself that makes for sweetness and

light, will not forsake your couch; therefore your crying is very impertinent and proletarian," what should I immediately answer? I should impatiently exclaim: "I *must* cry!" And the answer would be a sound one.

Years elapse, and after I have learned a little of good and evil, right and wrong, and feel that there is a Power not myself—yet in some sense a part of myself, my ideal—that makes for sweetness and light and righteousness, a Somewhat having sensibility, intelligence, and will, I find myself in a like condition of spiritual want, and with the same lonesome yearning. If now I cry out a supplication to that Being, and reason interjects a wherefore, I can only reply: "Mind thine own proper business, O Reason! Do not usurp the function of Faith and Feeling." As the reader may have guessed, the foregoing comparison was suggested by Tennyson's verse:*

> So runs my dream; but what am I?
> An infant crying in the night,
> An infant crying for the light,
> And with no language but a cry.

And it is impossible not also to have in mind the felicitous cognate simile of Dr. James Freeman Clarke:

> As the mother comes and bends by night over her sick and sleeping child all unconscious of her presence, so the Lord comes and looks on us with tenderest pity when we think nothing of him. Yet sometimes the sick and sleeping child may half arouse itself, and stretch up its little drowsy arm to its mother, and put it round her neck, drawing her face close down to his and giving her a little sleepy kiss; and the mother is well pleased. So I think God is well pleased when we, half awakening from our drowsy sleep in sense and sin, just look up a little moment and cry out of our heart, though it may be only a single cry of longing or one unuttered whisper of vague hope.†

Lowell beautifully puts the thought thus:

> Still through our paltry stir and strife
> Glows down the wished ideal,
> And longing moulds in clay what life
> Carves in the marble real.
> To let the new life in, we know,
> Desire must ope the portal;
> Perhaps the longing to be so
> Helps make the soul immortal.

If the reader ask for a model prayer according to my

* "In Memoriam," stanza 53. † See "The Life of Lives," p. 206.

theory,—this third one,—I would give that embodied in Merrick's hymn:

Author of good, we rest on thee:
Thine ever-watchful eye
Alone our real wants can see,
Thy hand alone supply.

In thine all-gracious providence
Our cheerful hopes confide;
Oh, let thy power be our defence,
Thy love our footsteps guide.

And since, by passion's force subdued,
Too oft with stubborn will,
We blindly shun the latent good,
And grasp the specious ill,

Not what we wish, but what we want,
Let mercy still supply:
The good, unasked, O Father, grant;
The ill, though asked, deny.

This putting forth a prayer as a model recalls an episode whereof *pars fui*. A certain young lady, daughter of a Baptist clergyman, after singing with a young man who called himself a "Methodist Unitarian," Phœbe Cary's verse,

I ask not that for me the plan
Of good and ill be set aside,
But that the common lot of man
Be nobly borne and glorified,

happened to praise the sentiment. He assented, adding, however, that he deemed Merrick's hymn the most sensible prayer-model in English literature. Thereupon she archly inquired if he really set it above a certain model in an old English book published under the auspices of King James. He stammered out that the English version of the Lord's Prayer was the less poetic of the two. "Then," replied she, "suppose you write for my album a poetic paraphrase of it, with a Unitarian embellishment. Perhaps you may try also to improve on the sentiments of its 'somewhat divine' author." He declined, but on her imposing, as a penalty for non-compliance, refusal of a kiss, he surrendered. The following was his production:

As greets the heart with gratitude
Each blessing hallowed and renewed,
Be inspiration from above

To newer sweetness, light, and love,
And whatsoever may incite
To wisdom, justice, truth, and right.

As be another's faults forgiven,
Forgiven be our tortuous sin;
Away temptation's wiles be driven,
As evil thinking not begin.

So shall the spirit meekly shine,
A kindled spark from Soul Divine,
And so in Jesus' life be given
Faith, peace, and patience, hope and heaven.

On the following Sunday evening, the young man called again and returned the album. On reading the lines, she quizzically remarked: "Although I don't like the paraphrase quite so well as I do the original, nevertheless I'll try to make it do." "Then you accept it?" "Y-e-s." Thereupon he drew nearer and whispered, "Now!" She gently retorted: "But I didn't say I'd accept yourself! No man who is not betrothed or married to me shall ever kiss me." Then he—but this is a digression. "And so they were married and lived happy ever after," that is, until her death twenty years later. Thereupon, to beguile his loneliness, he wrote a book that she had projected, entitled "The Life of Lives." And therein* may be found the foregoing album lines.

III.

Another position in theology whereon the battle of rationality is yet raging concerns the doctrine that the peace which comes of conforming one's life to that of Jesus is not the result of a law of our being—something perfectly natural—but rather some supernatural effect of believing the dogma that "atonement" less imports a simple at-one-ment with our Creator's will than an expiation for inherited "Adamic sin." While nobody denies that right conduct of life can only come of right spiritual condition, and that such condition is attainable only through adopting the method and means of Jesus (self-introspection and denial of the baser self), yet many Christians talk as if good disposition—character—is something poured into the soul, and not a drawing out—education—cultivation into symmetrical action of all the soul's faculties.

*The book also has a photogravure portrait of the lady.

It would seem that a moment's candid reflection would convince these emotionalists that

> Not enjoyment and not sorrow
> Is our destined end or way;

that impulse, emotion, ecstasy have no moral merit; that only right volition determines duty in the race for eternal life,

> But to act that each to-morrow
> Find us further than to-day.

The theory is akin to the argument of a certain bishop in support of the dogma of the apotheosis of the Virgin Mary, that "it has been a great comfort to myriads of pious souls to feel that the mother of God is interceding in their behalf." The so-called "holiness testimony" in a Salvation Army camp-fire often amounts to little else than the assertion: "I feel myself cured of all sin; therefore my belief is correct." The listener is tempted to "put catechism:" How about the sin of intellectual indolence?

Cognate with this point is the theological whim against which phrenological science is battling, namely, that the best mind in the sight of God and man is not the most symmetrical one, but a sort of lop-sided one wherein certain faculties preponderate over others. It is akin to the monkish asceticism that proclaimed St. Simon on his pillar superior to the rest of mankind, an idea as maniacal as to declare a Newport dandy loafer to be a greater benefactor to the race than a sturdy Western pioneer. The lately deceased pastor of a church in South Boston was occasionally obliged to send home some bereaved mother who would otherwise spend whole weekdays kneeling before the altar, leaving the wants of her husband and surviving children unprovided for. This reminds one of the comment of a certain housekeeper after listening to an old-fashioned sermon on the text, "Mary hath chosen the better part," namely, "I should have been tempted to respond to Jesus: 'Then let me sit down to conversation, and we'll all go without our supper.'"

The right solution of this question of mental balance lies in what Pat has designated as "the middle extrame." Mary and Martha are permanent types of character: the actively useful and the inwardly devout. One *does* good in order to *be*

good; the other tries to *be* good in order to *do* good. One represents conscience, the other devotion; one stands for piety, the other for morality. Both elements are indispensable to any real excellence of character. To cultivate the Mary element exclusively and be always absorbed in solitary aspiration tends to selfishness. To cultivate the Martha element exclusively—to be so absorbed in outward duties as to take no time for meditation—this tends to shallowness.*

The phrenologist's convenient classification of the various human faculties, and his analysis of the "uses" and "abuses" of each, are well in point, even if his theory of brain localizations be erroneous. Take, for instance, the "bump" of "mirthfulness." Its "abuse" is levity. Its "use" is—well, everybody knows President Lincoln's reply when Stanton chided him for stopping to read and laugh over a "Nasby" letter: "Mr. Secretary, if I didn't so relieve this terrible strain of care, I should go mad; I could not live." On this point Beecher had an inspired utterance: "God smiled when he put humor in the human disposition, and said, '*That*'s good!'" More and more is it coming to be conceded that any Scripture implying a denial of the right and duty of all endowments of the human constitution to "live and let live" is to be "let slide." As Jeremy Taylor remarked, "If Reason justly contradicts an article, it is not of the household of Faith."†

On the principle acted on by the Master when denouncing the traditionalism of the Pharisees, Christians are differentiating theology from religion sufficiently to weed out certain tares from the former without uprooting the wheat of the latter. For instance, the Golden Rule (of Confucius, Socrates, Rabbi Hillel, Jesus, and Paul) still stands firm as the everlasting hills, although Paul's theory of Christ's second coming has long ago passed into "innocuous desuetude." So also has his well-meant argument for immortality dependent on Christ's resurrection.‡ Similarly is the doctrine of immortality unaffected by Dr. Hooykaas, of the Leyden school, explaining the origin of the legend of the supernatural *post mortem* materialization of the body of Jesus.§ His theory puts the excited

* See "Elsmere Elsewhere," p. 80. † See "Life of Lives," p. 12. ‡ I Cor. xv.
§ See "The Life of Lives," p. 260.

condition of the sorrowing Peter's mind, as also the vision of the women, in much the same category as what De Boissemont and other psychological writers have called "hallucination with ecstasy," and have classed with the cases of Swedenborg, Engelbricht, Joan of Arc, Alexandrine Lanois, Daniel, John of the Apocalypse, and others. Similar cases, however, have received quite a different explanation from Robert Dale Owen.*

Dr. A. P. Peabody once remarked that Tyndall's deistical work, "Christianity as Old as the Creation; or, the Gospel a Republication of the Law of Nature,"

admits in its title the strongest ground—nay, the only ground—on which we can believe or defend Christianity. To suppose it a divine afterthought—a supplementary creation, an excrescence upon nature—is to dishonor it under shelter of a pretended advocacy. Nay, more, it is to impugn the divine immutableness, the integrity of those attributes that underlie all religion. The highest view of Christianity is that which regards it as the religion of nature, as the constitutional law of the spiritual universe, as corresponding to the mathematical laws which are embodied in the material universe,—absolute, necessary, eternal truth, that which always was and ever will be. Revelation did not create it any more than Newton created the law of universal gravitation, or Kepler the laws of planetary motion.

Pope tersely puts it:

> All must be false that thwart this one great end,
> And all of God that bless mankind or mend.

This reduces all theologians to two categories, the Rationalists and the Irrationalists, and compels the conclusion that with the fall of the myth of Adam's fall† must also fall the itinerant revivalist's imputation of proxy righteousness and his assertion that any other doxy than his own is a mere "theology of negations." One's individual religion may be something too sacred to be Pharisaically flaunted, yet on the evolutionists' banner may still be inscribed: The Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, the Leadership of Jesus, Salvation by Character, and the Progress of Mankind onward and upward.

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* "The Debatable Land between this World and the Next."

† See Dr. White's "History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom," chap. xx.

IS AMERICAN DOMESTICITY DECREASING, AND IF SO, WHY?*

BY HELEN CAMPBELL.

MORE than one question is tangled in this exceedingly awkward interrogative title, which no man may read without the instant inquiries, What is American? and what is domesticity?

In answer to the first is summed up a background like that of an old minister known to my youth, who began any specially important occasion with the formula: "My friends, let us take a brief survey of the history of mankind, from the creation to the present time." Such survey is part of any understanding of this word, American, which carries with it, especially if woman be added, a never-ceasing, fascinating source of wonder, inquiry, speculation. The American woman is held abroad to be of but one type—the woman of countless trunks, much jewelry, worn of mornings, and with powers of fascination which are devastating the English peerage and making havoc with Continental "institutions." Yet this type is but one of unnumbered ones, to Europe chiefly unknown.

This word, American, is a composite one. In the last analysis, English may remain uppermost, but the substance is conglomerate, and every country of the civilized world has added its contribution, national habits, national idiosyncrasies, tincturing at every turn this many-hued fabric of American life. Thus the home life of all peoples has mingled in the stream of tendency, whose course we are to follow, and whose storm-tossed waves, we are told, foretell the destruction of the American home.

American, then, may stand to us as typical of general home life for all the world of thinking, living, loving, or unloving men and women, who, through all the world, are making or unmaking the homes of the world.

As to domesticity—what is that? To our grandfathers and

*A paper read before the Nineteenth Century Club of New York, Nov. 12, 1896.

many a generation before them, back to and beyond the Greek and Aristotle's own formula of the thought, it meant, as it means for many to-day, just staying at home. "My dear little stay-at-home" is a Chinese pet phrase, the tenderest that Chinese thought holds for woman, to whom action, either in or outside the house, is rendered practically impossible.

Let us see what shades of meaning have been added to or taken from the word, as it stood in the beginning, when thought and word had less complex relation than belongs to them to-day.

What to-day is limited by its mere architectural meaning, the *dome*, as we know it in the cathedral or great public buildings, as the Capitol at Washington, had once a wider significance, and in Greek poetry, especially, meant a stately building, a great hall. To this we may still hold as we pass to the humbler forms in which *domestic* embodies itself, since in that earlier meaning lies, if not prophecy, at least hint of something to come, when the word home has found its larger application.

From this first thought it passed on to the inclusion of all necessary activities and drudgeries, domestic duties, domestic service, and the like, till, born of close confinement to these, came the title, domestic man or woman. "See, Master Premium, what a *domestic* character I am!" Sheridan writes; and Emerson follows later: "The *domestic* man, who loves no music so well as his kitchen clock and the airs which the logs sing to him as they burn on the hearth, has solaces which others never dream of."

Then follows, with some small side-issues between, other thought, braiding itself into the strand: Bishop Hall's, "If he were a forreiner by birth, yet he was a *domestick* in heart;" Sir William Temple's: "I found myself so unfit for courts that I was resolved to pass the rest of my life in my own *domestick;*" and then, most suggestive as to the thing that lies before us, old Cotton Mather's word: "The great Basil mentions a certain art of drawing many doves by annointing the wings of a few with a fragrant ointment, and so sending them abroad, that by the *fragrance of the ointment* they may allure others into the house whereof they are themselves the *domesticks.*"

"To marry is to *domesticate* the recording Angel," says Stevenson, who scented the "fragrant ointment" aforesaid, yet loved the freedom of the upper air, eying domestic life with the suspicion born of uncertainty as to its final meaning and bearing.

And so, through the lesser phases, all linked to the one before us, we come at last to the form we know now: Martineau's use of it—"the *domesticities* of life," and Ruskin's "These great artists, who succeeded the masters, brought with them mystery, despondency, *domesticity*, sensuality; of all these, good came as well as evil."

The subtle union indicated in this order of argument binds itself about our word—for some of us in such fashion that the elder meaning seems well-nigh a thing of the past; the question of the evening holding all the doubt, the uncertainty, the perplexity, the deep trouble of minds that believe that the home is near its end, and blank confusion the only outlook.

With the definitions and distinctions given, we have the thought with every shade the generations have added or subtracted; and with its substance clear in mind there are two things to do. First, to discover how far America has travelled from the thought of home; second, whether the journey has been toward the City of Destruction, or whether, out of the Slough of Despond and all the long and weary way beyond, we are nearing the land of Beulah with the Delectable Mountains fair in the distance.

First, then, as to the alleged destruction of the American home. And here again appears the familiar source of all evil—*woman*—the American woman having suddenly forced her way into the industrial ranks and become a part of the factory, the shop, the manufactory of every order. As student and teacher of sociology, it is my business to know facts as the scientist must know them, untouched by prejudice or sentiment, and with no deductions save those carried in the substance of the fact itself.

Beginning at the roots, then, we will follow up through all forms of home as we see it to-day, giving for each the facts that make or mar, and in the end such conclusion as they compel.

First, then, where the workers dwell, we have to consider the conditions investigated and reported upon for the United States Bureau of Labor in 1893, the most damaging indictment the subject affords.

Four millions of women, or eighteen per cent of the entire female population, are now engaged in paid industries, the number having doubled in twenty years. In 1870, there were, for instance, eight thousand bookkeepers, accountants, typewriters, etc.; while 1890 gives four hundred thousand. This influx of women has both a moral and an economic cause, the introduction of machinery for manufacturing purposes standing for the last. This cause governs the mass of ordinary women workers, unconscious of the moral one, the higher occupations drawing women who feel the trend of the time; the fact that labor is honorable and desirable for all; the doubt as to the right of the idle to be supported by the industrious.

Both the domestic ideal and the wage-rate are affected through this introduction of a new competing class. Children are involved, not only inferentially, but actually; and I give you some of the conditions which the latest investigations of the United States Bureau of Labor have made plain to us.

It is with the married women who must work, and the reasons why they work, that we must deal; and we have not only the Bureau of Labor Report's testimony, but that of a special investigator sent from Washington to obtain information as to general conditions in factory and manufacturing towns and cities. In the State of Illinois, the Bureau of Labor Report showed that fifty per cent of the working men could not support their families without the assistance of their wives and children; and in many other States a like or even larger percentage held true. In Massachusetts, twelve per cent of all the women employed were married. The employment of women increases three times as fast as the female population; and between 1875 and 1885 the number of housewives decreased 13,625, or nearly two per cent. This percentage is true only for Massachusetts, where the number of married women is much less in proportion than is true of the country as a whole. For all the States, however, there is a steadily increasing number of another class—the deserted wives of

men whose courage failed them as the burden grew heavier, and who shifted the entire responsibility to the shoulders of the women.

In the special investigation for these figures made in the three representative manufacturing States, Massachusetts, New York, and Illinois, it was found that fifty-six per cent of these wives had been deserted just before or just after the birth of the second child, sixteen per cent on the birth of the first, and twenty-eight per cent just before, or just after, the birth of the third. In a small proportion of cases, the separation was by mutual agreement, the husband going to another State where chances of employment at a living wage were said to be better, and with the intention of sending home such portion of his earnings as could be saved, the wife, in the meantime, earning her share in factory or shop. But the majority of the men gave up the struggle as a hopeless case, and sought employment at points as remote from pursuit or interference as they could reach, forming often new ties, to be presently broken in the same manner. The majority, however, chose freedom, and hence the "stag camps," the significant Western term for the logging camps of the lumber districts, the gold and silver mining camps of the West, the boarding tents and cabins of the iron-ore region, where thousands of men live with no woman within fifty miles of them.

These are the "stag camps." What are the "she towns?" Those cotton-mill towns of New England and the South or West, in which, as one goes through the poorer streets, house after house is found to be locked up, little faces looking from the windows. The mother and older children, if she has them, are at work in the mill, and the baby and younger ones locked up at home. Often the husbands of the women who make up the "she towns" are at the remote West, in the "stag camps," or, at the best, working at a distance from home. In any case there is an enormous disparity of men in Massachusetts; for example, out of 61,246 workers in the cotton mills, nearly 32,000 are women and 7,579 are children.

We have here, then, one of the most palpable effects of the constantly increasing employment of women and children—the disintegration of the home. As machinery is perfected it

reaches that stage where a child can perform the few operations connected with it, and girls and women all the more complicated ones. The need for any labor of men passes, and they are pushed out into other fields. On the other hand, the sweating system, which turns the home into a factory, produces the same result. Both are parts of the present competitive system, which at one end of the line draws mother and child into the factory, at the other forces the factory into the home.

In both cases the consequences are much the same. Separation and disorganization head the list; but there is another, far more serious in its bearing on our future. In addition to the testimony given by Labor Reports as to the effect of child-labor on health and development, we have now a careful, scientific study, a summary of which was given in the *Forum* for March, 1894. Dr. H. D. Chapin, its author, is a physician in the New York Post-Graduate Hospital, and has made a record of six hundred cases that came under his care, his object being to determine how far the diseases of very little children were occasioned by heredity, and how far by the conditions in which they lived. Most of the children were under two years of age, and nearly half under one year. At the time of birth, 508 of them were reported to have been in good condition, and only twenty in bad condition. As a whole they started life fairly well. What then had been the later conditions? In a hundred and six cases it was found that the mothers were the sole bread-earners, and that in eighty-seven cases the fathers were out of work when the children came to the hospital. Besides these there were a hundred and seventy-six cases in which the mothers as well as the fathers were compelled to work. The results of this condition of things, as described by Dr. Chapin, were very striking:

> Two hundred and fifty-seven of the cases were deprived of maternal nourishment before the proper time, and a hundred and one of the babies never received it at all. The usual reason was that the mothers were obliged to go out to work and remain away for too long intervals to care properly for their infants. As a direct result a large number developed rickets, which is usually accompanied by a softening of the bones, together with great irritation of the nervous system. Almost all of these diseases could have been prevented by proper diet and care, and yet, when brought to the hospital, they were frequently so far advanced

as to result either in death or in a more or less permanent crippling of a healthy life.

In a hundred and fifty of these cases the family incomes were between five dollars and ten dollars a week. In a hundred and seventeen they were below five dollars. This large proportion of families, having less than five dollars a week, reveals a stratum of society of which factory returns show nothing. Reduced to such conditions, physical degeneration is likely to destroy the power to rise, and, in fact, this is generally the case. "Evidently," Dr. Chapin ends, "it is time to consider whether some reasonable form of coöperation cannot be substituted for the bitter competition, so wasteful of human life."

What then do we want? Additions to the four hundred trades and subdivisions of trades open to women? God forbid, till we have studied our problem, and can better state what necessary part of progress or genuine civilization the four hundred are. In a summary of the Report of the English Labor Commission to Parliament, the only bit of foreign testimony my space permits me to give, I find these words:

It is painful to find, after all the progress that has been made in approximating men's industries to certain great human principles, that women are still so far behind, and that the economic independence which we have been taught to associate with the extension of the field of women's employment is very far from being won as yet. In fact, in looking over the many trades in which the toil is hard and the hours long, one wonders how far the increasing opportunities afforded to women of earning a few shillings—we cannot say of earning a living—are not more of a curse than a blessing. The nation has a heavy, and an increasingly heavy bill to pay for damaged lives in those trades in which women are principally employed, as we know from the last reports of the registrar with the frightful increase of infant mortality.

It is plain, then, that I do not speak for women alone, nor would such speech be possible. What touches the woman, lies no less close to the man. The two are one in all needs, social and economic. What we seek for one is no less part of the other's right. For all who labor, whether in factory or shop or in that dreary round the farmer's wife must know from day to day, it is a reduction in the amount and the irksomeness of all labor that is the question. With this minute subdivision of labor has come a hideous monotony, in itself a weakening and debilitating of the task to be done, and

a destruction of happiness in the home. Long ago John Stuart Mill wrote, "It is doubtful if machinery, even at its best, has lightened the toil of a human being;" and the word is truer to-day than when he wrote it. Not exemption from labor, since in true work lies the best development for men and for women, but a new ordering of labor itself, and a new rendering of how it shall be done.

This is one view of the situation, true in its least detail, but happily owning, as most views do, a less lurid side.

This matter of the "she towns" and "stag camps" is one phase of the case. In spite of the very serious features involved, it stands to me, as do many other evils in our social life, as the negative pole of the battery—a condition to be faced, studied, understood, and in that fact made to pass. It is a condition, not an entity. As a matter of fact, we are already passing beyond it. Take the case of the woman wage-earner, and the four million are but a fraction of these women, domestic service adding other millions, and thousands being at work who refuse to be registered under this head. I quote from a report of one of our ablest factory inspectors, Mrs. Fanny Purdy Palmer of Rhode Island, a State bristling with mills of all orders. She writes:

> The average age of the four million women tabulated is twenty-four years. Observation indicates that the majority of women employed in mills, stores, and offices are from fifteen to twenty-five years of age. Large numbers of employed women do not, therefore, work beyond a marriageable age.
>
> The wives of working men and mechanics have usually been working girls before marriage; and from this fact we may surmise that the state of being employed, with its attendant independence, ability to dress well and take part in social affairs, promotes rather than hinders opportunity to marry, and, moreover, increases the girl's chance of marrying according to her mind.
>
> Again, the fact that a girl's earning capacity is established settles in a way her money value as a home-maker, a circumstance not without its influence on domestic happiness; and likewise, women who have earned money best know its value, and are more likely to spend judiciously than those whose wants have been supplied by others' efforts.
>
> Employment, therefore, cannot be said to be a hindrance to marriage, though it may sometimes operate as a prudent restraint.
>
> Large and healthy families are the usual result of marriages between working men and working women. Working girls who marry in Rhode Island, for instance,—their statistics giving much the same conclusions

as most of the Eastern manufacturing states,—bear and rear the average number of healthy children.

The homes of the operatives, in cases where both husband and wife work in the mill, compare very well for cleanliness and comfort with the homes of city workmen, sewer builders, day laborers, etc., whose wives do not go out to work.

As to this latter point made by Inspector Palmer, it may be said that the knowledge of real home-making among the poor, and among workers no less, is but in its embryo, and that for them, as for us all, the march of science, no less than the growth of the sense of humanity and of a form of education that will develop instead of stifle it, will mean a new conception of home and a new order of domesticity.

Men and women whose chief labor in life is not for subsistence, but for enjoyment, will find it difficult to think even that as domestic service has only some 3,000,000 women in its ranks, a good two-thirds of the women of this country must, in the familiar New England phrase, "do their own work." Work of this order being, for women, a burden they can in no wise endure, there follows naturally the boarding-house, one of the most active home-disintergrators ever known. The boarding-house shelters thousands who have but small incomes and desire to make the utmost practicable show. The hotels swarm with other thousands, rated a trifle higher in the social scale, but there with the same purpose as the rank below; for one as for the other the same cause making home life unendurable.

Comradeship, the only abiding relationship between the sexes, is, so far, a development for only the highest souls. To the majority of married pairs it is meaningless. A crowd is the necessity for amusement and diversion from the deadly monotony waiting upon enforced companionship, each unutterably tedious to the other, each alike incapable of defining the word *home*. Travel absorbs another enormous contingent, whose chief aim, wherever they are, is to get somewhere else as fast as possible, and whose manners and customs are, to amazed Europeans, of the order described by Kingsley's Tom Thurnall in his letter from the South Sea Islands concerning the natives: "Their manners, which was none, and their customs, which was disgusting!"

To the observers of these orders, they seem to constitute an overwhelming majority; and thus follows the arraignment that American domesticity is disappearing, not only in cities, but in the country as a whole. I have summed up the reasons for this faith, and they are serious ones. It is my business now to present those which weigh on the other side, to my mind a full and satisfactory outlook on our future.

First, then, still on the statistical side, the city of Philadelphia has 75,000 homes owned by working men and women, with an average of comfort and opportunity not possessed by any other city in the United States. The report from Boston gives 45,000, and for that city also is a well-organized system of opportunity for all workers, and the high grade of intelligence and of contentment that comes from such opportunity well used. The home life means much work, much care, but also much comfort; and this is true not only for the working man, mechanic, and all higher grades of manual workers, but for the large class of clerks, bookkeepers, etc., whose good sense shuns the boarding-house, and bears with the present infelicities with which the domestic-service question is flooding all homes.

Mr. Robert Grant, that very agreeable Philistine, has, I am aware, directed his ammunition against homes of this order, and so helped to clinch the curiously snobbish conclusion that home, where income falls below $5,000 a year, is of an order not to be recognized by the cultivated mind. He has failed, it may be, to make the acquaintance of the "bachelor maids" of whom one of our charming women novelists not long ago wrote. For the young bachelor maid, and for the old alike, home has a place in their thought of deeper significance than the grandmothers more than dimly suspected. Thousands of unmarried women whose place would once have been that of unpaid drudge in married brothers' or sisters' houses now make little homes of their own. College girls, in no haste to marry, do the same, and give to the individual soul its chance to weigh and measure, protected by the nest they have made, yet free to take flight as they will, till the meaning of real living is plain, and they choose home life with clearer eyes and deeper purpose than any generation has known. In the col-

leges they are discussing the training of boys, speculating as to the "sphere of man," and otherwise bringing divine common sense to bear upon the problem of the home. And from the elder generation comes the testimony that all home life has sweetened and ameliorated. The children of a hundred years ago—yes, even the children of my generation—were things to be seen and not heard. Fear ruled most children, and home had not come to any real conception of what the word might mean. To-day we are studying the child, and recognizing as new something old as time, yet never acted on before—that in the soul of the child lies the future of the race, and that that future is built upon the homes of the race, homes developed and perfected by every means that science and art together may bring to bear. The longing for home is in every conscious human soul. The making of a home is given to each, and in no age since time began has its future been so sure. Even the freedom of divorce means simply, in the last analysis, the revolt against blind ignorance, the search for something better.

The growth of club life simply points the way to the perfected home. Bachelor apartments carry the same meaning. Ease of administration, comfort of appointment, the greatest happiness of the greatest number—all that will make the new thought of home for all—lie at the heart of all that has been counted destructive of home. Evolution does not stop, nor does it work backward. We may well bear, then, with certain conditions in the process, since each one is but seed of the perfected fruit we shall some day see,—the home in which happy human life may go on working out its appointed end, till the larger home shines fair before the eyes that have known the vision to be realized. The House Beautiful—the building of God, not made with hands—it is this that prefigures, compels, draws, till in every home where Love has lived and ruled, "a deepening wedding," the daily making holy of the home, its image grows so plain that the transition from life into other life is, as it were, well-nigh an unconscious one; and the man and woman who may together have made that home can say, as William Smith did in the best of love stories, "The Story of William and Lucy Smith": "I think you and I would have made a happy world if we were the only two in it."

PLUTOCRACY AND WAR.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

DEBT is the only begotten and dearly beloved son of war; the offspring is more dangerous and more cruel than the progenitor.

The total bonded indebtedness arising out of civil and international conflicts—eating away day and night at the vitals of the great leading powers of the world—is already about twenty thousand millions of dollars. Reflect for an hour upon the appalling aggregate; consider the pressure of this intolerable incubus; try to estimate the horror of this hell; weigh the woe and anguish of them who rest under it, and then—despair and die.

Twenty thousand millions of dollars! Statesmen, philanthropists, philosophers, preachers, journalists, mouthpieces of civilization, one and all of you, how do you like the exhibit? Does it not suffice? Who is going to pay the account? The people. Who, without lifting a hand or turning in their downy beds, will gather this infamous harvest during all the twentieth century? The plutocracy.

It has been the immemorial policy of the Money Power to foment wars among the nations; to edge on the conflict until both parties pass under the shadow of impending bankruptcy; to buy up the prodigious debt of both with a pailful of gold; to raise the debt to par; to invent patriotic proclamations for preserving the National Honor; and finally to hire the presses and pulpits of two continents to glorify the crime!

And now comes a marvellous revolution. The war-debt gamblers of the world have suddenly and silently changed their game. They are no longer the fomenters of war. Each and several they have turned about and become the champions of order and pacification. The Baron Rothschild, philanthropist and benefactor, has joined the Society of Friends! The Morgan syndicate, following his example, has enlisted under the banner of the Peace Society! Lombard Street and Wall Street have opened headquarters for the dissemination of

the principles of the Gospel; and the Stock Exchange has become the chief auxiliary of the Salvation Army. This turn in human affairs is not only wonderful; it is miraculous!

The powerful conversion of the chief plutocrats of two continents to the principles of William Penn is an event not to be passed without a note of admiration. It is only once in a while that the malevolent powers of this world get a conscience in them and so fall in love with the human race! Such a thing is well calculated to excite suspicion; it requires at least to be explained.

Hitherto the money autocracy of the world has always been anxious for war. It was by war indeed that the money power came into being, and by that agency it has mounted to the throne of the nations. Battle has been to the plutocratic empire the one beautiful and inspiring fact in history. War has always demanded resources. War has to be supported with what orators call "the sinews" of war. War must be fed and supplied and strengthened at an expenditure that would be appalling to the human imagination if it were not so glorious. Hence when war begins, borrowing begins. The bond office is established, and for Shylock the bond office is the open gate into the boulevards of Elysium.

It is by this method that the great war-debts of the world have been created. They have been created for the benefit of plutocracy at the expense of the toiling millions. To this extent the scheme of war has harmonized perfectly with the purposes of Shylock. The war god and the god of gold have been a pair of noble brothers. Their dominion has been extended and confirmed until at last every great nation of the earth owns their sway. That the god of gold should here at the close of the nineteenth century suddenly dissolve his partnership with the god of war and join the Society of Friends is, we repeat, a thing so marvellous as to arouse even a philosopher from his reverie. Albeit, it is a good thing to belong to the Society of Friends, if one is sincere in his acceptance of the Sermon on the Mount.

But why should Shylock become a man of peace? The reason is not far to seek. The reason is that the great game of making war for the benefit of national and international

bondholders has come to its last play. The scheme is exhausted. Not another card can be cast without danger to the plutocratic gamblers who have so long gathered the harvests of the world with the bloody sickle of war. The process of making war-debts can go no further without crossing that line beyond which mankind, under intolerable injustice, will rise against their despoilers and reclaim their lost estate.

Whatever else Shylock is, he is not a fool. He knows when he has gone far enough. His wits have been sharpened by ages of ancestral experience and evolution. Heredity has made him the most cunning and the most discerning, as well as the most pliable, of all living creatures. As a vulpine philosopher he is the nonpareil of this world. He has present sight, hindsight, and foresight. He has pure vision and contrivance. He holds no relations to anything. He has no kindred and no country. Like death, he has all seasons for his own. All peoples, all conditions, all forms of society, all hopes and enterprises of the human race, are the crude materials of his art. With these he juggles and experiments, and out of them he deduces a wisdom which has been reënforced by hereditary experiences and made secure by the elimination of conscience.

Shylock perceives that he cannot further increase his holdings by the method of war; that is, he cannot further enlarge his bond without danger. He perceives that the very process by which he has amassed his unearned treasures is about to turn the other way. Gladly would he involve not only one nation or several nations, but all nations in bloody war, if he might safely get thereby another bond. Gladly would he see not only one people or several peoples, but all peoples, devastated and ruined, if he might sit on the throne of their devastation and build for himself out of their blood and wealth another temple and another treasure-house. But he perceives at the present juncture of human affairs that he has played his game to the point of danger. A shadowy sharp sword has been drawn by the sinewy hand of mankind, and this sword is laid blade-wise across the face of Shylock; he sees it and fears it, and for this reason he turns peacemaker and says to the world: "Mankind, I am your friend. I am a

friend of humanity. I wish the nations to devote themselves to peaceable enterprises. I wish to see the 'business interests' of you all protected and enlarged. Nations should not fight any more. Peace is better than war. Peace promotes business and industry. I am for peace, and for this have I joined the Friends!"

After this deliverance, Shylock turns aside, and musing in the dim light of his office, says, *sotto voce:* "If they fight any more, the interest on my bonds cannot be paid. Besides, the insurgents will presently turn upon me and my tribe and destroy our business. I must keep my influence with these contemptible Christian nations, else they will cease to support me and my enterprises. My business is to live by the labor of others. This I have to get under the pretence of patriotic sacrifice. Pity it is that I cannot encourage war any longer; that I am obliged by the unfavorable state of my business to hold back these nations from continuing to cut one another's throats for my benefit; but such is the case."

The reverie of Shylock continues thus: "I note that reckless leaders in several countries, for the sake of holding their leadership, are appealing to the war spirit, and inciting their respective peoples to arms. They are fools. They seem not to know that they cannot make war without me. I will not let them fight; for it has become dangerous to the 'business interests' of the world. I will let the fool-patriots blow a little, for that is necessary in election years; but after a week or two of such oratorical exercises, I will pluck them by the tails of their coats, and say, 'Come down.' And they will come down!"

This situation is horribly amusing. It is enough to cause a shudder in the heart of humanity. The money power of the world is in alliance with the governments of the world. These governments think, not without reason, that without such alliance they cannot survive. In all of them that are conducted by party the money power is in league with the party; that is, with the *dominant* party. The dominant party subsists by means of popular enthusiasm and plutocratic support. The party is obliged to kindle enthusiasm or perish. Even in monarchies, such as Great Britain and Germany, there must be a perpetual rally of the people to the standard of the

party in power. The necessary enthusiasm is one of the products of war and of warlike agitation. The party is therefore for war. The party leaders of every country are anxious to promote at least the *spirit* of war in order to gain popular favor by the proclamation of sham patriotism. Hitherto this thing has been a method most pleasing to Shylock. He, as well as the party autocrat, has gone to his closet with thanksgiving and praise at the close of every day which by its events has fanned the incipient flames of war. The fact is that there are not in the whole world any better friends naturally and historically than the party god and the god of gold—unless it should be the god of gold and his bedfellow, a wooden-headed king.

The triune alliance of Demagogue, Shylock, and King has been broken in these last days by the secession of Shylock from the league. Shylock has always been the great genius in the international trading-house of King, Party and Company. He has been the silent partner, and has done the thinking for the concern. As to principle, he does not know what that is. He always spells it principal! His *interest* lies that way. He has scented in recent years the oncoming conditions in the world, and has made up his mind to house himself against the portending storm. He is getting ready when the storm comes to drop, like a spectral larva, into his subterranean abode, and pull down the iron door over his head. He intends to leave the firm of King, Party and Company to adjust its liabilities as best it may!

So he sits at the money table of the nations. He has one hand on the table. In that hand he holds the strings of international journalism and oratory. With these strings he sounds the pæan of universal battle. The notes of his music echo around the coasts of the world. The unsuspecting peoples stand with craned necks to hear—while his coupons ripen. But his other hand is *under* the table. In this hand he holds the strings of diplomacy and politics stretching from his office to the ends of the earth. And with this hand, whenever the dog of war is about to spring, he jerks him back and says, "Down, Cerberus!"

It is in the light of these facts and principles that the belli-

cose shoutings and fulminations of 1896, heard in the legislative halls and echoed from all the soundingboards of journalism in Europe and America, are to be interpreted. These shoutings signify nothing at all; they are *vox et prœterea nil,* this for the reason that the cartridges used in the fusillade have no lead in them. They are blank. Shylock is very willing that the war agitation shall blow high and kindle to a certain stage; but he is on the alert to keep the fire under control and smother it whenever it portends a real conflagration.

It is in this sense that the nations have been going to war of late. France and Russia have been getting ready to crush Germany. England and Russia have been on the eve of hostilities. England and Germany have been about to try the decision of the sword. England and the United States have put on the panoply of battle. The United States and Spain have had a war about Cuba—in the newspapers and the Senate! So on to the end of the category of rumors and outgivings of imminent and universal war.

This clamor has amounted to nothing, for the simple and sole reason that Shylock will not support it. So far as party is concerned, the ruse of the war-trumpet has availed but little. Deep down in the bottom of the agitation and turmoil of the time has been the conservative veto of the peace-loving Shylock, who knows full well that his bond is already as large as the world will carry. He knows when he has sufficiently strained the credit and the patience of mankind. He knows what will come if he attempts to renew the war-play among any of the great nations. He knows that France can bear no more; that Germany has enough; that Russia must quit for her own interest and for his; that England dare not add to her already intolerable burden; that even the party-ridden United States, with all her patriotism and democracy, is at the end of the journey of debt, and that any further addition to the American incubus will end either in the strangulation of liberty or in the insurrection of the people, or both.

It is for this reason that Shylock, philanthropist and benefactor, has changed his immemorial policy. It is for this that, from being the promoter of universal war, he has become the advocate of universal peace. His course is strictly logical.

His defection from the international party of war and politics to the party of strict business is in perfect accordance with the noble principles by which he has ever been inspired. Shylock is for himself. He is all things to all men, if by any means he may gain some. To him it is a matter of perfect indifference whether he be Secretary of War or Secretary of the Peace Society. He joins the one or the other according to the rate of exchange and the extent and variety of his coupons!

It is for these reasons that Rothschild has become a Friend. His conversion is not at all inconsistent. He can perform the peace act as well as the war act. Indeed he can perform both parts at once. In the same day he subscribes for the building of an arsenal and for a new edition of Sumner's speech on *The True Grandeur of Nations*. To him it is all one whether the world blooms with gardens, ripens with oranges, smiles with harvests of wheat, or whether it is trodden into mire and blood under the raging charges of cavalry and the explosion of horrid shells; that is, it is all one to him if his coupons are promptly paid and his bond extended.

Shylock is now a member in good standing of the Society for the Promotion of Universal Peace. He has invited Morgan and Lazard Frères and Carnegie and Havemeyer and Rockefeller to join; the invitation to Pullman has lapsed! Shylock is doing good service. It is to his interest. He is willing to preach, and he preaches. The spirit moves him. He is firmly persuaded that nations should war no more. He does not intend that any shall fight, for the reason that that would make it necessary for him to lend them his gold. He cannot lend them any more gold, for fear he will never get it back again! His old policy of involving mankind in wars in order to have his moneys doubled by scarcity and usurious interest has exhausted itself, and times are hard! It only remains to see what new scheme Shylock will invent in his present character of philanthropist and secretary of the Yearly Meeting!

TRIBUTES TO HENRY GEORGE.

THE SEER.

BY MARION MILLS MILLER.

"While his theories were, of course, visionary and impracticable, we recognize him to have been a good and a wise and a great man, a patriot, a lover of his kind, etc., etc."—*Burden of Editorial and Pulpit Eulogies of Henry George.*

"A holy man is Brother Martin; still,
To set himself against the Papal will,
How vain and foolish, yea, how blasphemous!
'The just shall live by faith,' indeed!" And thus
The self-convicted shaven heads would nod
O'er him alone held guiltless by his God.

"One of the wisest men in all the world,
But yet by study is his brain so whirled
That round and round he thinks the firm earth wheels!"
So gaped the crowd at Galileo's heels,
Nor stopped to think that he of all the train,
If truth they spake, alone was wholly sane.

"None other loves his fellow men so well,
But yet he calls our law 'a league with hell'!
What pity that so true a soul should be
So brazen in such rank disloyalty!"
Thus press and pulpit puled o'er Garrison,
Forgetting truth and treason ne'er were one.

"Pure patriot, and good and wise and true,"
Says once again the same timeserving crew,
Of him who was the veriest charlatan,
Fanatic fool, or enemy of man,
If what he taught were not Truth absolute!
Ay, fools yourselves, whom your own words confute!

OUR FALLEN PROPHET.

BY WILLIAM JACKSON ARMSTRONG.

(Dedicated to the Single-Tax Clubs of the United States.)

In that the keen October's jealous breath
  Rapt from our sight this loving Prince of Men,
At Grief's stern banquet, thou, unlovely Death,
  Hadst rived our hearts, but that by grace again
Our eyes grew moist with Joy's exultant tears,
As loomed 'gainst Death the triumph of his years.

Serene as prophets were when face to face
  They walked with God's intent, in earth's dim age,
And caught high wisdom for an artless race;
  So seemed again the calm, benignant sage,
The People's dauntless friend, the lofty seer
Who faced our vexèd days with vision clear.

And yet the prophet's heart, keen-touched with fire,
  The heart that bore the grief of all men's wrong,
As vibrant as a many-stringèd lyre
  To Sorrow's plaint,—such heart was his, who, strong
To dare Oppression's creed, gave amplest mind,
Nay, Soul to lift the lowly of mankind.

And such was he, our knightly paladin,
  Laced in the simple armor of his cause,
To whose titanic blows, e'en from its din,
  The vain world turned to yield its vain applause
At last—to find upon the battlefield
A martyr-hero, prone with sword and shield.

Thus freely slain in cruel joust for right,
So martyred in humanity's defence,
He won for struggling Manhood prouder height,
While Power and Pride, in wondering reverence,
With bowed heads round the heroic ashes stood,
Shamed to the virtue of a nobler mood.

A love-lit pyre of sacrifice, whose flame
Poured radiance on the universal heart,
Soft'ning all minds to justice, thus became
Our Victor's lofty funeral, whose part
To lift the general soul seemed Love's high plan,
The end divine, the Brotherhood of Man.

Then is the People's hope not wholly dead
If Honor's crown to honor's self be lent,
And if for him who man's faint faith has led
The people's trust be ample monument;
If to his dust the mighty tribute bring,
And on Death's track Love's planted roses spring.

TO HENRY GEORGE.

BY W. H. VENABLE, LL. D.

Clear voice, far-sounding over tongues confused,
Prophetic voice, untroubled by dissent,
Thou bringest balm to Labor, sick and bruised,
Dumb Poverty thou makest eloquent.
Good thinker of the people, thou art sent
To save declining Hope from Skeptic blight,
To lift the fainting head of Faith abused,
To preach the triumph of Eternal Right.
Thy pen is guided by sweet Reason's hand;
Peace holds the lamp the manuscript to light.
Yet is thy pen a sword, a flaming brand;
Thou would'st indeed redeem the Holy Land
George and the dragon evermore to fight,
Religion's spear against devouring might.

WHAT CAN WE SAY OF THEE?

BY J. A. EDGERTON.

What can we say of thee, but only this?
We had a prophet and we knew him not.
Another age will rate thee at thy worth,
A great, warm-hearted, fearless, honest man;
A nobleman who took his rank from God
And bore it like a king. And, O the poor,
How true a friend they've lost in losing thee!
Who pleadedst aye their cause with tongue and pen,
And gav'st a plan to help them and the race.

Now, like a warrior on a battlefield,
Whose last charge was his best, thy end has come.
Thou sought'st to raise our great Queen City up
From out the mire; and fought'st wrong face to face;
And, as thou led'st the hosts of toilers on,
Against the citadels of fraud and greed,
Just at the hour of seeming victory,
Thy summons came, and we were left alone.

These things all men can say of thee with truth:
He left a legacy to after years;
He was a friend of all the world's oppressed;
He was a foe to sham and tyranny;
He was a martyr to a holy cause;
He died, as he had lived, for humankind.

THE SMELTING OF THE HON. JERRY WEBB.

BY CHARWIN LESBALD.

SHORTLY before the millennium, which everyone will understand is a long way from now, Representative William H. Smith, who was regarded as very much of a mugwump and something of a crank, proposed in Congress an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provided for a national rule of suffrage and for very much restricting the privilege. Indeed it called for such educational and moral qualifications, to be affirmatively established before a commission, as would prevent more than half the people of voting age from taking part in the selection of governing officials.

The most active opponent of the radical measure was the Hon. Jerry Webb, member from the———District of the State of———. The Hon. Jerry was a good deal of a man; a big-hearted, generous fellow of lax principles, plenty of brains, and a gift for controversy and debate.

In preparing for the great fight on the question the champion for the defence overworked himself, and to get properly on his feet again and relieve the mental strain he went on a little spree with some other statesmen of his build. He rather overdid that business too, and after three days and nights of continuous carousal was put to bed in an unconscious condition, from which he shortly emerged into a warmer if not a better world. When the news became known at the capitol his brother statesmen proceeded to pass eulogistic resolutions about the distinguished deceased, and appointed a committee to perform the sad duty of having a jolly time at the public expense in the special car which was to accompany his body to its last resting-place.

However, that did not interest the Hon. Jerry very much. He was too busy accounting for the tremendous heat and his awfully parched throat and the terrible thirst he had, to care for what was going on elsewhere. Finally he realized that

there could be no such heat which did not consume, and no such thirst that did not kill, outside of Hades, and that he had reached the end of all earthly things and to his final account had come.

His heart sank, and despair came upon him. But it had been his habit on earth to make the best of a bad situation, and here was an opportunity to "come out strong," as Mark Tapley would put it. So he pulled himself together and sallied out to see what kind of a place he had come to anyway.

It was quite up to his expectations. He had been looking for a full-grown Gehenna with its mouth wide open and teeth exposed, and he had found it. The pavement parched his feet, the air scorched his face. Not a green thing was in sight; no trees; no grass; no live thing but people. And what a crowd of them! and what a woebegone, sorry, savage-looking lot they were! It was worse than Chicago in August. What a magnificent thirst he had, if there were only some place to quench it! But there was no sign of any place to get a drink. Nobody asked him to take anything. In fact, nobody spoke to or seemed to care anything about him, although it was evident from their sullen looks and fierce gestures that they were alive and alert and could talk if they wanted to.

After wandering about for a time he approached a dignified old spirit, walking and talking alone with bare head and folded arms in the fierce sunlight. He asked to be directed to a place where he could get a drink.

"What do you desire?" asked the old shade.

"Oh, anything that is cool; I don't care what so long as it is wet and cold."

"There isn't anything excessively wet or extremely cold here," was the reply. "But you are not going to expire from thirst or from any other cause; you may be certain of that and take your time. Across the street you can get a pretty good glass of aquafortis; that's about the coolest drink we have here."

"Why, man, what are you thinking about?" coughed out poor Jerry through his parched throat. "I can't drink nitric acid."

"Oh yes you can," said the other shade. "That's the best you will get here anyway."

They walked across the street together, not from any special sociability, but because the older denizen of the place had a curiosity to see how the younger one took to nitric acid. Jerry picked up the hot glass, looked at the contents a moment, and then, saying, "Well, I have drunk a good deal of Washington whiskey, and ought to stand this," swallowed it.

It wasn't to say cold, but it was the least hot thing about the place, and it became his steady drink.

This was the Hon. Jerry Webb's introduction to Hades and to Themistocles, the great Athenian statesman and soldier; and the whole of the foregoing is the introduction to the conversation which is to follow, and which is the gist of this veracious history.

(By the way, this conversation was really carried on in Volapuk, which is the universal language in that warm country; but as it is hoped that the readers of it will not have occasion to learn that language for some years to come, it has been translated into common English.)

When the astute old Athenian learned that his new acquaintance had been a prominent American politician, he said: "I am extremely glad to meet you, Mr. Webb. Having watched the politics of your country for several generations I have been considerably amused and interested by its gradual downward progress. We have many of your public men here, but late arrivals have been such a disreputable lot that I have associated with them but little. You seem to be of a better brand, and I should be glad to talk over the decadence of democratic institutions with you a little. You see, my country was governed by the democracy in my time, although suffrage was not so universal as with you, and I have been much diverted by the experiment in your land on a larger scale. It will be a hundred and fifty years or so until breakfast. Let us have a little chat in the meantime."

The Hon. Jerry was rather surprised to learn that it would be a century and a half before he got anything to eat, but he felt as though he wouldn't relish anything for at least that length of time and said nothing about it. He immediately

commenced expatiating on the glory and greatness of his country, "The land of the free and the home of the brave;" "the land of liberty and equality;" "the haven for the oppressed and downtrodden of every clime;" "the land where every man is a sovereign, and the officials are the servants of the people." He did it with much fire and eloquence, and would undoubtedly have carried an audience of free American sovereigns off their feet. But old Themistocles had been something of a demagogue himself while on earth, and since leaving it had been looking and speculating on mundane affairs for many hundreds of years from his vantage-ground in Hades, and didn't lose his head very easily.

"Yes, very well said; very well indeed. 'Liberty and equality'; 'Sovereign people,' 'Officers the servants,' etc. Very pretty, almost poetic. Too bad, though, what poor servants your masters employ. Do you happen to know in all your experience a single public servant, that is, a single public official, who ought to be in the place he occupies? Take time and think of all the officials you know, from the constable, up through county, district, and State officials, to the highest place in your nation, and tell me if you can think of a single elective official whom you honestly believe to be the best qualified man of all your acquaintances for the place he occupies."

His auditor put on his thinking cap, but didn't say anything. After a little time the cynical old shade continued: "Queer, isn't it, how few names occur to one when he really tries to think of them?"

"Hold on," broke in Jerry; "you don't know our public men; some of the jolliest and brightest fellows I knew on earth were in office."

"Of course they were," was the reply; "I have been watching them, and a livelier lot of happy-go-lucky chaps than the best of them one would not often meet. But you have not answered my question. Is there one in the whole number you would have selected, looking only for capacity and integrity?"

"What do you mean?" said the Hon. Jerry with some heat.

"I was an alderman and a member of Congress myself. Do you mean we were all either fools or rascals?"

"No, I do not mean that, although you might easily have been one or the other and elected to office. I mean that the tendency of universal suffrage in the present state of civilization is to bring demagogues and dishonest men to the front in politics; and when a nation has been so controlled long enough the inevitable result is that the great majority of public officials are below the average of men of similar social and educational positions, either in capacity or integrity. It must be so; cannot be otherwise; and is so at this time in the country from which you came."

"I don't see how you figure out that the fools get the offices," said Webb. "We used to think a bird had to be fully alive and up early to get the worm. I grant you, in a free country where every man votes, the rustlers get the offices, and the fine-haired gentlemen who are too good to work for themselves have got to stay at home. Those who win have generally brought about their own success, and while they may not be as good as John the Baptist, nor know how to manage the offices they get, as well as others might, they are not fools by any means."

"Don't misunderstand me," said the old shade. "I haven't said they were fools. The most of them are rascals, although quite a large minority could as well be fools too. They are those who are put into office through the manipulations of corporations and other combinations of capital, rather than by their own 'rustling' abilities, as you term it. They may be men of fair character, indeed frequently are. The poor ignorant voters, as well as those of more intelligence, are distrustful of corporations and rich men, with good reason. So the corporation candidate is selected with some care. Often he is not associated with his discoverers at all, and may not know how he came to be nominated or where the money came from that secured his election, until he finds himself in office. Frequently, as I have said, he is a man of good character; if so, his intelligence is low, certainly too low for the place; otherwise he would not have been elected, as he could not be used. Sometimes the corporation or combination of particu-

lar interests controls enough votes to dispense with the little matter of character; then their candidate is liable to be as bright as the chaps who 'rustle' themselves into office—and as good."

"Oh, I know all about that," said the Hon. Jerry. "I understood the corporations and their schemes all right; but they don't elect all of the officers; they don't bother much about any but city councilmen and members of Congress and the legislature, with an occasional assessor or member of the board of supervisors. And they don't always get their man either. Take my case: I beat the corporation candidate in the caucus. The boys put me in—that is, with what rustling I did myself. The boys and I beat the railroad. I was no corporation's nor man's tool but my own. We had a hard fight, and it took money and work, but we won. Part of our district was for free silver, and part for the single gold standard. I had to be on both sides. Some of our people were protectionists, and some were out and out free traders. I was for both, and it kept me pretty busy. I only got in by a bare majority, but I believe I could have held the place, for I got an appropriation for a government building and a lot of special pension bills through, and was leading the fight against the constitutional amendment to limit the suffrage when I died.

"You see, I wasn't anybody's tool, and I don't belong to your fool class and so must be one of the other fellows, eh? Well, I don't know that I was a pattern of virtue. I wouldn't be here enjoying your society probably if I had been. But I was no hypocrite. I never pretended to be better than my party. I managed to keep out of the penitentiary, and never deserted my friends. After all, I wasn't a bad average for a politician and a poor chap who had to look out for himself and push up from the bottom."

"You were decidedly above the average in ability, and well up to it in public virtue," said the older shade, kindly. "But since you make the discussion personal to yourself, and without meaning any offence, as your status is now fixed and unalterable, let us look over your political life and see how much time and thought were really given to the public interests separate from your own and those of personal friends. While

you were alderman and member of Congress, was a tenth of your time and effort given to the public service alone? How many bills did you introduce? How many did you support or oppose? and how many votes were given by you solely because the object sought was the public good?"

"Oh, come now," interjected Webb, "you are too hard. I tell you, I was quite as good as the average member of Congress or city councilman, and a whole lot better than the sneaking, whining fellows whose entire stock-in-trade was being pious and looking solemn. Politics was my business, and I understood it pretty well. I had to take care of myself with the boys of course, but what little I did in that way didn't break the country up; if it had I wouldn't have done it. I was as patriotic as anybody, and believed in my country and party, and was for America against the world, and for my party all the time."

"True enough," said the severe old shade. "No doubt of your Jingoism, nor of that of the other patriots who hold your offices. But the fact remains that you and they took all your country's money you could get by way of salary and then quarrelled and schemed and traded with each other to distribute the balance among yourselves, your friends, and your supporters. That is why you and they got and held offices, because your politics were practical and personal. If your time had been given to the public interests you would have had none to devote to 'looking after your fences,' and some other fellows would have got your job. A successful American politician must be a practical and personal one, and the longer your country is governed by an ignorant democracy, the more practical and personal its politicians will become. They are pretty far down now, and the people have gotten so used to it that they regard as a matter of course things that would have aroused their indignation and disgust even a generation ago. Just at this time your chief magistrate is to be elected. Does anybody doubt that the place will go to the highest bidder? Offices, high positions, principles to suit different localities, and great sums of money are offered for the nomination. The leading candidate of one political party has for a decade shaped his every act and pro-

fession with reference to securing the nomination. For two years he has neglected his public duties to show himself at every county fair or other gathering of the people to which he could procure invitation. He stands ready to advocate anything his supporters think will aid his canvass, to change the cut of his clothes, of his beard, or his religion—anything that is wanted. What is true of him is true in a measure of all other bidders for the great office, the difference in their conduct being only a matter of taste, or perhaps, more properly speaking, a matter of judgment as to the more likely way to secure the prize.

"After the nominations the different political organizations put in their bids for the party. First they bid anything, everything, or nothing in their platforms, influenced largely by what the rival political organizations have or will offer. Next they bid all the appointive offices that can be changed, and lastly, millions and millions of money. The campaign is conducted on the principle of deception and fraud from beginning to end, and the chances are ten to one that the party which uses the most deception, the most fraud, and the most money will win. The winners will then proceed to recoup themselves for all trouble and expense, and to shape their lives and acts, and the laws, if possible, so as to hold the power they have secured.

"The fierce incessant struggle for a bare livelihood has left the great mass of the people neither time, strength, nor inclination to be broad-minded and unselfish. They have neither the intelligence nor the virtue to be good. Once in a while, through excitement or enthusiasm, they get right on a moral question that has been patent to the few for a generation; but on questions of propriety or expediency the majority is invariably wrong. Nobody knows better than the practical politician that, where everybody votes, the great majority of the electors are entirely incapable of deciding what makes for the public good and what for private advantage; and he knows also that the average voter is far more solicitous for his own private advantage than for the public good.

"So your practical politician will do everything to make the voters believe that what he and his party advocate is either

for the public good or for the private advantage of the audience addressed. And if he finds that the audience have decided opinions on any given subject which cannot be changed, he is entirely ready to change his to correspond.

"The man of principle and honor cannot alter his convictions to suit the ever-shifting popular mind, and will not profess to believe what he does not. He cannot be a 'practical' or a successful politician in America at this time, and therefore he has about ceased to be a politician at all. The 'practical' fellow has the reins in your country, and under universal suffrage is likely to keep them, and by the end of another generation, if matters continue to progress downward as they have in the last, you will be thanking your lucky stars you are in Hades instead of there."

"What an old pessimist you are!" said the Hon. Jerry, with a great deal of indignation and some admiration in his voice—"predicting and almost proving the early destruction of the most enlightened and progressive nation on the earth. But don't worry; she will come out all right when the next moral move strikes her. You have been keeping tab on us for the last twenty-five years or so, but it is clear you don't know the glorious history of my great country from its birth."

"Don't make any mistake about that," responded Themistocles; "a thousand years on earth is a day with us. I spent a pleasant hour yesterday afternoon watching the rise and decadence of your ephemeral republic. I know the causes of its young prosperity, and have seen the seeds of decay which were unwittingly planted at its birth germinate and grow until now the life of the nation is doomed unless heroic measures are taken soon. I care nothing about it specially, and am only an indifferent spectator. But I wasn't regarded as much of a fool on earth, and I haven't observed and thought over worldly affairs for the two thousand and more years I have been in this delightful place without learning that certain causes produce certain effects; and the effect of an uninstructed universal suffrage in your country has been, as it will be in every country until the average of civilization and enlightenment is much higher than at present, that the demagogues and schemers, liars and thieves, have been gradually getting more and more

control of your politics, and the honest, self-respecting citizens of clear brains have been one by one dropping out and staying at home with their families.

"I looked on when the foundations of your country were laid. The hopes and purposes of the framers were high and good and noble. Patriotism and love of country and of the people were at the bottom; but the seeds of destruction were also there. Sharp,unscrupulous statesmen soon discovered that the people were easily deceived about public matters and public men. They practised on this credulity. Their success encouraged others. As fast as one set of demagogues died off or was discovered in some swindle more flagrant than ordinary, another took their places and practised similar or other arts, until it has come to be a fact that the surest way to get an office is to be unworthy of it. And the most hopeless feature of the situation to the honest and intelligent citizens of your country, of whom I believe there are more than in any other country on the globe, is that everybody"—

"Stop," broke in Webb, with blazing eyes. "Listen to me; you have done all the talking so far. You have been a spectator only, as you say, and a cold, unsympathetic spectator at that. What do you know of universal suffrage? You never had it in Athens. What do you know of Americans? You never lived with them. How do you know that truth and honor and patriotism are not stronger than chicanery and cajolery with the people? You never practised any arts but those of the demagogue. If your heart was as warm as your intellect is bright, you would see below the surface, and know that the people everywhere and always mean right, and will do the right if shown the way. If you knew and loved my country and its people as I, with all my shortcomings, do, you would believe with me that America and universal suffrage will be the salvation of the world.

"Much that you say is true, but your conclusion is all wrong. The remedy would be worse than the disease. Politics is in a bad state in my country, I admit. I see it now as never before. To one who only looks on, it no doubt seems that we are a nation of demagogues and frauds, but I, who have been on the inside, know that at bottom the American

people mean the very best by their country and its institutions. They love it beyond their lives. The overwhelming majority want clean politics and good government. If those honest, clear-brained citizens you commend for eschewing politics and staying at home with their families, would give as much time and thought to their political duties as to their private affairs and individual pleasures, the stables would be cleaned at the next election. The remedy is not to restrict the suffrage, but to wake up the honest and intelligent to the knowledge that they and their kind are more than a match for the rascals if only they will exercise the same zeal and persistence. The trouble is not with the humble citizens, but with the silk stockings, who are afraid of soiling their fine hosiery.

"Oh! if I only had my life to live over! If I could make my voice heard once more, I would arouse my countrymen to save the government which is the hope of the world. They can do it, and do it at once. If one-half, yes, one-fourth of those who know the causes and results of the corruption and misgovernment in our land, and want things done right, would make it their business to attend every political caucus and convention to which they are eligible, and on election day would vote only for such candidates as ought to be elected, and would accept such positions as come to themselves unsought, the thing would be done; the frauds and schemers would be sent to the rear, and our grand country would resume her stately march to her high destiny. If I could but"—

"My dear friend, you take it too hard," interrupted Themistocles, "We will not quarrel over worldly affairs; the live people must work out their own salvation. It may be after all that you are right, that universal suffrage is not to blame; possibly the fault is more with your intelligent than with your humble. Let us hope they will awake to their danger and opportunity. It is certainly time they did. I will forget your personal illusions, and you will forgive my strictures on your countrymen. Come, we will repair to breakfast."

They repaired, and the first thing the Honorable Jerry undertook to swallow was some red-hot native asphaltum,

which burned its way from mouth to stomach, and when it landed started such a conflagration that he sprang in amazement and terror from the table and found himself in a Washington undertaker's office, with two embalmers just starting in to do their perfect work.

They threw up the job. The funeral was put off. The Congressional Committee gave up the trip, and from the day of his new birth Jerry Webb was a power for good government and honest politics, and put forth all his great intellectual strength and oratorical gifts, not to limit the suffrage, but to arouse the honest sluggards and marshal the hosts of good citizens against the intrenched army of self-seekers.

When the array was set and it was seen what a vast majority were on the side of clean politics and the honest and capable administration of affairs, the victory was won; public office ceased to be a private snap, and the millennium began.

MISTLETOE.

BY REV. ROBERT BLIGHT.

IF we inspect the wares of the fruiterer in store or market stall, a few days before Christmas, we may see bunches of two plants provided as adjuncts to the Yule-tide festivities, which present very different features from those of the holly and other evergreens used in the decorations of the season. Both have glistening white berries, but one has them in small spikes, while the other has them sessile in the axils of the leaves. One, also, is of a tawny yellowish-green color, and the other is more decidedly green, but with a yellowish tinge. Again, one is somewhat irregular and straggling in its appearance, and the other is almost mathematically exact in the division and subdivision of its twigs. The former is the American mistletoe, the latter is the European, which has been imported to satisfy a lingering liking for an old English custom. My own experience is that only a very small proportion of those who would think Christmas somewhat imperfect without one or other of these plants in the house know much about the history and the habits of the mistletoe family, although it is one of the most interesting groups of plants.

The Loranthaceæ, to all the members of which the name mistletoe is loosely applied, and to which the American mistletoe (*Phoradendron*, or *Loranthus*, *flavescens*) and the European true mistletoe (*Viscum album*) belong, are an order of woody parasites found mainly in the tropics, but having a few representatives in the temperate zones. Those who have examined the North American species know what small and insignificant-looking flowers it possesses, but many of those found in the tropics have large and brilliant flowers. In addition to the true mistletoe, Europe possesses *Loranthus europæus*, very generally distributed, and an Arceuthobium, which is met with in Italy parasitic on juniper trees. Professor Moseley tells us that a curious species (*Loranthus aphyllus*) is found in Chile parasitic on that

odd-looking cactus, the candelabra-like cereus. "This mistletoe is most remarkable, because, like the plant on which it is parasitic, it is entirely devoid of leaves. It is extremely abundant, growing on nearly all the cereus trees, and is very conspicuous, because its short stems are of a bright pink color. I could not understand what it was at first, as it looked like a pink inflorescence of some kind belonging to the cactus." In Tierra del Fuego there is a misodendron, or myzodendron, which grows on beech trees. In Australia species of loranthus are parasitic on the gum trees, the banksias, and the casuarinas.

This parasitic mode of life, which is especially characteristic of the mistletoes, is regarded as a form of degeneration. In the words of Ray Lankester, "degeneration may be defined as a gradual change of the structure in which the organism becomes adapted to less varied and less complex conditions of life." The state to be attained in vegetable parasitism is that of being able to use for the purpose of food those organic products which have already been prepared by other plants. As this will necessitate peculiar habitats and peculiar organs, it is evident that the chances of survival in the case of parasites will be narrowed up, as compared with those of plants which are independent of others. We see, then, that the adoption of such a mode of life, however successful it may be under favorable circumstances, is a decided retrogression from the free life of the plant which follows the usual course of vegetable growth. A plant which attains the state of complete parasitism is incapable of obtaining carbon from the carbon dioxide present in the atmosphere. As the chief agent in this assimilation is the mysterious substance called chlorophyll, which gives the green color to plants, a parasite has no need of it and becomes destitute of it. Hence we find some parasitic plants colorless or of colors other than green. But plants require other articles of food besides carbon, and some of these are absorbed through roots. If a parasite has arrived at that state when it can begin life and continue to exist solely on the food prepared by another plant, roots, in their ordinary form, can be dispensed with, provided there are

organs by which the nourishment can be introduced into the system. We find that perfect parasites are rootless, and that they absorb their food through a degraded root-organ called a haustorium.

From the ordinary plant, on the one hand, to the perfect parasite, on the other, there may be intermediate stages, two of which are exemplified by two plants which lie immediately before our notice. The common dodder germinates in the ground like the majority of plants, and in the early stages of its life possesses true roots. As soon as it reaches the host on which it is to live, it sends out haustoria, cuts off its connection with the roots, and henceforth is a complete parasite. Its orange-colored threads, destitute of leaves and chlorophyll but crowded with flowers, trailing over other plants, are well known. The American and the European mistletoes germinate on the bark of trees by means of haustoria, and with these penetrating to the food supply, the plant grows. They, however, develop leaves filled more or less with chlorophyll, so that they possess the power of augmenting the nourishment provided by the host by carbon which they obtain by decomposing the carbon dioxide in the air. The mistletoe found by Professor Moseley on *Cereus quisco*, being destitute of chlorophyll, and doubtless germinating as other species of loranthus do, is an excellent instance of a perfectly parasitic plant.

From the way in which we find instances of parasitic growth scattered through the natural orders of plants, we may readily suppose that this is one of the many directions in which the inherent tendency to variation among plants works. The monotropas, dodders, figworts, broomrapes, and mistletoes of our temperate zone are but a few of the whole number of orders which supply instances of this strange phenomenon. It may be remarked also that in some of the orders the habit has become characteristic of the whole of the members, while in others it is peculiar to individual species. When we remember that the process of adaptation to the habit, in one natural order alone, has been carried on in countries as distinct as Europe, South America, and Australia, it is evident that it has existed in many places. The fact that

there are so many gradations of approach to the theoretical type of a parasite affords strong presumption that it has extended over a long period of time; while the presence of parasitic plants adapted to their habitats on roots, on stems like those of clover and other lowly plants, and on trunks of forest trees, would lead one to think that it had gone on under many environments. The subject forms a strange and interesting chapter in the immense volume of evolution, which we have not yet half read through.

We need recorded observations as to the trees on which the American mistletoe is found. Gray merely states that it occurs "on various deciduous-leaved trees." A perfect list would be very interesting. The writer had the pleasure of presenting to the British Museum a collection made in England of the European true mistletoe growing on apple, thorn, poplar, lime, maple, willow, ash, acacia, and oak. From such an array of trees it might be thought that *Viscum album* is not fastidious, but that is far from being the case. There is one instance, I believe, of its being found on larch, but it it is evident that it avoids resinous trees. Although it is exceedingly abundant on apple, it is very rarely found on pear, even when pear trees form a considerable proportion of an infested orchard. While plentiful on thorn, I have never been able to discover it on plum, either wild or cultivated. On oak it is so very rare that a careful investigation made thirty years ago by Dr. Bull, of Hereford, only succeeded in locating seven instances. Another ten years brought to light three more; so that in the whole of England there are only ten oak trees with what the Druids would have counted very sacred treasures. In Ireland, certainly, and, as far as I know, in Scotland, the plant is unknown. On the continent of Europe also this species rarely attacks teh oak, although its near relative, *Loranthus europœus*, does much mischief to the timber of that tree. Desfontaines, the celebrated French botanist (1751–1833), says that the only specimen of *Viscum album* on oak that ever came under his notice in France was a branch which came from Bourgogne. These facts show what an interesting field of observation is open to us in connection with our American loranthus.

It is to be hoped that no botanical enthusiast or any other sentimentalist will introduce the true mistletoe into this country. It delights in the apple, and when once established, soon infests nearly every tree in an orchard. A glance at the trees in some of the apple orchards of Herefordshire and Worcestershire, in England, is enough to tell us that the parasite would not be a blessing here. When the mirthful twig has fulfilled its function in the hall at Christmas, the best place for it is the fire. A bird might eat the berries, and thus the seeds might find their way to a suitable place for taking root. This is the common mode of dissemination in the case of loranthus and viscum. The berries are full of a very viscid pulp which insures the adhering of the seed to the branches on which they may fall. This viscidity of the seeds is a very general characteristic of the members of the mistletoe family.

A section of a seed of viscum is curious. There is no cavity containing an ovule ; in fact, no distinction is apparent between ovary and ovule. A large proportion of the seeds contain two embryos, some as many as three, and a few only one. When a seed begins to germinate, it sends out haustoria from each embryo, not unlike a boy's leathern "sucker" in shape, and from the under side of this a growing point is sent down into the cortex of the branch on which the seed has fallen, which penetrates the wood, generally in the direction of the axis. Where the haustorium passes through the cambium-layer, a series of merismatic cells is formed, and this enables the parasite to keep pace with the growth of the host. This provision prevents it from being strangled, or from being buried, as a small foreign body inserted in the bark would be. It is from this portion of the haustorium that the plant derives the main portion of its sustenance, for the growing point buried in the wood ultimately becomes lignified. Sections, transverse and longitudinally vertical, of a branch through the point where the parasite is growing are full of interest. Having made a great number I can confidently say that Hartwig's drawings of *Loranthus europœus*, given in "The Oak," by H. Marshall Ward, in the Modern Science Series, might equally well be taken for *Viscum album*. Mr. Thistleton

Dyer examined specimens of the mistletoe found on the candelabra-like cactus, and ascertained "that, having a soft and succulent matter in which to ramify, the basal fibres of the parasite form a large spongy mass of great size within the stem of the cactus, which curiously simulates a mass of mycelium, such as is produced by a parasitic fungus."

Some of the devices of mistletoes to find resting-places for their seeds are almost incredibly curious. Mention has been already made of the viscidity which enables the seeds to adhere to the bark of trees; but we are told that arceuthobium can throw its viscid seeds to a distance of several feet. Sir John Lubbock gives the following account of a member of the family described by Dr. Watt:

> The fruit, like that of the mistletoe and most other species of this order, consists of a mass of viscid pulp surrounding a single seed, and when detached from the parent plant it adheres to whatever it may fall on. There it germinates. The radicle when it has grown to about an inch in length develops on its extremity a flattened disc, and then curves about until the disc is applied to some neighboring object. If the spot to which the disc has fastened is suitable, the development of the plant proceeds there. If on the contrary the spot be not suitable, the radicle straightens itself, tears the viscid berry away from whatever it has adhered to, and raises it in the air. The radicle then again curves, and the berry is carried by it to another spot, where it again adheres. The disc then detaches itself, and by curving of the radicle is advanced to another spot, where it again fixes itself. Dr. Watt says he has seen this happen several times, and thus the young plant seems to select certain places in preference to others. They have been observed, for instance, to quit the leaves, on which they must often alight, and move on to the stem.

The leafless misodendron which grows on the beech trees of Tierra del Fuego has another plan.

> Here the seed is not sticky, but is provided with four flattened flexible appendages. These catch the wind and thus carry the seed from one tree to another. As soon, however, as they touch any little bough the arms twist round it and there anchor the seed.

In the American and European mistletoes there does not appear to be any variation in the leaves when growing on different trees; but in the case of one Australian loranthus there seems to be a decided adaptive resemblance. *Loranthus celastroides* has two types of leaves — broad and narrow. Both forms are found on casuarinas, trees with narrow

foliage resembling the feathers of the cassowary. The broad varieties are met with on the banksias, and the narrow ones on the eucalypti, or gum trees. These last in their foliage are so like the trees on which they grow that they derive their specific names from them.

It would be interesting to point a moral on the evils of parasitism and degeneration, after the manner of Professor Drummond, and demonstrate the truth of the poet's words about the flowers: "How akin they are to human things;" but such is not our purpose. It is rather to show what a field of interest is opened out if we take some common plant and make a comparative study of it and its relations scattered in many lands. In this simple way we can obtain a wider grasp of the questions which are connected with the origin of species.

THE HIGHER CIVILIZATION VERSUS VIVISECTION.

BY ROSA G. ABBOTT.

Pourquoi donc, O Maître Suprême,
As tu crée le mal si grand
Que la raison, la vertu même,
S' epouvantent en le voyant.

IF it be true that the great race of mankind must be considered as one individual, who subsists and learns continuously, then must the race be pardoned for its ignorance and its cruelties. The long and painful evolution of the rudimentary soul from savage conditions to the awakening of conscience, compassion, and sympathy for the weak, implies so many cycles of "retrogressive progression," that it excites pity rather than anger.

Probably compassion is one of the tardiest virtues to appear in the awakening of the race-spirit, and force rules until right is ready.* During the rule of force, the infliction of pain upon the helpless is carried to incredible extremes. Suffering is cheap. History assures us that after the settlement of New England by the Christian forefathers, the pillory and the stocks were never vacant. The lash, the branding iron, and the gallows were continually employed. Insane persons were hung up by the thumbs and flogged into a state of total exhaustion. As recently as 1820, the jails of New England were the scene of heartrending tortures for the offence of a slight debt. In England treason was punished by disembowelment; and not until 1790 was the law abolished for the burning of women who had killed their husbands.

Church history shows methods of even greater cruelty. It does not appear that the most ferocious savages were capable of any greater *diablerie* of invention in torture than was the Holy Inquisition. And yet crime and vice were not lessened but rather increased by such means. The beatitudes do not

* "*C'est la force et le droit qui reglent toutes choses dans le monde: la force en attendant le droit.*" — *Joubert.*

flourish in soils of such heroic strength. Piety grows from within outwardly, by soul-purification and aspiration, and not by the external scourge.

Now, are not the vivisectors making the same mistake,—beginning at the wrong end for a cure of the ever present and ever changing manifestations of disease? Maladies and bodily ills are as ancient as life itself. According to paleontology the oldest fossil remains show traces of sickness and suffering. Worlds themselves are born, run their allotted course, and die.

The universe and the human body are bound together by the same sympathetic relations. The human soul is superior to a sun or a planet when it evolves a consciousness of its own volition and power; but in its rudimentary stages, before it has learned to oppose its intelligent will to the negative, material forces surrounding it, how shall it be guarded from the inroads of disease? By torturing sentient animals for the instruction in cruelty of each new medical fledgling?

Certainly not! The cause of disease will never be found at the end of the scalpel, nor its cure in the tense agony of an exposed nerve. They who probe and treat the *effects* of disease, deal solely with the external man, not with the power which excites the malady. Such science is illusive and cannot be imposed upon the wise. Disease is the result of imperfection and of growth. In America at the present time the general unrest is greatly aggravated, as the race is passing out of the physical-intellectual stage of evolution into the intellectual-spiritual phase, and the rebirth is accompanied by the usual throes of new life. For malaria, bacteria, contagion, etc., should be substituted mental causation, such as grief, fear, doubt, jealousy, envy, and greed. Ambition, hope, love even, if pursued on a mistaken material plane, will bring retributive penalty.

From the scientific standpoint of the vivisector, however, it may be well said that before prohibiting medical experiments upon animals which appear to add to the knowledge of disease and its prevention, it would be the part of common sense to cease many of the tortures which are now perpetrated without even the shadow of necessity, and which are ignored

by the very persons who should be most appalled by them. The prolonged agony endured by geese in order that the gourmet may indulge himself in *paté de foie gras* is an instance in point; and all over the world the custom obtains of ripping the skin off of live eels, of throwing live terrapins, crays, lobsters, and crabs into boiling water. Millions of beautiful song-birds are brutally mutilated and left to die at their leisure, that "milady" may gratify her soulless vanity in hat decoration. Great officials go gunning, and consider it manly to slaughter thousands of ducks, deer, pheasants, partridges, etc., simply to prove their skill in long-distance shooting, and to indulge a barbaric love of killing things. Pepsin is obtained by a torture of the pig so hideous that it is almost incredible. Every year in America, thousands upon thousands of cattle and their calves are thrown, branded, and mutilated in the most heartrending manner (and there are few tortures more intense than a superficial burn). In the transit across the plains to the Chicago slaughter yards, the animals suffer so greatly from fright, feverish thirst, and confinement that their "shrinkage" in weight is enormous, and represents a prolonged misery which should cause people to reflect ere they incorporate such diseased flesh into their own bodies.

These instances constitute but a few of the sum total of wholly unnecessary acts of cruelty to the helpless creatures who should be able to look to man for protective kindness. "The cannibals of civilization are unconsciously more cruel than those of savagery, and require much more flesh," so that one might well ask, "If this be civilization, what then is savagery?" A little of the ingenuity displayed by man in the invention of new devices for the debauchery of his soul, would lift him above cruelties which are unfit for *fin-de-siècle* practice. In an old Pompeiian tomb shoes were found made of paper. It is now seen that they are cheaper, more waterproof, lighter, and in every way superior to the American leather shoe, which represents not only the skin of a slain animal, but the perpetual occupation of men in the curing of hides, an occupation so unwholesome and deadly that men engaged in it are said to survive it but a few years at most.

Vivisection must go, but other wicked and useless cruelties

must lead the way. The race is in various stages of development, and cannot be held equally accountable. While regarding the offending "mote," many persons are not conscious of the enormity of the "beam"; and a shortsighted attack upon sincere vivisectionists must be pardoned as being *"un vrai cri du cœur,"* an agony of supplication for the suppression of the pain that comes within range of a limited vision.

Metaphysics should constitute the leading feature in courses of medical study. Much that appears to be disease is the mistake of ignorance, and is a monitor to thrust the race into higher conditions. When the idealistic spirit comes into a consciousness of its own possibilities and responsibilities it will refuse any advantage to be gained from the painful sacrifice of sentient creatures, knowing that it could not compensate for the destruction of the finer sensibilities of the experimenter. Every chivalrous instinct revolts at the idea of a possible benefit acquired through the suffering of a weaker nature. With strict cleanliness, sanitary and hygienic measures, a non-stimulating diet, and due exercise of mind, soul, and body, mankind will be reasonably well, cheerful, and happy while slowly evolving into the loftier life in which there shall be no more pain.

PLAZA OF THE POETS.

THE PAGEANT OF THE YEAR.

BY WINWOOD WAITT.

Earth, the Sun-worshipper,
Impelled by Time, the arbiter of change,
Swerveless along the march zodiacal
Holds her appointed course, and wheels once more
Into the Court of Praise. . . . The Pilgrim Year
Sinks to his final bourne, and reverently
Nature, the fond All-Mother, kneels in prayer,
While her reverberant choir (the wind and wood)
Intones a requiem o'er her dying child.
To the cold clasp of earthy Capricorn
She yields the clay; then turns to bear again
The urgent travail of the Sons of Time,
Forth marshalling her galaxy of Months
To crown the Pageant of a Passing Year.

I. JANUARY.

Hail to the messenger!
Hail to the herald of the new-born Year!
Hail, Janus, hail!

Astride the Goat he comes,
He, the twin-visaged: lo, he sallies forth
From the far confines of the frozen North,
And to the windy dawn
Unfurls his gonfalon!

His boreal trumpeter
Sounds a reveille through the minstrel wood;
And far adown the wintry solitude
Echoes a warning note
From the hoarse wave remote.

A world is his! *What cheer?*
Behind: the fallen Year—
Its crimes, its gilded mockeries, its wars' increase.
Before: untrodden lie
The Fields of Destiny.
God speed him on his way—through paths of peace!

THE WIDE-SWUNG GATES.*

BY SAM WALTER FOSS.

The Genius of the West
  Upon her high-seen throne,
Who greets the incoming guest
  And loves him as her own;
The Genius of these States
  She hears these modern pleas
For the closing of the gates
  Of the highways of her seas.
"Fence not my realm," she says, "build me no continent pen,
Still let my gates swing wide for all the sons of men."

The Genius of these States,
  She of the open hand,
Stands by the open gates
  That look to every land:
"Come hence" (she hears the groans,
  The distance-muffled din
Of millions crushed by thrones),
  "Come hence and enter in.
Shut not my gates," she says, "that front the inflowing tide,
For all the sons of men still let my gates swing wide."

"What! leave thy bolts withdrawn?"
  Cry they of little faith,
"For Europe's voided spawn,
  Spores of the Old World's death?
These monsters wallowing wide
  In anarchy's black fen?"
"Peace, peace, it is my pride
  To make these monsters men;
With the Great Builder work that knows not Greek or Jew,
And from an old-world stuff fashion a world anew.

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* A protest against the article on "Immigration, Hard Times, and the Veto," by John Chetwood, Jr., in THE ARENA for Dec. 1897.

"And in my new-built state
The tribes of men shall fuse,
And men no longer prate
Of Gentiles and of Jews:
Here seek no racial caste,
No social cleavage seek,
Here one, while time shall last,
Barbarian and Greek:
And here shall spring at length, ere our day meets the night,
That last growth of the world, the first Cosmopolite.

"A man not made of mud
My coming man shall be,
But of the mingled blood
Of every tribe is he.
The vigor of the Dane,
The deftness of the Celt,
The Latin suppleness of brain
In him shall fuse and melt;
The muscularity of soul of the strong West be blent
With the wise dreaminess that broods above the Orient.

"Here clashing creeds upraise
Their warring standards long,
Till the ferment of our days
Shall make our new wine strong.
Let thought meet thought in fight,
Let systems clash and clinch,—
The false must sink in night,
The truth yields not an inch.
No thought left loose, ungyved, can long a menace be
Within a tolerant land where every thought is free."

The Genius of the West
Upon her high-seen throne
Thus greets the incoming guest
And clasps him as her own.
The Genius of these States
Puts by these modern pleas
For the closing of the gates
Of the highways of her seas.
"Fence not my realm," she says, "build me no continent pen,
Still let my gates swing wide for all the sons of men."

LITTLE BO-PEEP.

(After Eugene Field's "Little Boy Blue.")

BY EDWIN S. HOPKINS.

"They were scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd."—Matt. ix. 36.

The little toy sheep has a bright-blue bow
Where a tiny brass bell was tied,
And ever, O! ever so long ago
Another one stood by its side,
And that was the one our little Bo-Peep,
With the dew in her dancing eyes,
Covered with kisses and cuddled to sleep
With sweet baby prattle and sighs.

"Now sleep right here by my side," she said,
"And don't you wake till I call,"
And she put one pink arm under its head,
And the other one round her doll.
But the Shepherd took hold of her dimpled hands,
With a call that was sweet and low,
And the old toy sheep on the mantel stands,
While the long years come and go.

He stands and wonders and waits alone,
With a far-away look in his eyes,
And dreams of his mate and the shepherdess gone,
And the pastures of Paradise;
No baby prattle or laugh alarms
His long, long, wearisome tryst
As we feign the clasp of her dimpled arms
And the kisses our lips have missed.

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

THE SAINTS OF TRINITY.

TRINITY Church, the beautiful modern cathedral of Copley Square, designed by the noted architect, H. H. Richardson, is approaching completion. For nearly a quadrennium the low metope and entablature of the façade have been receiving the finishing strokes of the workmen and the artists. Now, at last, the scaffolding and tent-cloth have come away, and the stone saints are revealed. Most of them are done in high relief; all of them are of the strictly sanctimonious and conventional type.

Some of these sculptured personages are saints proper, and some are saintesses. They are all alike in being deduced from a far-off past and from conditions of life and hope which, being impossible, never actually existed. That is, the concepts of human character which are here developed in brown stone never existed outside of the half-morbid and wholly mystical dreams of the East.

The style of art in which the Trinity sculptors have performed their task is purely mythical and traditional. There is not one stroke of the actual spirit of man, not one hint of his true progress and purpose in it all. The tides of people, passing and repassing evermore before this façade of Trinity, must look up, if they look at all, at a retinue of stone images that are as dead in artistic concept as they are in the material of which they are composed.

Why it is that living men in our new-world atmosphere, in our new-age environment, in our era of new purpose and new hope, should persist in doing and redoing the past into the mythical and impossible, while all the abounding currents of life and the vast volume of purpose are sweeping by, and while all the future holds forth its vision and its dream, — is something which a philosopher may well consider and solve if he can.

What do the Trinity people and their artists expect to

accomplish by carving this retinue of Asiatic effigies, this train of water carriers and camels, in alto relievo, and setting them in mediæval manner on the entablature of their temple? Do they believe that these stone figures, wrought out through so much assiduous chipping and chiselling, can do anything to make or unmake the conditions of the life that now is?

The more pertinent question which arises in my mind is this: What influence are these saints and saintesses going to exert in the cause of reform? I do not ask how many pious eyes may be rolled up in ecstatic rapture on beholding the Trinity friezes, but I want to know to what extent these saints are going to come down and help to push the wagon.

My observation has been that stone people of the kind here delineated have signally failed as active promoters of better conditions in the world. Aye, more; the stone saints have nearly always joined themselves with the forces of reaction, retrogression, and decadence. They seem to have a remarkable sympathy with all the oppressive conditions of society. They are always for the organization, and never for the man. In France they are the upholders of the extinct Bourbon dynasty. In America they belong to the Gold-bug Oligarchy. In all countries they like monarchy better than democracy. In all lands they prefer arsenals to schoolhouses. They like navies better than fish-ponds. They admire palaces and temples more than hospitals and kindergartens.

The average stone saint may always be expected to stand in with the existing order, and, if he frown at all, to frown only on the disturbing aggressions of thought and the audacities of progress. The stone saint is involved in many paradoxes. He is in favor of temperance; but he looks with complaisance on the whiskey trust. He desires that the people have sugar in their coffee; but he is a friend of Havemeyer. He wants mankind to ride; but he holds for himself a Pullman pass. He is a friend of honest manufacture; but he condones the rotten steel-plate of Carnegie. He wishes that people may have cheap passage across the bay; but for his own convenience he has a steam yacht which costs him forty thousand dollars a year.

If the Trinity artists had expurgated their list of saints somewhat the character of the procession would have been improved. Several of these personages, as it seems to us, got into the saintly category by flights of stairs that were exceedingly misplaced and tortuous. However, sainthood, when it is once achieved, carries far. A saint is rarely, if ever, deposed. Once a saint always a saint, is an apothegm that might well be added to the book of short sayings. One who looks, however, at historical characters without a film over his eyes and without moral strabismus may well wonder to see on one of the panels of Trinity the effigies of St. David and St. Solomon! Why not also the figures of St. Henry VIII and St. Abdul-Hamid?

The Asiatic draperies in which the Trinity saints are clad do not consist — any more than do the draperies of the worshippers inside the cathedral — with the squalid rags and pinched faces of the streets. The stone saints and their expositors seem not to minister to the poor actual bread, but only the "bread of life" — at long range. It is hard to fill a hungry stomach at long range. The Christmas turkey, if stuffed in the manner in which the stone saints give food to men, would be the most barren ideality of the season. For ourselves we believe in actual stuffing. For all our dishes, whether material or spiritual, we want dressing that shall fill and satisfy. We do not wish any of the gifts proffered to us to be stuffed with mere vacuity.

And as to the saints themselves, we also believe in saints and try to promote their reputation. But we want another kind. We want a few who have been real men and women, thinking our thoughts, suffering our sorrows, dreaming our dreams, and sinning our sins. There have been many such holy beings in this world. There was, for example, St. Ben Franklin. A hundred and fifty years ago he was performing the duties of a magical office in our colonies and among mankind. He was a teacher of robust truth. And meanwhile he snatched the lightning out of the clouds. No barn built by man is any longer smitten out of heaven if St. Benjamin have been heeded.

There, also, aforetime, was St. Tom Jefferson. He, too,

was a teacher of wholesome truth. He declared that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God. He said openly that men are created equal; that they have certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. As I have said before, he ought to have added the free possession of land; but St. Thomas did not see thus far into the future. There was another St. Thomas also, whose *painful* theology debarred him somewhat from reputation; but he was a patriot and so much a man of courage that he escaped the guillotine only by a chalk mark on the wrong side of the door!

There was a whole army of barefoot saints one winter down at Valley Forge. There they froze and starved in the cause of freedom. Some of them came from across the sea and suffered with our native heroes in the battle of humanity. Then, in the language of Kipling,

> There were times that no one talked of, there were years of horrid doubt;
> There was faith and hope and whacking and despair.

Long afterwards, when our later trial came by fire and blood, we found St. Lincoln, one of the noblest of all the saints. He sorrowed and wrestled through many a night of anguish and despair, and at the last crowned it all with the tragic death of a martyr. How that great head fell forward, and the patient lips were dumb, and the world wailed as they carried him away! Lincoln was our kind of a saint; and there were heroic saints across the line also. Stonewall Jackson's "foot cavalry" was made up in large part of saints in tattered and gray rags, who are now sleeping in unknown graves.

Perhaps it is an idiosyncrasy of the personal equation that makes us anxious to see an American cathedral in which the Asiatic saints shall give way for a brief space to such other new-world worthies as St. Washington, St. Garrison, and St. Harriet Beecher Stowe.

THE AGE OF GOLD.

Has it come at last? The alchemical prophets sought it long, but died without the sight. The search for artificial

gold was the secret hunt of the Middle Ages; but the curious men of the epoch of Darkness could not find it. And with the new birth of science, philosophers said it could never be — that the eternal edict of natural law is against the transmutation of the base thing into the golden. Always and ever the learned folk have thus put up their bar, only to have it broken down by some aggressive son of audacity walking along that way.

In plain unmetaphorical speech, it seems true that Dr. S. F. Emmens, in a little seventh-story room overlooking the old Bowling Green of Broadway, has discovered a method of transmuting silver into gold. He has not only done it, but he has sold his product to the Government mints, and they have accepted it. It is probably true that on this New Year's day of 1898, some son of man has a gold eagle in his pocket, the material of which was *made out of silver* by an ingenious chemist in New York.

Dr. Emmens has been visited, and his discovery has been investigated, by able inquirers who report that on the 13th of April, 1897, the chemist deposited at the assay office in New York City a lump of manufactured gold, weighing 7.06 ounces. This product was found on trial to be a genuine product containing in one thousand parts 658 parts of gold, 260 parts of silver, and 82 parts of other metallic substances.

The process of the manufacture is not yet known, but the fact of the product is undeniable. Unless Dr. Emmens is engaged in the unthinkable foolishness of putting gold into his own crucible in order to get it out again by a laborious and expensive method, then his discovery is a verity; and it would seem to follow that we are on the eve of a remarkable state of affairs. Mr. George Grantham Bain, of the American Press Association, has within the current month investigated as much of the fact and the process of Dr. Emmens's discovery as the chemist is willing to reveal.

Dr. Emmens in his small laboratory and by his hand-method of operation is now producing enough gold to bring him at the assay office a profit of $150 a week. There seems to be no limit to the amount of the precious metal that may be thus produced. Dr. Emmens says in the way of a formal

proposal: "I will take 1,000,000 ounces of silver, worth $500,000 [he means $500,000 *in terms of gold*], and from it I will make 60,000 ounces of gold, worth $13 an ounce. The cost of making the gold will be $4,600,000. Add to that the cost of the silver, $500,000, and subtract the whole from $7,800,000, the value of the gold, and you have a profit of $2,700,000.

> Can such things be,
> And overcome us like a summer's cloud,
> Without our special wonder?

Should Dr. Emmens's discovery yield such results as are anticipated, it cannot be long until life will be worth living — not indeed that we shall be so rich as to buy out Nature and establish colonies of billionaires in all the islands of the South Pacific, but that we shall be so infinitely amused! One week of life under the new régime may well repay for a century of griefs and longings. Dr. Holmes in one of his books describes the hurry and confusion of the bugs — bugs of few legs and of many legs — under a flat stone in the meadow when the stone is turned over and the bugs have to scamper to covert. Before "bugs" insert the word *gold!*

ORION.

On the Old Bay I saw arise last night
  The constellation of Orion! Far
  Beyond the Head of Winthrop the full star
On his immortal shoulder beckoned bright!
One sun of splendor gemmed his thigh of might,
  And one sun blazed upon his club of war,
  And three suns studded the eternal bar
And belt on his emblazoned waist of light!

Over the slumbering seas what shadows sweep
  Orion heeds not! All the rounded earth
    Under his circuit is a grain of musk!
Alas, what are we but the dust of sleep—
  Wingless ephemera of hapless birth
    Drifting adown the twilight into dusk?

BOOK REVIEWS.

[In this Department of THE ARENA *no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.]*

A FICTION OF THE SKIES.

IT is an unmixed pleasure to contribute a brief notice of Camille Flammarion's remarkable book "Urania." * The author, being an astronomer, has, like the men of Galilee, stood gazing into heaven, and out of his vision and dream has told a story of the skies.

It is one of the peculiar merits of the writers of the last half of the nineteenth century, that they have learned to use the imagination scientifically. Rather have they learned the value of the scientific imagination as a supplement to scientific demonstration. For long, the writer of fiction has written botany and geography and physics in one chapter, and aspiration and hope and despair in the next. He has seemed to wit not that the botany and the aspiration, the physics and the love, go best together. Even as great a novelist as Bulwer in such a work as *Zanoni* hardly succeeded in getting his natural and his supernatural into unity. M. Flammarion has acquired, or at least he possesses, the happy faculty of rising from the basis of fact into the open sky of speculation, and of carrying his scientific vision with him.

The story of "Urania" is, like Cæsar's "Gaul," divided into three parts, of which the first is entitled "The Heavenly Muse;" the second, "George Spero;" and the third, "Heaven and Earth." The three divisions are separate scientific fictions put together on the slender thread of a common theme. In "The Heavenly Muse," the young enthusiast — for it is M. Flammarion himself, under the thin guise of another — falls in love with Urania, and Urania leads him forth to the study of the skies. He is at first a student with Le Verrier in the Observatory of Paris. From the battlements, Urania entices him away, and they journey through the skies. While passing through the sidereal spaces, they discourse, albeit from the basis of the new astronomy, of the order of the worlds, the splendors of the universe.

The little fiction is as nothing to the scientific speculation which

* "Urania." By Camille Flammarion. Illustrated by De Bieler, Myrbach, and Gambard. Translated by Augusta Rice Stetson. One vol. 8vo, pp. 314. F. Tennyson Neely, London and New York. 1897.

the enthusiastic young astronomer copiously pours forth on the voyage. This part of the work is a magnificent dream of the skies, in which the human interest is slight and the splendors of the heavens are everything.

The second division of "Urania" is entitled "George Spero," that being the name of the youth who was the private secretary of Le Verrier in the Paris Observatory. The story of his life and fate occupies eighty-six pages of the book, and is sufficiently inspiring in the spiritual element which it brings, and sufficiently appalling in the termination. In this part the earthly love supplants somewhat the heavenly, and it may be that M. Flammarion would have us think of the sad tragedy which the former nearly always has as its sequel. For in this case, George Spero and the beautiful Icléa, the Norse maiden whom he found on the summits of the Scandinavian Alps, a lover of nature like himself, tempt the perils of a balloon ascension only to be caught in a storm and to follow the one the other in holy self-sacrifice and the ecstasy of despair down to the cruel mutilation of death on the shore of the Northern Lake. This is M. Flammarion's description of the tragedy:

> Strong wind-currents blew up and down and whistled in their ears.
>
> The balloon twisted about itself, as if whirled by a waterspout. George Spero felt a sudden and passionate embrace, followed by a long kiss upon his lips. "My master, my god, my all! I love you," she cried; and thrusting aside two of the ropes, she leaped into the empty air. The unballasted balloon shot up again like an arrow. Spero was saved.
>
> Icléa's body made a dull, strange, and frightful sound in the midnight stillness as it fell into the deep waters of the lake. Wild with grief and despair, Spero felt his hair bristling with horror. He opened his eyes wide, but saw nothing. Carried up by the balloon to a height of more than a thousand metres, he clung to the valve-rope, hoping to fall again towards the scene of Icléa's catastrophe; but the rope would not work. He fumbled and hunted, but without avail. In the midst of all he felt under his hand his loved one's veil, where it had caught on one of the ropes, — a thin little veil, still fresh with perfume, and filled with the memories of his lovely companion. He stared at the ropes, thinking he could find the imprint of her little clinging hands, and putting his own where Icléa's had been an instant before, he threw himself out of the car. His foot caught in a rope for a second, but he had strength enough to disengage it, and fell whirling into space.

The third part of the story, entitled "Heaven and Earth," is composed of a series of chapters embracing the author's more mature and thoughtful views on telepathy, the inter-sidereal voy-

age, the planet Mars, the fixed point in the universe, and the journey to truth by way of science.

In the first of these chapters, M. Flammarion records a series of astonishing but strictly authentic previsions, which it would be well for all mankind to read and ponder. In the second chapter he journeys again through the planetary spaces and discourses not so much of the worlds themselves as of the citizens of the heavenly spheres and their manner of celestial life.

The third chapter is devoted to the planet Mars. In it the author applies the best recent erudition, both astronomical and speculative, to the probable vital phenomena of our neighboring world. The fourth chapter is to us a rather original discussion about a fixed point in the universe; that is, a point which is at absolute rest, around and about which all the remaining universe is in process and revolution.

That there may be and probably is such a point, we neither assert nor deny. I will, however, offer the suggestion that if there be a central point in the universe, though it be in a state of rest as it respects all the residue of suns and systems, its fixedness or process could not be known; for all motion is relative, and though the hypothetical fixed point should be dropping through the depths of space at the rate of ten billions of metres a second, the motion could not be measured or detected, any more than the insects around the lamp in a Pullman car at night can detect or measure the flight of the train.

In the last chapter of his work, M. Flammarion makes his general deductions relative to the order of affairs in the universe, and particularly of the correlative phenomena of mind and matter. These he embodies in twenty-five short propositions, of which the last and supreme deduction is as follows:

> The soul's destiny is to free itself more and more from the material world, and to belong to the lofty Uranian life, whence it can look down upon matter and suffer no more. It then enters upon the spiritual life, eternally pure. The supreme aim of all beings is the perpetual approach to absolute perfection and divine happiness.

I will only add the expression of a deliberate estimate which I have formed most favorable to the genius of M. Flammarion, whom I believe to be a great thinker destined to enlarge by a considerable space the present boundaries of the intellectual and moral world.

THE ARENA FOR FEBRUARY.

The Arena for February will carry to our readers an unusual fund of interest. The times are rife; the nation is in an era of transforming agitation. The apathy which the money power seeks in vain to spread over the face of society is broken in a thousand places with jets of flame portending a conflagration in which the existing order shall be tried as by fire.

HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN ON "PARTY LEADERS AND FINANCES."

In The Arena for February the veteran publicist, Hon. George W. Julian, first candidate of the Free Soil Party for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, will present his views on party leadership as the bane of financial welfare. To this paper the Editor of The Arena will reply. The debate will recall to our readers the like discussion in The Arena for July between Henry Clews and the Editor.

JUDGE WALTER CLARK ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

In our number for February Judge Clark will offer to the readers of The Arena another of his powerful papers on one of the living questions of the epoch. In this contribution he will present a cogent argument for the revision of the Constitution in important particulars—especially with respect to the veto power of the President.

JAMES R. CHALLEN ON "THE FAILURE OF THE BIMETALLIC CONFERENCE."

No question of the day is of more concern than the failure of the proposed International Conference to secure the re-establishment of bimetallism among the nations. The reasons of the failure are succinctly set forth by our new contributor, Mr. Challen, of Florida.

DR. WILLIAM BAYARD HALE ON "THE EPIC OPPORTUNITY."

It is a pleasure to introduce to the readers of The Arena the brilliant writer and reformer, William Bayard Hale, LL. D., of Middleboro, Mass. In the number for February, Dr. Hale will present one of his eloquent contributions entitled "The Epic Opportunity,"—meaning the opportunity now presented for a general betterment of the conditions of the civilized life.

GEORGE A. GROOT ON THE MONETARY COMMISSION.

In The Arena for February, under the caption "Open Letter to the Monetary Commission," our new contributor, Mr. George A. Groot, of Cleveland, will present a caustic article on the motives and plans of the Monetary Commission now besieging the government of the United States.

H. M. WILLIAMS ON "THE MISSION OF MACHINERY."

The number for February will contain an interesting and highly suggestive contribution on "The Mission of Machinery" by Mr. Henry Matthews Williams, of St. Louis. The facts and deductions presented by Mr. Williams will create not a little discussion on one of the most important topics of our industrial life.

"THE CORPORATION AGAINST THE PEOPLE."

In The Arena for February Mr. Flower's able article will be on the subject of the aggressions of Corporate greed on the rights and interests of the People.

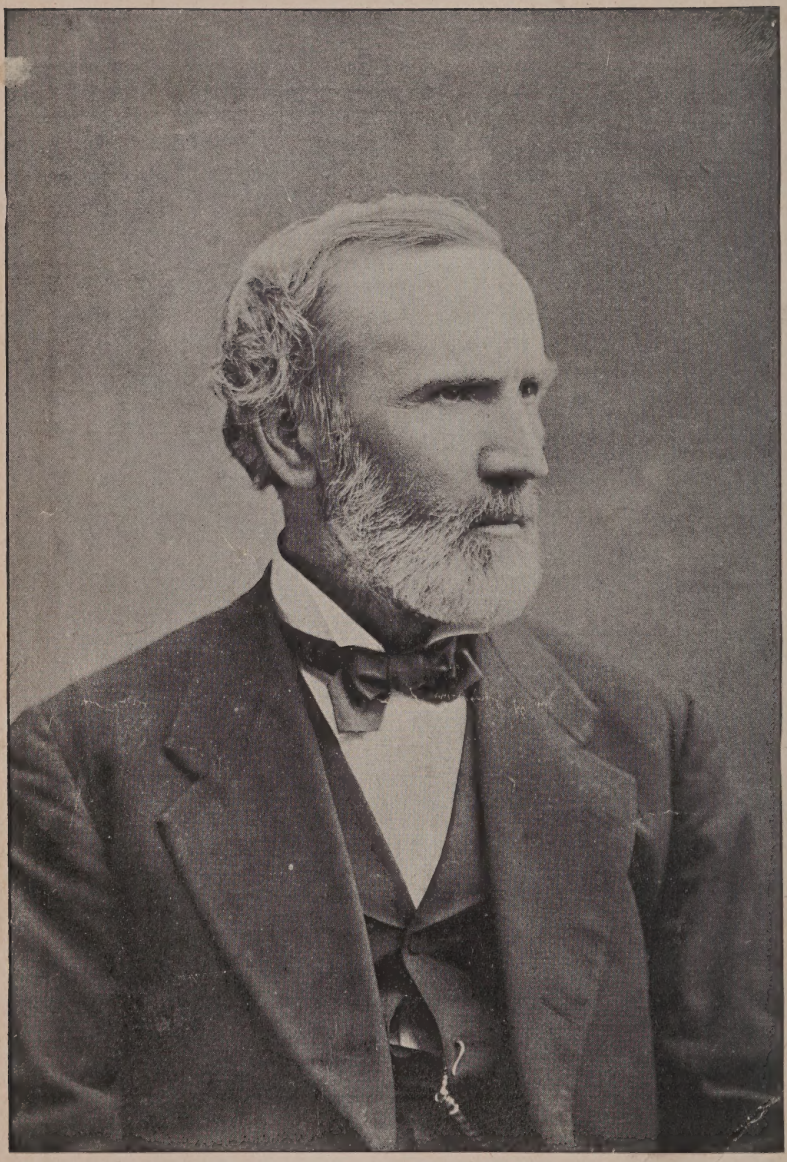
J. MONTGOMERY McGOVERN ON "GUTTER JOURNALISM."

Under the caption "An Important Phase of Gutter Journalism," J. Montgomery McGovern, of Brooklyn, will offer in the number for February a startling exposition of the method of manufacturing foreign news in the home offices of enterprising American newspapers and of newspaper "faking" in general.

MRS. BERGEN ON "THE THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ONE CHILD."

A strongly original and most suggestive article by Fanny D. Bergen, on "The Theological Development of One Child," will be presented in the number for February. Mrs. Bergen has made notes for a number of years on the evolution of theological ideas in a child under purely natural conditions; out of her note-book her contribution has been derived.

The remainder of the number for February will be made up of a brief bit of standard fiction, the Plaza of the Poets, The Editor's Evening, Book Review, etc.



Geo. W. Julian

THE ARENA.

VOL. XIX. FEBRUARY, 1898. No. 99.

THE POLITICO-FINANCIAL CONTROVERSY.

I. OUR PARTY LEADERS AND THE FINANCES.

BY HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN.

THE reconstruction of our financial policy involves no intrinsic difficulties. A select body of experienced business men, representing every section of the union, and entering upon their work in a thoroughly non-partisan spirit, can undoubtedly devise a working theory of reform. Our politicians have signally failed to do this, and have given us instead a bewildering patchwork of political makeshifts and clumsy expedients. Congress has been wrestling with our finances and keeping the country in hot water for the third of a century, and the outcome of its labors has been attested by great and prolonged financial disorders, which at last threaten the bankruptcy of the government. The men who have taken the lead in this legislation have made the interests of party paramount to the general welfare, while the settlement of our finances has thus been turned into a mere fencing-match of politicians. There is every reason to believe that the same game will be played in the future. The love of consistency, the pride of opinion, and the traditional habit of party subserviency will continue to block the way of reform. The absolute necessity for some new and radical methods, and the folly of further looking to old party machinery for relief, will clearly appear in a brief statement of facts bearing upon the past action and present attitude of our two leading parties.

During the civil war, the Democrats in Congress generally, with George H. Pendleton as their leader, opposed our legal-

tender legislation. After the war they made a change of base, and Mr. Pendleton, as the Democratic champion of fiat money, was only rivalled by Gen. Butler on the side of Republicanism. In 1868 he was a candidate for the Presidency before the National Democratic Convention, but although the platform was made acceptable to him he was defeated by Gov. Seymour. When the greenback movement made its appearance Democrats took the lead in rallying to its support. They generally favored the inflation bill of 1874, which would have proved a national calamity if it had become a law. The veto of the measure by Gen. Grant struck a deadly blow at the fiat-money madness; but its champions vigorously renewed their fight throughout the country in 1875, the centre of the engagement being Ohio, in which the friends of sound money were triumphant.

As a party, the Democrats were opposed to specie resumption, and their national platform of 1876 expressly condemned the Congressional plan of resumption in 1879. The party at that time represented no well-defined principle. It had no position respecting the currency or the tariff, and was ready for any alliance which promised a return to power. It had lost the confidence of the people, including many of its own members, and had formed alliances with the greenback movement in several States. It needed, above all things, the inspiration and guidance of a great leader, and this it happily found in Gov. Tilden, who was able to hold his followers in line in the memorable campaign of 1876.

In the meantime, the silver movement had come to the front, which was merely another phase of the struggle for fiat money. It has been aptly said that silver dollars are metallic greenbacks. The loss to the people under the Bland-Allison act of 1878 and the Sherman act of 1890 aggregates $464,260,263, which amount has to be redeemed in gold, like the greenbacks. This legislation, which the anti-silver men succeeded in carrying through Congress on a compromise with their opponents, only whetted the appetite for further concessions, and made inevitable the demand for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. This demand was checked and postponed by the election of Mr. Cleveland in 1884, whose rugged

honesty and peerless courage stayed the growing popular madness for several years. But it finally broke over all barriers and defied all restraints by incorporating into the Chicago platform the demand for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of any other nation; by providing that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and favoring such legislation as will prevent the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract, and by declaring that the power to issue notes to circulate as money shall be taken from the national banks and delegated to the Treasury Department.

The complete transformation of the party which these novel doctrines involved was still further emphasized by repudiating the principle of a tariff for revenue only, on which the party had won its unprecedented triumph in 1892; by condemning the reform of the civil service just as it was nearing its consummation under the guiding hand of a Democratic administration; by denouncing Mr. Cleveland for suppressing the Chicago mob by Federal soldiers without the permission of Gov. Altgeld,—thus practically espousing the hoary-headed heresy of nullification, which was shot to death in the civil war; and by clearly foreshadowing the purpose to reconstruct the Supreme Court of the United States in furtherance of these measures. To suppose that a party avowing this startling confession of political faith can be counted on for any service whatever in the solution of our financial problem is simply preposterous. As now organized and led, the Democratic party has become a danger signal in our political navigation and a menace to republican government itself.

Turning now to the Republican party, I shall speak of its action with the same unsparing frankness. The delusion that Congress has the constitutional power to make money was embodied in the legal-tender acts of 1862 and 1863. This was the root of the fiat-money fanaticism which has since scourged the country and still preys upon its prosperity and peace. Congress had no more power to create money than it had to make iron swim. It had no more power to transmute a promise to pay money into actual money than it had to make

something out of nothing. The constitutionality of these acts was denied by the ablest Republicans in Congress at the time, and by nearly all the Democrats, and their arguments were never answered. The supporters of this legislation did not pretend that the Constitution contained any direct grant of power which sanctioned it; they contended that the crisis had created a military necessity which knew no law. But this necessity was an assumption, and its truth could only be demonstrated by trial. It was by no means universally admitted; and I think the better opinion among statesmen and financiers, both in Congress and out of Congress, then was, as it is to-day, that the suppression of the rebellion was possible through the recognized agency of taxation and loans, and at a great saving of money. Nor could these legal-tender acts be justified by the practice of other great nations. Specie payments were not suspended in the great English civil war, nor by France in the long wars of Napoleon; and Justin S. Morrill bluntly told the simple truth when he characterized this legislation as "not blessed by one sound precedent, and damned by all." It should be remembered, moreover, that the champions of our legal-tender currency voted for it very reluctantly, and with the distinct understanding that it was to be speedily redeemed and cancelled on the disappearance of the peril which was urged as its justification.

It was not strange, therefore, after the war was over and the supposed national danger was passed, that the constitutionality of these acts came before the Supreme Court of the United States for final adjudication. The animosities of the war had partially subsided, while there was no occasion for further extending the legal-tender power. A more dispassionate consideration of the whole question was now possible. A decision adverse to the constitutionality of these acts would have no effect on the public credit, nor would it change the value of the legal-tender notes. The question was very fully argued in the famous case of Hepburn *vs.* Griswold, at the December term, 1867, and elaborately reargued at the December term, 1868, especially as to the constitutional question. On November 27, 1869, the court held, in a full bench of eight judges, by a majority of five to three, that the legal-ten-

der acts were unconstitutional as to debts contracted prior to their enactment. This decision was announced on February 7, 1870, and thenceforward became a part of the supreme law of the land, binding upon the President and all the departments of the government, unless overruled on a motion for a rehearing, for valid and sufficient reasons, according to the recognized forms and usages of law.

If the administration believed that the decision would leave the nation in peril of its life in some future emergency, the remedy was an appeal to the people for an amendment of the Constitution. But this did not suit its purpose. The decision was exceedingly offensive to the Republican party. Its members believed that the greenback had rendered an indispensable service in saving the union. It was a symbol of patriotism, like the old flag, and it invoked the gratitude and love of the nation. The national banks were likewise hostile to the decision, and took the lead in urging its reversal. They said it would contract the currency. The great railways were hostile because such of their bonds as had been executed prior to February 25, 1862, both principal and interest, would be payable in coin. Other debtors were in the same condition, and would suffer great hardships. But these were insufficient reasons for granting a rehearing. The opposition of banks and railway companies constituted no ground for the reargument of a purely constitutional question, which had already been amply considered and decided, nor did the hostility of the Republican party, which involved purely political and not judicial considerations.

But the purpose of the administration to reverse the decision was fixed. During the war the government had accustomed itself to the use of power, and played with a strong hand. On February 1, 1870, Justice Greer resigned his seat on the Supreme bench. A short time previously Congress had provided for an additional judge, so that two vacancies were to be filled. On February 18, Judge Strong, of Pennsylvania, who had avowed his opinion in favor of the constitutionality of the legal-tender acts, was appointed to fill one of the two vacancies, and on March 21 following Justice Bradley, who had expressed his opinion to the same effect, was chosen for

the other vacancy. Immediately after this remodelling of the Supreme Court was consummated Attorney-General Hoar asked for a rehearing, which was finally ordered, and on May 1, 1871, the constitutionality of these acts was affirmed, and the judgment pronounced by Chief Justice Chase in Hepburn *vs.* Griswold was reversed by a vote of five judges to four—Bradley and Strong siding with the majority. It was not done by convincing the judges that they had erred, because the court was now differently constituted, but by stifling their voices with the votes of men who had been recently placed upon the bench because they would certainly vote for the rehearing and reversal,—thus making the Supreme Court of the United States the football of party politics.

"It was no secret," says Hugh McCulloch, in his "Reminiscences," "indeed it was a matter of public notoriety, that these justices were appointed in order that the previous decision might be reversed."

Senator Hoar has recently made an elaborate defence of President Grant against the charge of packing the court in this case, but his defence amounts to a confession of its substantial truth. On this point I shall make Senator Hoar my witness. He insists that the Republican party and the Republican lawyers throughout the country were a unit in supporting the legal-tender acts. He says the Supreme Courts of fifteen States had affirmed the constitutionality of these acts, and that the President would have had to rake the country over with a fine-tooth comb to find a lawyer of a different opinion. Perhaps he states the case a little too strongly, but he approximates the truth. The packing of the court is thus shown to have been exceedingly easy, but is not disproved. The President could hardly have gone amiss in the search for judges of his way of thinking. Indeed, the filling of the two vacancies was practically equivalent to a rehearing and reversal of the case, for the purpose of the President was well known, and he had behind him a great and united party which had clothed him with the power to make that purpose effective.

This is clearly shown by the remarkable proceedings in the Supreme Court touching the question of rehearing as they are set forth in Schucker's "Life of Chase." These proceedings

gave notice to the public that the reversal of the case was a foregone conclusion, so that although the formal decision to that effect was not made till more than a year afterwards no financial excitement or commotion followed the judgment in Hepburn *vs.* Griswold, which was accepted at once as a nullity. The reconstruction of the Supreme Court and the opportune action of the Attorney-General which immediately followed accomplished the work, and it dealt as deadly a blow at the independence of the judiciary as if the President had picked and culled the judges he needed from a party of diverse and discordant opinions. These facts are stated because they belong to the truth of history, and could not properly be omitted in any faithful account of the action of our party leaders in dealing with the financial problem. The opinion of the Supreme Court reversing the judgment pronounced by Chief Justice Chase was as much a political opinion as that of Chief Justice Taney in the case of Dred Scott, while it was equally the product of an assumed party necessity.

But the effects of this decision have been as calamitous as the methods of procuring it were indefensible. It recognizes the power of Congress to substitute irredeemable paper for gold and silver, and to compel every citizen to accept it in payment of all debts, while under a later decision this can be done in a time of peace; and the court declares that the remedy for legislative abuses must be sought at the polls, and not in the courts. The safeguard of checks and balances in our system of government, through which the people themselves may be protected from the consequences of their own folly, is thus swept away, while the power of Congress becomes absolute, and the Supreme Court ceases to be a refuge against hasty and unwise legislation. This new political gospel has been the stronghold of incalculable mischief and disaster. For more than a quarter of a century it has led the people into a wilderness of fiat-money metaphysics and spread before them a famine of ideas. It gave birth to the greenback movement, which brought upon the country the frightful panic of 1873, and has ever since exercised its malign influence over both political parties. It gave us the inflation act of 1874, which was supported by Allison, Cameron, Carpenter, Logan,

Morton, Oglesby, and other Republican leaders, and threatened to flood the country with irredeemable paper and to defeat or indefinitely postpone specie resumption; and we only escaped these disasters by our luck, for President Grant at first intended to approve of this enactment, which he afterwards fortunately vetoed.

The Republican party deserves great credit for its work in restoring specie payments in 1879; but this consummation was seriously imperilled by the act of Congress of 1878, which stupidly provided for the reissue and continued circulation of legal-tender notes after their payment in gold according to law. More than twenty years ago, John Sherman said, "The legal tenders were only the instruments of battle; they were musketry and cannon; and when peace came they should have been rapidly retired." But he has ever since been a steadfast and unflinching champion of this suicidal folly. During the fifteen months ending with September, 1896, $192,972,205 in gold were paid out on presentation of greenbacks, being more than one-half of all the greenbacks in existence, and yet every dollar of this vast sum has been reissued and is still outstanding, and may be presented for redemption over and over again, as often as it is paid. Any man who would display an equal amount of imbecility in the management of his private affairs would be justly entitled to a guardian or trustee to take care of his estate; and yet the Republican party has thus far stood by this frightful system of inflation which must inevitably lead to national bankruptcy if not abandoned.

Its record on the silver question is no better. The silver movement, as I have said, is only another phase of the fiat-money delirium, begotten by a Republican Congress in 1862, and warmed into life by a Republican Supreme Court in 1871. It demanded the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The Republicans met this demand by an offer of pacification and compromise in the form of the Bland-Allison act of 1878, providing for the purchase and coinage of not less than two million nor more than four million dollars of silver each month. As in the case of every compromise made with slavery by the old parties prior to the civil war, this compromise only sharpened the hunger for more concessions.

The champions of silver continued their agitation year after year, and with such pertinacity that the Sherman act of 1890 was finally accepted as a further compromise, providing for the purchase and coinage of nearly $4,000,000 per month, for which Treasury notes were to be given redeemable in gold.

This monstrous concession to the fiat-money principle was sure to be followed by still further demands, but the Republicans again forgot the welfare of the country in their eagerness to tide their party over a temporary emergency. Mr. Sherman tells us that he favored this act as the only available means of preventing the passage of a bill for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, which Gen. Harrison would have approved. But Gen. Harrison tells us he would have vetoed it. Whom shall we believe? The truth is that both were playing a despicable game of party politics, and that the Sherman law was passed as the price which the silver senators demanded and obtained for their support of the McKinley tariff bill. Senator Teller so testifies, and his testimony is supported by that of Speaker Reed.

These facts ought to be clearly understood, because they have an important bearing upon further and kindred legislation, as will presently appear. The significant fact is, that the great leaders and financiers of the Republican party were willing to flood the country with hundreds of millions of depreciated silver dollars, redeemable in gold, thus debasing our currency and bringing incalculable hardship and distress to sixty-odd millions of people, in order to secure a tariff act which they overwhelmingly repudiated two years afterward.

The mischiefs of the Sherman act proved so intolerable that the Republican leaders were glad enough to unite in undoing their work. It was entirely disastrous in its effects, while it signally failed as a peace offering to the silver madness. The demand for free coinage had to be confronted at last, in the late campaign. The time for a shuffling, ambidextrous policy had passed. The game of further bargaining with fiat money while pretending to believe in intrinsic money could not be safely played any longer; but the old makeshift of conciliation and compromise still had its worshippers. What the party leaders needed, above all things, was courage. The St. Louis

convention pronounced the word *gold* with bated breath. Major McKinley was urged to declare himself on the question for months before the convention assembled, but he had nothing to say, while all his commitals on the subject both in Congress and out of Congress had been in favor of free silver. Speaker Reed was also besieged for a declaration of his opinions, but he too opened not his mouth. Like many other distinguished leaders of his party, he was waiting to see what the St. Louis platform would declare, and it was only after a great wave of enthusiasm for the gold standard throughout the country that these leaders mustered the courage to define their position.

But the old love of silver and the habit of helping along the gold standard by holding dalliance with its enemy lingered in the St. Louis convention, and found expression in favor of bimetallism through the machinery of an international conference. This was another perfectly gratuitous sop to silver, for during the canvass it was totally ignored as an issue, while in November seven millions of voters demanded the single gold standard and sent Mr. Bryan and his misguided disciples to their reckoning. Neither did the tariff issue play any part in the canvass, because the money question completely overshadowed every other.

And yet the danger of still further dickering with silver was not passed. Bad habits are not easily cured. The extra session of Congress which followed the inauguration of the new president was called for the express purpose of dealing with the finances and the tariff. Indeed, the campaign of 1896 had made the financial issue the previous and paramount question. And yet the reënactment of the McKinley tariff, with revisions embodying still higher duties, was demanded by the leaders of Republicanism, as if the question had been passed upon as the sole issue of the canvass; while their dicker with the silver men in the passage of the Sherman act of 1890 found its counterpart in the closing days of this memorable session. Both houses utterly refused to deal with the reform of our financial policy prior to the enactment of the tariff bill. This was deemed absolutely necessary as a means of conciliating the silver element in the Senate, which controlled that

body. The Democrats, who in the Chicago convention had shown their readiness to surrender the principle of a tariff for revenue only for the sake of silver votes, were of course ready for another deal, which the Republicans gladly accepted. As in the case of the Sherman act, they were ready to subordinate the question of reforming our vicious financial policy to the paramount issue of tariff reform. It is true that Mr. McKinley in the closing hours of the extra session recommended the appointment of a financial commission, but no one knew better than he that the Senate would treat the recommendation with contempt, and that his party had turned its back upon the very principle on which it had mounted to power.

The besetting temptation to compromise is thus ever present with the Republican leaders. After allowing the champions of silver to flood the country with their cheap literature for two or three years prior to the late campaign without any endeavor to counteract it, they took alarm at the growth of the movement, magnified its potency, and thus abetted its work of mischief. The Republican party lacks leadership. If it had a real standard-bearer, like Charles Sumner, who would totally forget himself and his party in the service of his country, the contagion of his example would re-create our politics and herald a new dispensation. But no such standard-bearer has appeared, while the people have been obliged to become their own leaders and drag their pretended ones after them.

This dearth of leaders is nothing new in our experience. It made its appearance soon after the close of the civil war, and has never been remedied. Mr. Bryan made it an object-lesson in his late campaign by quoting from the speeches of Sherman, Morton, Logan, and other party leaders during the progress of the greenback movement, showing their sympathy with its cheap-money fallacies, and by like quotations from Blaine, McKinley, Reed, and others on the silver question in support of his fanatical opinions. In the whole of his copious outpourings from the stump during his campaign of four months he failed to make the slightest addition to any man's stock of knowledge; but he did some effective work for himself in calling his Republican assailants as his witnesses, and making them the defenders of his financial heresies, while

unwittingly reminding them that the evil that men do lives after them.

I believe the facts I have stated make it perfectly evident that no remedy for our financial troubles is attainable through the political agencies that have produced them. The experiment has been patiently and thoroughly tried, and has utterly failed. Any further efforts in this direction would only multiply and prolong the mistaken methods which have proved not only fruitless but disastrous. Something must be done. Despair is no remedy for any evil under the sun; but the situation is serious. The existence of a widespread and deep-seated popular discontent is itself alarming, for it brings demagogues and charlatans to the front and arms them with power. To say that the nation is incapable of taking care of itself after triumphantly facing the great trials of a hundred years is to confess that our system of government is a cheat and that its founders were only dreamers of dreams.

I believe the way of deliverance has already been indicated in the concerted action of the business men of the country which has been set on foot. These men represent every material interest of the people of the United States. They are attached to different political parties, but are not place-seekers, and have been selected on account of their fitness to deal with our financial difficulties intelligently and in a dispassionate and non-partisan spirit. They will be able to bring together and duly consider the opinions and wishes of every section of the union, and can thus embody and give expression to the public opinion of the nation. That opinion will be respected, because it will have power. Congress, of course, will have to embody in legislation whatever financial reforms may be deemed necessary; but it will not refuse to give heed to the deliberate judgment of a large body of well-informed and disinterested business men representing every interest of the people and earnestly striving for their welfare.

Irvington, Ind.

II. THE FINANCES AND OUR PARTY LEADERS.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

THE article entitled "Our Party Leaders and the Finances" by Hon. George W. Julian has been admitted to the pages of THE ARENA as a forthshowing instance of what a great mind gone utterly wrong can do when it does its worst. It is well for our readers to have an unadulterated example of a product which could not be possible except under conditions that prevail only in the diseased stages of civilization. I shall try to deal with this article in a manner commensurate with its merits; but in the first place, let us pause for a brief space to offer what I hope will not be regarded as an offensive criticism of the author of the article under consideration.

Hon. George W. Julian is a veteran. He has passed the eightieth milestone of his life, yet his eye is not dimmed nor his natural force abated. For fully half a century he has been recognized as a fact and a factor in the public opinion of the United States. Early in life he came to the fore as a champion in the cause of human liberty. He was an old abolitionist—a free-soiler—in the days that tried men as by fire. He had the courage and the conscience to say that all men under the Stars and Stripes shall be free, and that they shall be equal before the law. He went into the battle and took the odium and the blow. Forty-five years ago he was the first formal candidate of the Free-Soil Party for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. He was the running mate of Hon. John P. Hale of New Hampshire in the Presidential contest of 1852. Men who were soldiers in the Civil War now recall from the far horizon of boyhood the political cry of "Hale and Julian." We ourselves remember that cry from the dewy days before we entered our teens. We remember the contumely which was heaped upon Mr. Julian and his cause. We do honor to the man as he then stood before the world, and to the part which he took in the great oncoming battle. That he should now, at the distance of nearly half a century, when the long shadows of the sunset

are streaming up from the dusk horizon of the west, renounce his better self, abandon the cause of humanity, join the enemies of mankind, and attempt with a fallacious, misleading, pessimistic, and soulless argument to lead his countrymen into the brazen jaws of a slave-trap more deadly than that which held the African race in bondage,—is one of the most pitiable spectacles in the personal history of our times. It is as though one should line his sarcophagus with despair and shout back a malediction on the world!

The men who held the negroes in servitude were the victims of a system which they did not invent. Many of them—most of them—were humane men. Some of them were our fathers, and we stand here to defend their characters in the face of the whole world. Those old Virginians were high-minded men who sought to alleviate as much as they could the terrible fact of slavery. But they who at the close of the nineteenth century appear as the promoters and advocates of an incipient slavery which is to be established by falsehood on the ruins of the freedom of the white races in America—a *money* slavery most pernicious by which the great American democracy is to be ground mercilessly under the iron heel of a miserable oligarchy of gold robbers—have a heavier account to answer for at the bar of that silent Nemesis called History. To that bar, we summon the whole race of plutocratic cormorants and their apologists and hangers-on and retinue of subservient worshippers. Stand ye up, all of you, and face the judgment!

First of all, then, I wish to point out the underlying fact and event in our current history out of which Mr. Julian's article has sprung. To this end we ask our readers to peruse with attention *the last paragraph* of the article under consideration. Mr. Julian says:

> I believe the way of deliverance has already been indicated in the concerted action of the business men of the country which has been set on foot. These men represent every material interest of the people of the United States. They are attached to different political parties, but are not place-seekers, and have been selected on account of their fitness to deal with our financial difficulties intelligently and in a dispassionate and non-partisan spirit. They will be able to bring together and duly consider the opinions and wishes of every section of the union, and can

thus embody and give expression to the public opinion of the nation. That opinion will be respected, because it will have power. Congress, of course, will have to embody in legislation whatever financial reforms may be deemed necessary; but it will not refuse to give heed to the deliberate judgment of a large body of well-informed and disinterested business men representing every interest of the people and earnestly striving for their welfare.

This paragraph, though placed at the conclusion of the article, brings us face to face with the circumstances which have given rise to "Our Party Leaders and the Finances" and to this discussion. The fact referred to by Mr. Julian in the words, "the concerted action of the business men of the country," was the holding in the city of Indianapolis in December of 1896, of a so-called Business Men's convention. The convention was called for the ostensible purpose of originating a scheme for the alleged "reform" of the currency system of the United States. But whatever may have been the terms of the convocation, it was a gathering of gold-bugs, pure and simple. The movement in the first place was principally promoted by a little auriferous newspaper whose Calvinistic viscera have not in the last ten years sufficiently relaxed to assimilate a drop of milk. It was also promoted and indeed fathered by a certain profound financier with the tremendous name of Hanna. This discoverer of golden apples was not the all-powerful Marcus Aurelius, but another whose cognomen was Hugh. He had been "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought," and imagined that his mission in the world is to rescue the American people from the evil and crime of transacting their business and paying their debts with the dollar of the law and the contract.

From such origins the "convention of disinterested business men" was projected. It had its political motive in the purpose to make of President William McKinley a subservient vassal of the Money Power. I dare say that of the six and a half millions of American freemen who supported William Jennings Bryan for the Presidency, not a single representative was sent to the Indianapolis convention. And yet, according to Mr. Julian, it was "non-partisan!"

In that convention at Indianapolis every form of goldbuggery known to the ingenuity of the money oligarchy was rep-

resented. The board of trade was there. The banker was there in chief. The syndicate and the trust were there. The railroad management was there—and presided. The corporation, in all its protean forms, was there. The insurance company and the bucket-shop were there. The Money Bag was there. Several species of merchants who permit their bankers and the goldite newspapers to do their daily thinking for them were there. But the rank and file of the merchants were *not* there. As for the American people at large they had no more voice in the Indianapolis convention—no more influence in determining its action—than had the tribes of Tahiti in determining the course of the Napoleonic wars. It is the absolute truth that the *people* of the United States were not only totally unrepresented in that convention, but they were belied by its every utterance.

The men who composed that body were the respectabilities of society. They were good "sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights," but not one of them represented the producers, the legitimate tradesmen, or the millions of wage-earners of the United States. The convention was the convention of a *class*. It presumed to call itself a "business" convention; as though business consisted—and consists—in the manipulation of money, in speculative schemes, in the inflation of stocks, and in the corrupt gambling of the produce market.

To be sure the Indianapolis convention has had great need of advocates and apologists. It has possessed, however, the ready means of procuring both. The goldite party in the year 1896 was not wanting in resources. It had everything to offer—everything except truth. There is a tradition that funds were liberally subscribed in order to "preserve the national honor."

I may not pass from this branch of the subject without noting that the Indianapolis "business" convention, notwithstanding the fact that all the desiccated vitals of it were brought to the capital of Indiana already prepared in the pockets of the managers, came near exploding in the very hands of the makers and in the very act of its existence. All the compressive force of the money power was necessary in

order to confine the volcano and force back its lava through subterranean fissures into the sea. The enterprise, however, was carried through, and the convention got itself into the shape of its preconcerted resolutions and its Committee of Fifteen.

Such were the root and origin of the Monetary Commission, which in the first place constituted itself without warrant of law, then established itself in the District of Columbia, and finally laid siege to the government of the United States. By this presumptuous and self-created body the McKinley administration has been literally beleaguered since the first day of its existence. The Monetary Commission is as much an extraneous force brought to bear on the government for an unholy purpose as is the Whiskey Ring or the Sugar Trust. The Credit Mobilier of 1872 had just as much warrant for its existence, and a much more moral purpose for its motive and end.

There never was in the history of the United States an outside clique of interested schemers engaged in a more nefarious intrigue than is the Monetary Commission which is now, under the specious cover of interest in the public welfare, bringing all the momentum of the Money Power to bear on the representatives of the people to force them to the registration of one more false statute against the rights and interests of the nation. This Commission pretends to be representative of the "business interests" of the United States. Of *what* business interests? The business interests represented by this body are precisely those that are too much represented already. They are the business interests of the Money Oligarchy, of the Banks, of the Stock Exchanges, of the Syndicates and Trusts, of the railroads and telegraphs, with their watered stocks and inhuman unconcern for the welfare of anybody but themselves.

We have had enough of this "business-interest" business! The thing palls upon us. Our true business interests are simply the honest affairs of the American people as a whole. They are the interests, first of all, of our producers; of the fifty-six per cent of us who are still under the cheerful necessity of doing something in order to live; of the miners and

manufacturers; of the small tradesmen, and of all those plain and honest folk who contribute of their brain and brawn to the welfare of this nation. The enumeration does not include a single monopolist, speculator, or gambler.

The government, however, is now, we repeat, in a state of siege. The so-called Monetary Commission has taken possession of the gates of the city, and the supreme power of this great nation is besieged. The administration is a willing captive. The administration agrees that the siege shall continue. The administration gave the signal for the siege to begin. The administration is as willingly cooped up as was Bazaine in Metz. Never before was there exhibited so great an anxiety in the capital of a nation to be besieged. The Monetary Commission as an aggressive power forced itself into recognition at noonday on the Fourth of last March. The Putty Man of the White House has recommended it to the consideration of Congress! He has recommended the atrocious scheme—very mildly it is true—which came from the hands of this Commission, under the monstrous pretence of being a "reform of the currency!" It is a *reform* of the currency indeed! It is such a reform as was perhaps never before openly proposed in a civilized state for the further spoliation of the people. The madness of this Monetary Commission is equal to its arrogance; its folly is not surpassed by its contempt for the real interests of the nation. The measures which this Commission has formulated are the most destructive and ruinous as well as the most hypocritical series of propositions that were ever, in daylight or in darkness, invented for the betrayal of a great people.

All of these astounding facts are known and recognized by the well-informed and patriotic part of our people. The goldite newspapers have, as a matter of course, taken up the work of the Monetary Commission and are promoting it all they can. They may be depended upon in this case, as in all cases, to do whatever is in their power to bring further disaster and slavery upon the people of the United States.

I have thus at considerable length set forth that fact in the public life of the nation out of which Mr. Julian's article has confessedly sprung. The Indianapolis convention and

what has grown out of it are the primary inspirations of Mr. Julian's heavenly Muse. His production is an inverted epic of the Indianapolis Convention and its bantling, the Monetary Commission. Of these he sings. The reader may not at first get the full drift of this Iliad of the Plutocracy, but he will do so if he will but take the last paragraph of the article first and consider it as the invocation.

Be it known, then, that the purport of Mr. Julian's article is to justify the Indianapolis convention and promote the work of the self-created commission which is now encamped around the Capitol and the White House. In order to such justification, Mr. Julian finds it necessary to assail every fact in our current history which stands in the way of the purposes of the commission and those who are behind it. Political parties seem to him to stand in the way. The leaders of these parties, at least the leaders of *one* of the parties, stand in the way. The Supreme Court in its past history, and many acts of Congress and some acts of Presidents, stand in the way. Therefore, down with all parties except *my* party—the party of the Goldites. Down with all party leaders—except the gold-bugs. Down with all the Supreme Court—except so much of it as is subservient to our purpose. Down with every President—except Cleveland. Down with all the Congresses—except those who have renounced the people and hitched themselves in a willing draft to the chariot of the Money Power.

Let it not be thought that Mr. Julian's contribution is going to escape a severe analysis. By the favor of heaven, I now intend to do it signal justice. Having shown the origin and general purport of it, I purpose to consider it, part by part, and to show the readers of THE ARENA precisely what it it.

The opening hypothesis of Mr. Julian's contribution is that democracy is a failure; that is, democracy is a failure with respect to one particular and important function of civil government; namely, the management of the finances.

To create a Treasury, to organize a system of finance, to administer that system in the interest of the people, have always in civilized time been regarded as one of the supreme

attributes of sovereignty. To transfer the management of the National Treasury and the administration of the finances from the sovereign and to put such management into the hands of any other than the sovereign would be regarded in any monarchical country as treason! Whoever or whatever the sovereign may be, the financial prerogative is unequivocally his.

In the United States, under our democratic system, *the people are the sovereign.* We have no other. We desire no other. By the goodness of God we will have no other. We shall never have another until our national democracy shall be overthrown and obliterated. To propose any sovereign other than the people in this republic is to propose something which is subversive of the first principle of our national existence. To attempt to force the people or to cajole them into abdication and to set up a special interest to rule over them is not only undemocratic and unrepublican; it is treasonable. To do so it to undermine the very principle of democracy. To do so is to renounce America. To do so is to deliver the glorious republic to her ravishers and to spit on the graves of our forefathers. To do so in part is to undermine in part; and to do so in whole is to destroy both the foundation and the superstructure of our free institutions.

This is precisely what Mr. Julian does! He openly proposes that the management of the finances, being too great or too obscure or too sacred for the people and the representatives of the people, shall be entrusted to a class of persons whom he designates as "a body of experienced business men." His proposition is to substitute a money oligarchy for the free judgment and purpose of the American people, and then graciously to permit Congress to ratify the decrees of the oligarchy. He proposes that all political parties shall step out of the way, and that Congress itself shall abdicate until the "body of experienced business men" shall be ready to report. Albeit, political parties include in their following much more than ninety per cent of the whole citizenship of the republic. Perhaps ninety-nine men out of every hundred of our tremendous American democracy have a political affiliation. Mr. Julian proposes that the ninety and nine

shall be abolished, and that the remaining one, being an expert, shall take charge of the financial system of the people of the United States. Nor shall we fail to note the fact that the remaining one is the interested party! The assumption is that a syndicate composed of an insignificant fraction of the American people shall take their business away and transact it for them!

This proposition of Mr. Julian's is of a piece with the whole plan and purpose of the money oligarchy in the United States. The bottom principle of the scheme is to abolish the people and to substitute a special interest. The scheme is to destroy democracy. It is to destroy republicanism. It is to overthrow popular government. It is to build on the ruins of popular government a miserable despotism more contemptible (as contrasted with the sublime structure which it is intended to supplant) than is any monarchical or aristocratic usurpation in any of the governments of Europe.

This scheme of the money power goes back for its principle to the theory that the American people are fools and weaklings. It assumes that the people are infants, muling and puking in the nurse's arms. It implies that the people are not fit to be trusted with their own affairs. It implies that they are a drove of cattle to be herded by their masters, driven to their pastures, and driven to their keep, fed, watered, goaded, butchered, and skinned by their drivers. And the drivers are, in this instance, according to Mr. Julian, to be a body of "disinterested business men!" Disinterested!

It is a part of the plan of the money propaganda to disseminate among the people this notion of themselves and their representatives. The gilded aristocracy believe and teach that the people are a cross between a herd and a horde. As far as the influence of Wall Street extends, as far as the literary bureau of the Reform Club can stretch itself, as far as a subservient President and a conspiring Secretary of the Treasury and astute contributors of false arguments to magazines can reach,—thus far is spread this baleful and pernicious doctrine of subverting popular government and of instituting an oligarchy in its stead.

In order to effect this substitution of a selfish few for a great and unselfish people in the control of their national finances, with the consequent overthrow of public liberties in the United States, and the institution of an intolerable slavery for the free industries of the people, Mr. Julian perceives that it is necessary to remove many obstacles. He therefore proceeds to remove them. Whatever stands in the way of his scheme he proceeds to abolish. If the Democratic party be in his way (which it is), he assails and abolishes that. If the Republican party prove recalcitrant (a thing no longer to be feared!), he assails and abolishes that. If President Grant be good and subservient, Mr. Julian praises him; but if Grant be recusant, then he assails and abolishes *him*. If the Supreme Court be tractable and follow the lines which Mr. Julian indicates for that great tribunal, then the Supreme Court is good and shall be saved; otherwise it is bad and shall be damned. If the House of Representatives have piped to Mr. Julian's metre, then the House of Representatives is wise and patriotic; but if the House of Representatives have followed only the behests of the people, then is the body fit only for expurgation and anathema. If the Senate have permitted itself to be haltered and led around by the international gold league to ratify its acts and to give validity to the measures which the magnanimous Wall Street has invented with so much self-sacrifice and philanthropy "to preserve the national honor,"—then the Senate is the noble bulwark of public faith, the palladium of righteousness. But if the Senate have heeded the will of the nation and have impeded by ever so little the scheme of the universal plutocracy, then the Senate has degenerated into a nest of demagogues, a club of incompetent politicians.

As to individual men, Mr. Julian puts them up or puts them down according to the same criterion. Every man who has defended the people and the people's cause, is a fool and a blatherskite. Every bloated gambler and monopolist in the United States is a patriot and a statesman provided only that he has favored that infamous scheme by which, in the course of twenty-five years, the old honest money-system of the United States has been taken away, and a new system, con-

ceived in fraud and brought forth in intrigue, has been substituted, by which every man who has done a dollar's worth of business has been compelled to transact that business and to discharge his deferred obligation not according to the law and the contract, but with a fraudulent unit of value more than twice as great as the counter of the statute and the Constitution.

It is in the light of this exposition that Mr. Julian's assault is to be understood and interpreted. We say nothing of the interplanetary egotism which enables an American writer to denounce everything in nature but himself and Grover Cleveland. If Mr. Julian's philosophy should be reduced to an apothegm it would read thus: "There are two sinless and all-wise intelligences—the writer and the twenty-fourth President." All the rest like sheep have gone astray. All the rest have floundered in the quagmire and have come forth soiled with mud, a spectacle to the world. Out of *our* wisdom, however, has come forth sweetness. Out of the slayer has come forth strength. The strength and the sweetness have effervesced, and out of the effervescence, lo, there spring the Indianapolis Convention and the Monetary Commission. This force shall be a savor of life unto life. The "business interests" shall have possession of the finances of the United States, and the American people shall settle back into servitude and lie still.

In the next place let us examine more fully some of the particulars of Mr. Julian's paper. His first assault is on the greenback currency. They who provided this money and they who upheld it are stigmatized as "fiatists." In this connection he does the Democratic party the honor to say that soon after the war it rallied to the support of the greenbacks. He says that the Democrats are chiefly responsible for the inflation measures of 1874. As a matter of fact, it was principally the protest and petition of the gold gamblers of lower New York against the policy of Hugh McCulloch that led to the cessation of the destruction of the greenback currency and the small measure of relief that was then secured to the people.

In the course of his paper Mr. Julian assumes everything.

Having assumed that the greenback act was illegal—that the government of the United States had no right to save itself alive except on the impossible basis of gold—he next assumes that the twelve hundred millions of five-twenty bonds that were purchased at the par of that lawful money which the government had invented in the hour of its deadly peril—were payable, not in the currency with which they had been purchased, but in a currency of *coin* worth about two and a half times as much—unit for unit—as the dollar of the contract. On this assumption he justifies that scheme of supreme robbery which was perpetrated on the American people in March, 1869, by the miscalled Act to Strengthen the Public Credit.

This act, instead of being an act to strengthen the public credit or to strengthen anything else except the interests of the money gamblers, was an unmitigated and infamous outrage; the first of many of its kind. And yet Mr. Julian defends it. He assails those who opposed the act. Why he does so when the act in question has passed under the contempt of history and the anathema of mankind, I know not. But one thing I know, and that is the extreme brevity of Mr. Julian's memory. He has forgotten; while some of the rest of us have only forgotten to forget. In the year 1868, that is *before* the Act to Strengthen the Public Credit was passed, Mr. Julian was a Republican Representative in Congress; he was an *Indiana* Republican. He was one of the leaders of his party, which he had helped to drag along from its sometime milk-and-water policy on the slavery question to the open support of abolition and the championship of those measures by which, with many grimaces and cramps, the American Africans had been admitted to the full rights of citizenship. At that time Mr. Julian was also engaged in a high and laudable endeavor to secure an amendment to the Constitution granting the equal right of suffrage to the women of the United States. In the early summer of 1868, the Republican party of Mr. Julian's State held its convention, and among other things unanimously adopted the following financial plank in its platform:

The public debt made necessary by the Rebellion should be honestly

paid; and all bonds issued therefor *should be paid in legal tenders*, commonly called greenbacks, except where, by their express terms, they provide otherwise.

Mirabile dictu! Such was the platform of Mr. Julian and his party thirty years ago. That was before his judgment was obfuscated and his old-time manly impulses were abused and perverted to the extent of bringing him to his knees before the little gold image of Apis. That was in the patriotic days ere the strong man bowed, and the keeper of the house trembled, and they that look out of the windows were darkened. In the face of this record it is not precisely consistent for the veteran publicist now to assail the opponents of the act of 1869, and to stigmatize *them* as fiatists.

In the same manner the author of "Our Party Leaders and the Finances" comes to the act of 1873. A reference to that act is enough to raise the gorge of nations. That act was the *second* great stage in our national iniquity. It was simply a fraud and a crime. It has upon it the withering curse of all patriots and true friends of the people. It was a scheme to rob the people of their old constitutional money, and silently and nefariously to substitute a new unit of money and account in place of the unit of the law and the contract. To tamper with an *individual* contract is conceded to be a crime. To tamper with our *national* contract and to convert our prodigious war debt into a form which should make it worth double, treble, quadruple the face value of the debt at the time it was contracted, was an iniquity which cannot be described in language. It requires some avenging angel to stand on Mount Ebal and curse it forever!

The act of 1873 has entailed upon the American people enough of anguish and woe and heartbreak and despair to discharge them from all liability for their sins. The act has been a canker on the prosperity of the American nation. It has virtually destroyed free American citizenship. It has filled the land with an innumerable horde of tramps. It has populated graveyards and filled our harbors with the sodden bodies of ten thousand suicides. It has converted beggary into an institution, and created a clique of millionaires who have built up an invisible empire on the ruins of the Ameri-

can Republic. It has engendered a cabal of spoliators who own everything. They own the nation; the government of the United States is one of their trifling assets.

This usurping oligarchy of money lords has invented numberless methods of perverting the public judgment and transforming truth into falsehood. They have their retainers and their claqueurs, their clubhouses filled with sycophants, and their arsenals filled with shot and shells to blow into eternity all protestants against their empire and their administration.

The acts of 1869 and 1873 are the deep fountains of all the baleful conditions in our present financial system. Out of those acts the present state of this great nation has been engendered. And now it has become necessary that these our national crimes shall be justified by casuists and be made a permanent and respectable part of our national history. Mr. Julian undertakes his part of this work with zeal. He defends every stage in our progress towards the establishment of an absolute industrial despotism on the basis of a gold dollar and a National-Bank bill. All the rest is to him trash.

Permit me to ask Mr. Julian a question. In what currency have the National-Bank bills of the United States been redeemable, and redeemed, in the whole thirty-five years since they were created? Have these bills ever been redeemable in *gold?* Never! Have they ever been redeemable in *silver?* Never! Have they ever been redeemable in *coin?* Never! Have the National Bankers ever been obliged to keep anything but *greenbacks* in reserve against their outstanding promises to pay? Never! That is to say, the National Bankers have by the law, for a full lifetime, been permitted and *authorized* to redeem all of their own obligations *in fiat money pure and simple!* A single dollar in gold, or in silver, has never been exacted in payment from any National Banker for the notes which the government has given him as a free contribution to his welfare.

All this has been necessary in order to uphold "the public credit," to preserve "the national honor," and to save the people from the heresy of fiat money! The National Banks have been based on fiat, and fiat only, from the first day of their existence. The bonds which they hold were purchased with

greenbacks, and every dollar of their outstanding circulation has always had the greenback for its redeemer! I repeat, therefore, that the scheme of the goldites, first for the substitution of coin for legal-tender paper in the payment of the five-twenty bonds, then for the destruction of silver, and finally for the cancellation of the greenback currency is for its infamy indescribable in human speech. No wonder that it has to be fortified and made secure by the agency of a Monetary Commission, a contributing Secretary of the Treasury, a subservient House of Representatives dodging under the bludgeon of a political tyrant, an administration as soft as wax in the hands of a doll-maker, and an outside advocate who appears in the pages of the Magazine of the People to make the worse appear the better reason.

In the next place Mr. Julian devotes several paragraphs of his article to what appears to be, but is not in fact, an exposition of the constitutional place of the greenback currency as determined by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is in this part that he treats the Supreme Court in so lordly and commanding a way. He estimates that body according to his own subjective opinions as to what the court *ought* to have decided and what it *did* decide. His representation of the case is well calculated to give the reader a wholly incorrect notion of what the Supreme Court has done in the way of fixing the constitutional status of legal tender. Mr. Julian has glossed the matter over and misrepresented it in a manner which, if I did not respect the writer, I should unhesitatingly declare to be unworthy of a pettifogger before a justice of the peace.

Mr. Julian treats the preliminary decision of the Supreme Court, rendered on February 7th, 1870, as though the general constitutionality of the legal-tender act was in question at that time. It was *not* the constitutionality of the greenbacks which was involved in the case of Hepburn *vs.* Griswold, but it was the question whether the legal-tender act was *retroactive* as to those debts which were contracted before the act was passed! I do Mr. Julian the honor to think that he knows that this was the question involved. He certainly does know it. The question of the retroactive effect of the

greenback law was one thing; the question of the present and prospective effect, that is, of the general constitutionality, of the act was another thing. The former did not involve, and the latter did involve, the bottom principle of the legal-tender law.

The well-known difficulty and general injustice of making retroactive laws are well recognized in the legislative and judicial history of states. The Supreme Court in 1870 might well divide on such a question. A majority of the judges (five to three) thought that since *preëxisting* debts had been contracted on a basis of coin, the sovereignty of the nation could not avail to make *those* debts payable in a legal tender of paper. Even this decision, as Mr. Julian sets forth, was reversed in the following year. Instead of considering the question of whether it *ought* to have been reversed, he devotes his space and energy to show that the reorganized court of 1871 had been packed by General Grant with a special view to securing a reversal.

In making this charge against General Grant Mr. Julian undertakes to fathom the motives of that unquestionably honest man, and also the motives of the Justices of the Supreme Court. It may be noticed that he does not assail the motives of those who were in the majority in 1870, or of those who were in the minority in 1871. He stretches out his divining-rod over the members of the Supreme Court in these critical years and by his infallible intuitions divides the sheep from the goats. The anti-greenback sheep are righteous, but the greenback goats, which had been run in by the hero of Appomattox in order that they might be counted, are iniquitous! That is, the good and the wise are, in the nature of the case, on our side, and the corrupt and foolish are on your side! Thus has it ever been with him who instead of seeking the truth of things makes a special plea in the interest of a false cause.

But we are not yet done by a great deal with Mr. Julian's exposition of the constitutionality of the greenbacks as tested by the decisions of the Supreme Court. Reading easily along, one might well arise from the perusal of Mr. Julian's paper with the notion that the two decisions of the Court,

namely, that of Hepburn *vs.* Griswold of February 7, 1870, and the rehearing of that cause in the spring of 1871, neither of which touched the fundamental constitutionality of the greenbacks, are *all* that the Supreme Court has delivered on this great question. Note with particularity what Mr. Julian says:

> But the effects of this decision [of May 1, 1871] have been as calamitous as the methods of procuring it were indefensible. It recognizes the power of Congress to substitute irredeemable paper for gold and silver, and to compel every citizen to accept it in payment of all debts, while under a later decision this can be done in a time of peace; and the court declares that the remedy for legislative abuses must be sought at the polls, and not in the courts.

Mr. Julian says casually, and as if it were a trifling matter hardly to be noticed in passing, that "under a later decision this [the right to make money absolutely] can be done in time of peace," etc. Now this slight allusion, half-concealed and wholly inconclusive, refers to the great case of Juilliard *vs.* Greenman decided by the Supreme Court in 1884. And yet this was the critical, and the *only* critical and fundamental trial of the question, whether Congress has the right, in virtue of its sovereign power, whether in war or in peace, to create a legal-tender money. The preceding two decisions had been on the subordinate and only half-essential issue of the retroactive effect of the legal-tender act. But the decision of 1884 struck to the heart and soul of the question. That question was argued powerfully before a full bench of nine justices, and it was decided in the affirmative by eight members of the Court, only a single member (Justice Field) dissenting. In the two preliminary trials, Mr. Julian is careful to state that the retroactive validity of the legal-tender act was declared unconstitutional by a majority of five to three; also, that the reversal was effected by a majority of five to four in a packed court; but he fails (for what purpose it is easy to discern) to say anything about the question involved, the importance of the issue, and the almost unanimous decision of the Court, in the supremely important case of Juilliard *vs.* Greenman, March 3, 1884.

I am tempted to say something about this methol of conducting an argument. I have been taught to believe that the

discovery and establishment of truth are the first requisites in any message which a man may take the responsibility of delivering to his fellow men. This great principle applies even to a magazine contribution; at least it is intended to apply to contributions in THE ARENA. The failure to recognize this rule offends me. The ethical significance of the purposed suppression of truth jars somewhat on my old-fashioned prejudices, and makes me regret that I did not have the sterling advantage of being born in an age when casuistry was at a premium, and truth was regarded as an inconvenience or an obsolete incumbrance. My education in this respect was neglected by my mother, and it is for this reason, no doubt, that I am not better able to appreciate Mr. Julian's suppression of the major fact in his argument and his elaboration of two unimportant clauses.

The fact is that the Supreme Court by the decision of 1884 fixed forever the status of our legal-tender currency. The constitutionality of our greenback money is just as clearly affirmed and as deeply established as is any other fact in our legislative and judicial history. Not the abolition of African slavery itself, to which Mr. Julian so ably and honorably contributed, is any more completely imbedded in the legal structure of this republic than are the validity of legal-tender paper money and the power of Congress to create such money alike in time of war and time of peace. The absolute validity of the greenback law is a part of the constitutional history of the United States. I do Mr. Julian the credit to believe that he knows this fact as well as I do—only there is a difference in our respective concepts of duty with regard to writing and publishing what we know to be the truth.

I now purpose to point out a few of the particularly bright gems in Mr. Julian's article. I select not wholly at random the following numbered list of his premium aphorisms. They are not given *ipsissimis verbis*, but as nearly as possible they preserve the sense of his expressions. Let the reader note not only the meaning of these extracts from Mr. Julian's philosophy, but also what becomes of them in the light of truth. These expressions gathered almost casually from the rich field of tares and cockle called "Our Party Leaders and

the Finances" remind one of so many Miltonian batrachians squatting at the ears of the slumbering citizenship of this republic until they are touched with the spearhead of truth and transformed into their proper shapes. Here are more than a score of Mr. Julian's favorite morsels:

1. "It has been aptly said that silver dollars are metallic greenbacks."

2. "The loss to the people under the Bland-Allison act and the Sherman act aggregates $464,260,263."

3. "This amount has to be redeemed in gold like the greenbacks."

4. "Cleveland's rugged honesty and peerless courage stayed the popular growing madness for several years."

5. "The Democratic party has become a danger signal in our political navigation and a menace to republican government."

6. "Congress had no more power to create money than it has to make iron swim."

7. "Congress had no more power to transmute a promise to pay money into actual money than it had to make something out of nothing."

8. "Specie payments were not suspended in the great English Civil War nor by France in the long wars of Napoleon."

9. "The National Banks were hostile to the decision [of the Supreme Court against the greenback law], and urged its reversal."

10. "The Supreme Court became the football of party politics."

11. "The safeguards and balances in our system of government through which the people may be protected from the consequences of their own folly are thus [by the decision of the Supreme Court] swept away."

12. "The resumption of specie payments was seriously imperilled by the act of 1878."

13. "During the fifteen months ending with September, 1896, $192,972,205 in gold were paid out on presentation of greenbacks."

14. "The Sherman act provided for the purchase of

4,000,000 dollars' worth of silver per month, for which Treasury notes were given to be redeemable in gold."

15. "The Sherman act was passed as the price which the silver Senators demanded for their support of the McKinley tariff bill."

16. "The Sherman act was utterly disastrous in its effects."

17. "All of Major McKinley's committals on the subject [of the money question], both in Congress and out of Congress, had been in favor of free silver."

18. "International bimetallism was totally ignored as an issue in the Presidential canvass of 1896."

19. "In November [of 1896] seven millions of voters demanded the single gold standard and sent Mr. Bryan and his misguided disciples to their reckoning."

20. "The Republican party lacks leadership."

21. "Mr. Bryan made the speeches of the Republican leaders on the greenback question an object-lesson in 1896."

22. "Mr. Bryan failed to make the slightest addition to any man's stock of knowledge."

23. "The situation is serious."

With this list of statements before us let us consider them *seriatim:*

1. The silver dollars are *not* "metallic greenbacks" or anything else except so many full units of absolute primary money in precisely the same sense that gold dollars are full units of primary money. Every honest and well-informed man knows this to be true.

2. The people did *not* lose by the Bland-Allison and Sherman Acts $464,260,263, or any other number of dollars, or any single dollar; but on the contrary the people *gained* by both of these acts a very large advantage financially, industrially, and commercially. Mr. Julian figures up the alleged loss to the American people on the basis of the difference between the bullion silver coined under the Bland-Allison and Sherman laws and the cornered gold dollars which have been substituted for the dollars of the law and the contract.

As a matter of fact this disparity between the bullion price of silver and the coined price of gold only indicates the fact

that gold money has doubled and more than doubled its purchasing power. The real loss to the American people is in the falling off of the prices of all their products as measured by gold. The alleged loss of more than four hundred and fifty millions of dollars is one of the miserable juggles which the goldites have invented with which to cajole our citizens out of their senses. There was never a day after the Bland-Allison law was passed when the people of the United States, exclusive of the bondholders, were not distinctly the gainers thereby. And the same is true of the Sherman law of 1890. That law may be defined as the most salutary fraud that was ever perpetrated on mankind.

3. Mr. Julian says that the whole loss referred to has to be "redeemed in gold like the greenbacks." On the contrary, not a dollar of it has to be redeemed "in gold." Even if we should admit the loss, there is no compulsion on the government to redeem the silver certificates in *gold*, and there never has been any such compulsion. Under the extremest construction of the law they are, like the bonds, redeemable in *coin*. Coin is unmistakably defined by the act of July 14, 1870. It is the absolute option of the Secretary of the Treasury to use silver dollars or gold dollars in all matters of redemption. Mr. Julian says "like the greenbacks." The greenbacks are *not* redeemable in gold, and never were so redeemable except *at the option of the Treasury*. The fact is, as we have seen above, that the greenbacks, according to the decision of our supreme tribunal, are not notes to be redeemed in anything, but are money absolute. It is true that the money gamblers have been *permitted* to raid the Treasury with the greenback currency, and to carry away its gold by the bucketful; but for this outrageous proceeding there has not been, and is not now, the slightest warrant of law. The depletion of the gold supply in the Treasury has been in every instance effected with the connivance and conspiracy of the Treasurer, else it could not have been done at all.

4. The alleged "rugged honesty and peerless courage" of Grover Cleveland put in apposition with "the popular growing madness" is particularly good. Whose government is the American republic any how? We know very well whose

government it *was* in the years 1892-96. It was a foolhardy government, the central impulse of which sprang from the Bank of England. It was a government which during every day and night of its existence proclaimed from the minaret, *Lo illah il Allah*—there is no god but Allah—and I am Allah. To this there should be added, *Allahu akbar*—which may be liberally rendered, "Allah is a pot of gold."

5. Mr. Julian declares that the Democratic party has become "a danger signal and a menace to republican government." Does he really think so? The idea that the Democracy of America has become dangerous to the democracy of America is a form of speech which we hardly know whether to regard as humorous or only as absurd. In several parts of Mr. Julian's article, particularly in those in which he becomes sarcastic, the unconscious humor is sufficient to stock a comedy. To *what* is the Democracy dangerous? Is it dangerous to itself? Is it the office even of a populist to kill himself? If that were so, I do not doubt that Mr. Julian would delight in having him perform his duty!

This cry of the danger of democracy is only an expiring wail of the Middle Ages. It is the groan of the feudal baron *redivivus*. I do not doubt that the Money Power and all of its attachés and worshippers are terrorized at the apparition of democracy. Thus was it ever. The Tories of the Revolution could not bear the sight of a democrat. In Wall Street a democrat is more dreaded than a buccaneer or a guerrilla. When Senator Tillman went into that Holy Place and looked around, he was gazed at as an escaped chimpanzee that ought to be seized by the posse and incarcerated. The sight of William Jennings Bryan in the gallery of the Stock Exchange would produce more horror among the patriotic gentlemen and Christian gamblers storming and shouting on the floor, than if he were Diabolus with iron horns and lolled-out tongue of fire. Truly democracy is dreadful! Nothing is so fatal to the upholders of the public credit as an innocent democrat. The men who thresh wheat and dig potatoes and shear sheep and bale cotton are the monsters whom Mr. Julian declares to be "a menace to republican government." They *are* the

menace of Mr. Julian's kind of government, and they are going to menace it more and more, until it is broken into fragments and shovelled into the sea.

6. Mr. Julian says that Congress could as well make iron swim as to transmute a promise to pay money into actual money. This seems to be Mr. Julian's pet abomination. We agree that Congress cannot make iron swim. Mr. Julian might have added that Congress cannot keep iron *from* swimming if it be in quicksilver. But Congress can create money; it has created money; and some of these days it will do it again!

7. The profoundest element of untruth in what Mr. Julian says is his definition of the greenback as a "promise to pay." It is no such thing. I solemnly aver that under the statute and under the interpretation of the statute by the Supreme Court of the United States the greenback is *not* a promise to pay, and never was. The phrase "promise to pay" on the face of the greenback bill was originally fudged into it by the Treasury Department without the slightest warrant of law. On the reverse of the greenback it is defined truly and simply as "one dollar" or "ten dollars" or "one hundred dollars." On the obverse the phrase "promise to pay" was put there without the authority of Congress, and to this day no such authority has ever been given. Meanwhile the validity of the greenback as absolute money has been constitutionally determined, and as a corollary of this construction we add that the cancellation of a greenback dollar is simply the *destruction* of a dollar. It is the contraction of the currency by just so much. Being so, the cancellation of the greenbacks is now the favorite measure of the Money Power in the United States.

8. The character of Mr. Julian's paper as a special plea is capitally illustrated in his saying that specie payments were not suspended "during the Civil War in England nor by France during the Napoleonic wars." Why did he not say by *England* during the Napoleonic wars? That would have been richness. England suspended *for more than twenty years;* that is, for a period several years longer than the time of our suspension in the United States. Mr. Julian's skill in omitting matters well known to him is astonishing. An

attorney adopts this method when his cause requires it, but the magazine contributor never!

At the time of the English Revolution specie payments were not suspended on the Royalist side for the reason that Saint Charles I had the plate of his royalist friends turned into coin enough to last as long as coin would do any good to him or his cause. As to Oliver and his Ironsides they had a way of making the enemy pay the bill. Under such conditions why should specie payment be suspended? Napoleon at the beginning of his career fell back upon the despised assignats. Afterwards he had a way of bringing home from the various capitals of Europe certain sums which, though they cost him nothing, made a full treasury; and in the meantime England suspended. Mr. Julian will have to revise!

9. The author of "Our Party Leaders and the Finances" tells us that the National Banks were hostile to the first decision of the Supreme Court, which was against the greenback law. Certainly, certainly. It was their interest to be hostile, most hostile. How could they then do business *without* the greenbacks? The greenbacks were their only redemption fund. The law required them to keep the equivalency of about one-fifth of their circulation in greenbacks. They could not *then* with the greenbacks raid the Treasury of gold; for there was none. The dear gold was over in the Bank of England. The greenbacks were, therefore, a necessity. At that stage they were as essential to the banking interest as they were to the people. The banks have played their game thus: *use* the greenbacks as long as they will do us good; then *destroy* them "in order to preserve the National Honor."

10. Mr. Julian says the Supreme Court in 1871 and 1884 became "the football of party politics." Suppose we take the decision of 1884 on the greenback law, when eight judges, *not* under pressure, against a single judge declared the power of Congress to be absolute in the matter of making money, and compare it with the decision of the court in 1893 on the Income Tax. If the Supreme Court was a football in 1884 what was it in 1893!

11. Under this head Mr. Julian argues that the American people ought to be "protected from the consequences of their

own folly." He means protected by a Supreme Court that will decide all financial issues as the Money Power wants them decided. The idea that the American people ought to be protected from the consequences of their own folly is particularly good; but the notion that a Supreme Court under the dictation of the Money Power should be commissioned to give the protection is still better. I can conceive that under certain circumstances a flock of sheep might be protected from the consequences of their own folly; but the protection of the American people (who are fully able to protect themselves) by means of a Supreme Judiciary of Gold Bugs is too preposterous for serious discussion. It is a proposition which one of the philosophers of Laputa might well have made to Captain Lemuel Gulliver.

12. Mr. Julian alleges that the resumption of specie payments in 1879 was seriously imperilled by the remonetization of silver in 1878. How did the act of 1878 "imperil" the resumption of specie payments? We have always been foolish enough to suppose that the remonetization of silver was a great and distinct aid to resumption. We have supposed that without remonetization resumption would have been problematical if not impossible. True it is that in order to reach resumption the tremendous war debt had not in the period just preceding been reduced by a single dollar in nearly six years. Meanwhile the value of that debt was augmented by every turn of the crank, and the intolerable burden was laid upon posterity in order "to uphold the public credit." Oh, that was a great game! In the retrospect it seems prodigious. But what we allege is that the remonetization of silver by broadening the metallic basis greatly *assisted* in restoring the parity of value between the coin and the paper money of the United States.

13. Mr. Julian says that in the fifteen months ending with September, 1896, gold to the extent of $192,972,205 was expended in the redemption of greenbacks. True! Who expended it? The Secretary of the Treasury. Under what law? Under no law! Aye, there was a law. It was the law of Wall Street. It was the edict of the money gamblers who had contrived a scheme to get more bonds—and got them.

They held a bludgeon over the government. They said, *Stand and deliver;* and Carlisle delivered. He gave away his gold for greenbacks when he was not obliged to do it. He gave away his 262,000,000 dollars' worth of bonds, and the Morgan syndicate pocketed nineteen millions of the proceeds and went off yachting. Mr. Carlisle, if he wanted to act in the character of a redeemer, had plenty of silver, and silver was coin, and coin was the law, and the law was righteousness. He paid out gold because it was demanded. He permitted the Treasury to be looted. He and the bond gamblers winked at each other across the counter, while the thing was done. The picture is worthy to be commemorated in art.

14. In this paragraph Mr. Julian says that the Sherman act "provided for the purchase of 4,000,000 dollars' worth of silver per month, for which Treasury notes were to be given redeemable in gold." Here it is again. Is it possible that the American people have no more information and no more sense than to believe such indescribable stuff as is contained in the above paragraph? It was not 4,000,000 dollars' worth of silver or any other number of dollars' worth of silver, but 4,500,000 *ounces* of silver that should be purchased under the Sherman law. The Treasury notes given in the purchase of silver under the Sherman act were *not* redeemable in gold. It is out of the question to suppose that Mr. Julian does not know this. What does he mean in going before the world in this garb of unmitigated misrepresentation? The Treasury notes given in the purchase of silver under the Sherman act were—and are—redeemable in coin, standard coin. Standard coin exists in two kinds under our statute. The two kinds are silver and gold. The unit until 1873 existed in silver only. For five years after that date the unit existed in gold only; but in that interval silver and gold were at a parity, so that the abolition of the silver unit for the time made no difference in the equity of debts. With 1878 the silver unit was restored. It was restored absolutely. No clause in any subsequent legislation has disturbed it. The unit exists in silver this New Year's day of 1898 as much as the unit exists in gold. Therefore the "coin" of the statute is of both kinds. Coin is not gold any more than it is silver.

It is not silver any more than it is gold. It is silver OR gold at the option of the payer; mark you well, *the option of the payer!* Carlisle was the payer. He permitted the money gamblers to take his option from him, or rather to take away the priceless option of the American people without a word of protest. When Mr. Julian says that the Treasury notes which were used in the purchase of silver under the Sherman act were given to be redeemable in gold, he says what is not true.

15. Neither is it true, as Mr. Julian alleges, that the Sherman act was passed as the "price which the silver Senators demanded for their support of the McKinley tariff bill." This allegation is a recent discovery. The Sherman act was notoriously passed as a cunning invention of John Sherman himself in collusion with President Harrison and Speaker Reed. The compromise was invented by the goldites in their own interest. It was perhaps the shrewdest piece of legislation ever devised in our times. The law was so prepared and expressed that the subsequent abrogation of a single clause would undo the whole fabric and leave silver absolutely exposed to the wiles of the international Gold League; and the thing foreseen by the inventors of the Sherman law actually came to pass.

The repeal of the purchasing clause did the business for the people of the United States. The men who engineered the Sherman bill through Congress may have been this or that, but they were not fools. It is not true that the silver Senators demanded the Sherman act as the price of anything. The silver Senators demanded *free coinage*, and voted for it, and carried it by a majority of seventeen. Such was the pressure of the administration and of the Republican leaders and of Wall Street upon the Senate, that the Senate to its shame yielded to the compromise and went back upon its haunches.

16. The Sherman act was not, as Mr. Julian alleges, "utterly disastrous in its effects." Bad as it was, it was good. It was, as we have said, the most salutary of all frauds. It was so salutary that if Congress had stood to its colors in 1893-94 we should to-day have free coinage; and the Goldites? Well, in that event they might have taken care of themselves the best way they could. It was not our funeral.

17. Under this head we are happy to agree in full with Mr. Julian. He says that "all of Major McKinley's committals on the Money Question both in Congress and out of Congress have been in favor of free silver." True, most true. But what does that amount to when a man is President? It is cruel for Mr. Julian to bring up President McKinley's record in this way. He might have left that duty to us. It would have afforded us great pleasure to point out the fact which Mr. Julian has so exactly and politely set forth, namely, that Major McKinley and Congressman McKinley never made an utterance on the question under discussion except in favor of free silver until what time the prudent Wall Street, looking around for a suitable agent to do its bidding for the next four years, saw him, loved him, believed in him, and said, "H-s-sh!"

18. In the next place Mr. Julian alleges that "international bimetallism was totally ignored as an issue in the Presidential canvass of 1896." On the contrary, it was *the determining fact* in that canvass. Does anybody suppose that but for the hypocritical profession of international bimetallism the Republican party in 1896 would have kept step and voted for the Advance Agent of Prosperity? Nay, nay; the Republicans by the hundred thousand, honest and hoodwinked as they were, thought that the hypocrites *meant something* by professing international bimetallism. Of course they did not mean anything, but their profession prevailed; and if it had not prevailed every intelligent man knows that William McKinley would not to-day be President of the United States.

19. In the next place, Mr. Julian says that "seven millions of American voters in November, 1896, demanded the single gold standard, and sent Mr. Bryan and his misguided disciples to their reckoning." Seven millions of voters did *not* demand any such thing. Not seven millions of voters or six millions or five millions or four millions demanded the gold standard. There are not to-day four millions of goldites absolute in the United States. The result in November of 1896 was the product of a juggle. It was neither more nor less. It was a miserable juggle; the verdict was a false verdict, obtained by fraud and registered in terms which the peo-

ple have never ratified, and which they will reverse at the first opportunity. As to sending William Jennings Bryan to his reckoning, that is probably true. He has been at his reckoning ever since the election! No other statesman of this republic has ever so reckoned with his adversaries. It is a marvellous reckoning, and the announcement of the result is only suspended for a little season.

20. In the next place Mr. Julian says that the Republican party lacks leadership. Agreed. The Republican party lacks several things, but leadership in particular. It lacks leadership more than it lacks anything else except one thing —patriotism.

21. Under this head it is alleged that Mr. Bryan recited the speeches of the Republican leaders on the greenback question, and that he made these speeches an object-lesson in 1896. No doubt he did. That, as Mr. Kipling would say, is Bryan's "awful way of doing business."

22. Mr. Julian declares that William J. Bryan failed in his speeches to make the slightest addition to any man's stock of knowledge. That depends on who the man is. There are men in this world to whom any slight increment of knowledge is an impossibility. There are those whose opinions and information are so falsely interlocked as to make any slight readjustment in the interest of truth inevitably fatal. That Mr. Bryan could teach Mr. Julian anything we solemnly disbelieve! That he has been able to instruct and electrify the majority of the American people is a fact which I should not care to controvert. Indeed I dwell upon it with delight.

23. Last of all Mr. Julian says, "The situation is serious." Admitted. The situation *is* serious. It is most serious. It is so serious that thoughtful and patriotic men are rising in their majesty to confront "the situation," and to rectify it by their might. There are those in America who still hear the bugle call of freedom loud and shrill. The trumpeter stands on the hilltops, and the blast which he blows echoes far. It resounds from hill and valley, and the morning breezes waft it to the prairies and the seas. All our New World is luminous with a rising political hope. The radiance of it flashes like the beams of the coming sun across all landscapes. It

is a radiance that kisses the fields and illumines the crest of far-off mountains.

> Its splendor falls on castle walls
> And snowy summits old in story.

By the favor of heaven, we intend to redeem our glorious country from thraldom; to restore it to the simplicity of the Fathers; to rescue it from impending servitude to a parvenu aristocracy; and to transmit it an unsullied gift to our children—a heritage consecrated to human liberty under the democracy of man.

THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK,
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina.

IT IS strange that this subject has not heretofore more powerfully attracted the attention of the electorate of the Union. Our Federal Constitution was adopted a hundred and ten years ago. In that time every State then existing has, one after another, radically revised its constitution, and most of them more than once. Indeed there is no State that has not revised its constitution except those most lately admitted; and such have been the rapid changes from our growth in population and wealth and the new dangers arising to be guarded against that the constitution of New York requires imperatively that the question of a Constitutional Convention shall be submitted to the people every twenty years, and permits it oftener if the legislature shall think proper. Even in so conservative a State as North Carolina there have been three Constitutional Conventions since the War, and it has besides adopted sundry amendments by the legislative mode prescribed in the constitution.

If this is true as to the States, and if we so rapidly outgrow the organic law prescribed but a few years before, for a stronger reason it is true of the Federal Constitution, which, adopted at Philadelphia in September, 1787, for an entirely different people amid vastly different surroundings, is now like the clothing of boyhood worn by the nearly mature man, which galls and binds his massive limbs and interferes with his development. To say that the Federal Constitution of 1787 is now a misfit in many respects is a self-evident proposition. It could not be otherwise. Great and wise as that instrument in many respects was, it was intended for the people and the surroundings of that day. Therein was such fitness as it had. Its creators could not foresee the requirements of this time; our present development and proportions were beyond their wildest dreams. If by any possibility they could have foreseen

what provisions were most suitable in a constitution fitted for this day, and had adopted it, such a constitution would have been unfitted for that time and unacceptable. But they clearly foresaw that with the process of time the Constitution must become a misfit and hence the provision for two distinct modes of amending it. Each generation has a right to enact its own laws and shape its own institutions. This is the sacred right of self-government. No dead hand from the past should lay its paralyzing clasp upon the living to check our progress and leave us defenceless against the enemies created by the rapidly changing conditions of modern life. Government exists for the people, not the people for the government.

How could a Federal Constitution of one hundred and ten years ago be suitable to this day, when each State has so often had to change its own organic law? Not withholding any meed of the praise bestowed upon our Federal Constitution, it must be remembered that it was so far from being acceptable even when first presented that many States ratified with the understanding that amendments would be made, and suggested amendments at the time of their ratification. Accordingly ten amendments were suggested by the very first Congress that met, that of 1789, and were adopted by the States. Another defect was made apparent by a decision of the Federal Supreme Court in the case of Chisholm *vs.* Georgia, and the 11th Amendment, protecting the States against that assumption of power by the Court, was submitted by Congress in 1794 and promptly ratified. The contested Presidential election of 1801 showed another dangerous defect in the organic instrument, which was patched up (imperfectly, as the contested election of 1876 showed) by the 12th Amendment, submitted by Congress in 1803, and ratified by the States within nine months thereafter. Three other amendments followed in the wake of the great civil war. How far it would have been possible to have averted the vast loss of life and property, and the resultant taxation since, if the original Constitution had been more wisely and clearly drawn, or if timely and proper amendments had been made, it would be a sad and a profitless task tc consider now.

When the Federal Constitution of 1787 was sent forth, it

was provided for a people of 5,000,000 scattered along the Atlantic slope. We are now trying to make it do duty for 70,000,000 settled from ocean to ocean, and from the great lakes to the Gulf. Then our population was mostly rural, for three years later, at the census of 1790, we had but five towns in the whole country which had as many as 6,500 inhabitants each, and only two others had over 4,000; now we have the second largest city on the globe, and several that have passed the half-million mark. Then we had seventy-five post offices, with $37,000 annual post-office expenditure. Now we have 75,000 post offices and an annual postal expenditure of $90,000,000.

During the first ten years the expenditures of the Federal government, including payments on the Revolutionary debts, averaged about $10,000,000 annually. In the last few years they have averaged fifty times that sum. When the Constitution was adopted, Virginia was easily the first State in influence and population, having one-fourth the population of the whole country; and North Carolina stood third; while New York, which then stood fifth, now has almost double the population of the whole Union of that date, and several other States now have a population greater than the original Union, whose very names were then unheard of and over whose bosoms the savage and the buffalo roamed unmolested. Then steamboats, railroads, gas, electricity (except as a toy in Franklin's hands), and a thousand other inventions and discoveries which have profoundly modified the life and thought and wants of the people, and governmental requirements and dangers, were still in the womb of the future. Corporations were then so few that not till four years later, in 1791, did New York incorporate its first bank; and the charter for the second bank was only obtained by the subtlety of Aaron Burr, who concealed the banking privileges in an act incorporating a water company.

Not to particularize further, we are farther from those times in point of development and changes than those days were from the times of Elizabeth; and in many respects even more distant are we from that era than it was from the age of William or Alfred. Indeed, the Convention in some respects

(as shown by prompt amendments) did not correctly express the feelings and wants of its own day. It was a small body, only 55 in number, of whom only 39 concurred in the final result. They had no benefit from the public opinion of their own day, but sat within closed doors. Their work was barely ratified by conventions in several States, and in no instance received the imprimatur of the people of a single State.

That the Constitution was as good as it was is a marvel, and it has been eulogized accordingly. But had it been perfect then—and it was not—it could not, in the wonderful development of more than a century, fail to be in many respects inadequate for this generation; and it must become more and more so as the years pass. It cannot be long before we have a population of 100,000,000, and even that is small to what is just beyond. We have as yet only

> The first low wash of waves
> Where soon shall roll a human sea.

Alaska, whose climate forbids hope of its ever becoming a State, and the expected admission of Hawaii, which indicates a colonial policy, are features unprovided for by a Constitution which contemplated merely a union of co-equal states, and not permanent territories or colonies.

Time and the reader's patience would fail me to discuss the many particulars in which the present Federal Constitution needs revision, even if I possessed the ability and the authority to indicate all its shortcomings,—wherein the ancient garment should be let out, wherein it should be gathered in, what rents should be sewn up and double-proofed which the sword has cut, what holes and tears should be darned which the Judiciary have made, or where the Executive or Congress has worn the garment too thin. Such matters require more elaboration and most careful thought. I shall only indicate in a broad way the inherent defect which was in the original instrument, and which time has but accentuated.

In the first place, the Constitution of the United States was never democratic. The experiment of self-government was then new, and the masses were not educated. The schoolmaster was not abroad in the land. The dominant minds in

that Convention, almost without exception, feared to trust the people. There were leaders, like Hamilton, who preferred a monarchy, and who made small concealment of a belief that "to that complexion it must come at last." There was quiet talk of calling to the throne the second son of George III, he who was afterwards the infamous Frederick Duke of York. As I have said, that no breath of public opinion might blow upon the Convention the doors were hermetically sealed—closed in the faces of the people of whose welfare its members were assuming to act as guardians.

That an instrument so constructed, by such men, and for a people averaging in point of education so far below the present generation, should have been undemocratic was to have been expected. That it has remained so till this day is the unexpected. The very preamble, "We, the people of the United States," is a misrecital, for neither the original Constitution nor any amendment thereto has ever been submitted to the people (as is usual in regard to changes in the State constitutions). Of the three great departments of government, the Executive, the Judicial, and the Legislative, the Constitution gave the people only a voice in selecting one-half of the legislative. And that remains, so far as constitutional forms go, to this day the share of the people in this Federal government, one-half of one-third. In all the rest the people were given no voice whatever. The Executive was made elective by electors, and it was contemplated that those electors should be as free to select the Executive as members of the State legislatures to select a Federal Senator. In fact, down till after the memorable contest between Adams, Clay, Crawford, and Jackson in 1824, in the majority of States the Presidential electors were chosen by the State legislatures, and they were still so chosen by South Carolina till after the late war. Even since the choice of electors was committed to the people by State action, the Constitutional provision still gives the electors the absolute right to vote irrespective of the will of their constituents. That electors have ordinarily (though not always) obeyed the will of those voting for them is a tribute to the force of public opinion, which in this respect has been more powerful than the Constitution, and without formal

amendment has reversed the mode of election prescribed and contemplated by that instrument.

The Senate is still not elective by the people. In many States the people have attempted to apply to the election of United States Senator the same method which has captured the choice of the Executive, by making the members of the legislature *quoad hoc* electors, pledged like Presidential electors to vote for a nominee named by a popular convention. But the plan has not always worked satisfactorily, and has been tried in only some of the States. A constitutional amendment to elect the Senators of each State by the votes of its people instead of its legislature has more than once passed the lower House of Congress, and once at least by a unanimous vote, but the Senate itself has always defeated this measure to give the people more power in their government. In the present day, when we have so many startling instances of the power of vast corporations in determining the choice of Senators, and the scandal and expense of prolonged sessions of State legislatures taken up with the selection of a Senator,—a duty which the people could discharge more satisfactorily and without any expense, by electing the Senator on the same day Members of Congress are chosen,—it is more than ever imperative that the Constitution should be revised and made democratic in the mode of choosing the Senators.

Not only did the Constitution bar the people from a voice in the election of Senators and President, but as a further check it placed in the hands of the Executive the veto power upon any action of the Representatives chosen by the people to the lower House, if by any chance that will should also be voiced by the Senate. The veto power has not been exercised by the monarchy or ministry in England since 1707, just eighty years before the adoption of the Constitution by which the veto was revived. It certainly has no proper place in a republic, in which the will of the people, duly expressed in an orderly and proper manner by their chosen representatives, should be the law of the land till changed in the same mode. The veto is an anachronism, and is in fact a survival from times when the people's representatives could not legislate without the assent of the monarch expressly given to each act,

Goldwin Smith, in his "Political History of United States," correctly describes our President as being an "elective king," with powers very far surpassing those of the English sovereign, and equalled by very few autocrats.

The phrase, however, was not original with Mr. Smith, but was borrowed from a French publicist, who some years ago affirmed that "England is a republic with an hereditary president, and the United States is a monarchy with an elective king."

But by far the most dangerous, the most undemocratic and unrepublican feature of the Constitution, and the one most subject to abuse, is the mode of selecting the Federal judges. They are not only selected without the people having any voice whatever in the choice of this important class of their servants, but they are selected by the Executive, whom by the Constitution the people were to have no voice in choosing, and are subject to confirmation by that branch of the legislature in whose selection the people still have no voice. To aggravate the matter still further, these servants are appointed for life, and mistakes, or bias, or private influence exerted in their selection are beyond correction. Our government is based on public opinion. A "decent regard for the opinions of mankind" was averred in the great Declaration of July 4, 1776. Public opinion, when formally expressed by our servants freely chosen, is our statute law. When expressed with more formality it is our organic law. Yet, by a process in which the people have no voice, we place in positions those who look down upon and revise and negative when they see fit, the actions of the Executive and the legislature, and there is no check upon the unlimited and wilful exercise of this power save in cases of corruption, and then only by the cumbersome and impractical method of impeachment. In England a judge can be removed by a simple address of Parliament; and the constitutions of Massachusetts and New Hampshire have the same provision. But the Federal judges are not subject to any restriction from that public opinion which is the cornerstone of a republican form of government, either in the manner of their selection, or by the power of removal upon an address of the legislature, as in England, or by being subject

to review, as by holding for a term of years. They are as truly beyond the will of the people as the Czar of all the Russias. That under such a system abuses have been as infrequent as they have been (though they are not unknown) is due not to the system, but to the usually high character of the lawyers on that bench, who, though selected by a vicious method, have been ordinarily superior to the temptations within their reach. With the growing power of corporations, and the evils attendant thereon, we are not without warnings that we cannot trust so mediæval a mode of selecting judges any longer with safety. This much is to be said in excuse of the framers of the Federal Constitution, that in those days few judges were selected by the people, and that the vast power since developed in the judiciary, of setting aside and annulling legislative and executive action, was unsuspected. It had been asserted in one or two cases of small importance, but its scope and effect were not discerned; hence its abuse was not provided against in the Constitution. That duty has devolved upon us.

So generally indeed has this evil of a life judiciary selected by others than the people, and without supervision, been seen and provided against in the several States, that in forty-two out of the forty-five the judges now hold for a fixed term of years, and thus their conduct comes up periodically for review. As to the other three States, in Rhode Island the judges hold only from year to year, for any one can be dropped by a majority vote of the annual legislature. In Massachusetts and New Hampshire, as I have stated, the judges can at any time be removed by the executive upon an address voted by a majority in the legislature; so that in every jurisdiction save the United States the conduct of the judges is subject to supervision and disapproval. It cannot be that the popular sentiment and the public necessity which have made the judges elective in so many States do not obtain as to the United States judges. The Constitution therefore should not only be made democratic as to the election of United States Senators, but the judges also should be chosen by the people, and for a term of years, and for the same reasons that the people of the States have made their State judges elective. The same reasons that apply to the one apply to the other with equal force.

No State that has once made its judges elective has gone back to the appointive system. A proposition of that kind submitted to the people of New York was overwhelmingly voted down. Under our theory of government, it must be admitted that the people are the best judges of whom they should have for their public officials. There is indeed but one objection which can be made to the proposition to make judges elective by the people, and that is a flat denial that they are capable of selecting the best servants, and the assertion that some one else can do it for them better than they can for themselves.

It was in 1820, long after he had retired from the heated theatre of action, that Mr. Jefferson made his celebrated declaration that the Federal judges were "a corps of sappers and miners steadily undermining the Constitution." It was two years later, in 1822, that he wrote his letter to Mr. Barry in which he expressed his view that the Constitution should be amended by restricting the Federal judges to terms of six years. When the Federal judges are made elective by the people, the United States district judges and district attorneys can be elected by the people of their districts, as State district judges and district attorneys and Members of Congress are chosen; the circuit judges by the people of their circuits, the Supreme Court judges by the people of the States composing their respective circuits, and the Chief Justice by the whole Union.

That the public sentiment is in favor of this reform is evidenced not only by the same change as to the manner of electing State judges, but by common observation. As long ago as 1891 a distinguished judge and law writer, and the editor of a leading law magazine in this country, wrote (25 American *Law Review*, 288, March, 1891):

> If the proposition to make the Federal judiciary elective instead of appointive is once seriously discussed before the people, nothing can stay the growth of that sentiment, and it is almost certain that every session of the Federal Supreme Court will furnish material to stimulate that growth.

In what I have said there has been no intention to reflect upon the Federal judges either singly or in a body, but the present mode of their selection and tenure is undemocratic

and mediæval, and capable of untold abuses. No depository of power in this country should be above the power of public supervision of his conduct. It is time that this matter was fully and thoroughly discussed and the reform brought about. It is no injustice to the public servants who happen to occupy the offices which may be affected to agitate for a reform required by the public interest.

I am aware that every Federal judge below the Supreme Court, though nominally holding for life, can be abolished by an act of Congress, since the power that creates a Federal district or circuit can abolish it at will. If it can abolish one district, it can abolish all at once. Several districts have from time to time been abolished, notably two in 1801. And we know that the sixteen circuit judges created by the judiciary act in 1801 were abolished eighteen months later. It is true that, under the stress of great public excitement, every United States district and circuit judge can be legislated out of office by a simple act of Congress and a new system re-created with new judges, but that would be a strong measure, and, unlike a constitutional amendment, might be a reflection upon the incumbents. It is also true, as has been pointed out by distinguished lawyers, that while the Supreme Court cannot thus be abolished, it exercises its appellate functions "with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make" (Constitution, Art. III, Sec. 2), and that as Congress enacted the judiciary act of 1789, it can modify or repeal it at will. In 1831 the attempt was made to repeal the 25th section of the judiciary act of 1789, by virtue of which writs of error lay from State Supreme Courts in certain cases. Though the section was not repealed, the repeal was supported and voted for by such men as Henry Clay and James K. Polk, names which have not yet lost their music in our ears.

But what is desired is not the exercise of such powers by Congress, which it undoubtedly possesses and in an emergency would exercise, but a constitutional revision by which the Federal judges, like other public servants, should be chosen by the people.

But it may be said that the Federal judges are now in office for life, and that it would be unjust to dispossess them. So it

was with the State judges in each State when it changed from life judges to judges elected by the people, but this argument in no case stayed the reform. Indeed, all the Federal judges except those of the Supreme Court, being subject to be abolished at any time by an Act of Congress, occupy an inferior position in this respect to the State life judges, who could only be abolished by a new constitution. It will be a great reform when public esteem and confidence shall become the source of honors instead of court favor at Washington.

When this constitutional amendment is made, as it inevitably will be at no distant day, it would be well to avoid the expense and conflict of the double judiciary system we now have, by reducing the number of the Federal judiciary and amending and restricting their jurisdiction to the excise, internal revenue, post office, customs, and like matters which are purely Federal. As to all other matters in which a Federal question could arise, ample protection would be given by writs of error, as now, from the State courts. Certainly with the great increase of intercommunication and the decay of local prejudice, a large mass of litigation which now goes into the Federal court should be eliminated, for the non-residence of a party should cease to be a ground of taking jurisdiction from the State courts. To a large extent this is now simply a pretext for corporations and syndicates to escape the jurisdiction of State courts, and an incentive to them to secure the appointment of their favorites, whenever they can, upon the Federal bench.

Another undemocratic feature of the Constitution is that which requires all Federal officials to be appointed by the President or heads of Departments. This has grown to be a great evil. When, for instance, there were seventy-five postmasters, it was contemplated that the President or the Postmaster-General would really appoint. With 75,000 postmasters this is impossible. As a practical result they are in fact selected neither by the President nor by the Postmaster-General, but in an unconstitutional mode by Senators, Members of Congress, or political bosses. Not so long since we saw the pressure of office-seekers upon Congressmen used dexterously by the Executive to secure the passage by Congress of

an act which otherwise could not have been adopted. A revision of the Constitution should at least empower Congress to authorize the election of postmasters by each locality whenever and to whatever extent it may deem advisable.

It is idle to say that we have grown and prospered under this Constitution. It would be as logical to say that we have done so in spite of it. The Constitution is not a fetich to be worshipped, nor did it come down from heaven a perfect work. It had to be patched up before it was in working order. Its defects nearly brought us catastrophe in 1801, in 1820, and again in 1876. That which happened in 1861-65 we all remember.

Those features of the Constitution which time has approved, and which are still suited to our needs, will be retained. Those that are otherwise should be amended or removed, as has been the case with our State constitutions. The vast power of the President, his great patronage, giving him power to shape legislation, his veto upon legislation, his power to make war, his election by electors who are under no legal obligation to voice the sentiment of their constituents,—these things are pregnant with future trouble. So also is the election of United States Senators by the majority of a caucus, that is, by one-fourth of the small number of men composing a State legislature, the nomination and election of which fraction can be easily manipulated by the money power. But the greatest danger is in the appointive and life system of the judges who dominate the other two departments. The helmsmen who can point at will the course of the ship of state are selected without any consultation with the crew and subject to no control by them. The Constitution is at the mercy of organized and powerful combinations of wealth, and it is imperative that we rescue it from their hands.

TRUE REASONS FOR THE APPARENT FAILURE OF THE BIMETALLIC CONFERENCE.

BY JAMES R. CHALLEN.

THE conspiracy to prevent the restoration of silver to its monetary uses operates in England exactly as in this country, and evidently by the same master spirits in command and control.

Every national convention of both the great parties in the United States since 1880 has built platforms with a plank in favor of bimetallism. Whenever the people speak they are in favor of the coinage of silver on the same terms as gold and in favor of preserving the established parity between the two metals. Their candidates for the presidency and for Congress are either silent on this question, or if they speak during a campaign it is in favor of the coinage and circulation of both metals as money of redemption. But when a President is elected he is at once cut off from the people, surrounded and dominated in all matters relating to finance by a class who have no dealings with or sympathy for the great industrial masses. "The horny-handed sons of toil" are not admitted at the White House except to be ridiculed, and any scientist who is an expert in finance or political economy, and therefore in favor of legislation for the masses, is hooted at as a crank and avoided as dangerous. When the President selects a Secretary of the Treasury who has been a friend of the people and a champion for the people's money, he is dined and wined, petted and worked with until he forgets all his conscientious convictions and then plays into the hands of the money-changers, coupon-clippers, and tax-eaters. He abandons his former constituents, who have no further use for him anyhow. The lines are plainly drawn between the Treasury-users and -eaters and the producers, toilers, and taxpayers.

The conspiracy to increase the wealth of the rich by legislation has been often nearly overwhelmed by the onslaught of the people and their friends in both the United States and the

United Kingdom. Let us examine the last phase of this conspiracy.

In the United States the people were solemnly promised by both great parties that they should have bimetallism. The Democratic party was pledged to give an open mint. They could open the mint of this nation, but no others. The Republican party was fairly pledged in favor of open mints in all the great commercial nations by international agreement. Early in October, 1896, the election of the Democratic candidate was certain. The majority of votes all over the South and West were consolidated in favor of the restoration of silver. The National Committee of the Republican party were convinced of this situation. They knew that the tide must be turned from the great champion of silver, or that he would be elected by an overwhelming majority. There was but one way to do it, and they chose that way. A new set of speakers and writers were employed to go over the fields which had been won for the silver cause and assure the people that McKinley was as strong a silver man as Bryan. They cited his record, and proved it. The country was flooded with extracts from McKinley's speeches and from the *Congressional Record* showing that he had always favored the free coinage of silver with voice and votes. The dear people were made to believe that they were to get free silver more quickly and more surely with McKinley in the presidential chair than with Bryan. This *coup d'état* elected McKinley. He kept his word so far as to appoint a commission to go to Europe for the purpose of securing international bimetallism. The commission went and well-nigh succeeded—came so near success that all the power of the gold cabal had to be exerted to defeat the consummation of actual international bimetallism.

Now follow the machinations of these enemies of the public. On the 17th of March, 1896, the House of Commons unanimously passed the following resolution:

> That this House is of the opinion that the instability of the relative value of gold and silver since the Latin Union action in 1873, has proved injurious to the best interests of this country, and urges upon the Government the advisability of doing all in their power to secure by international agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, had to accept that resolution or resign. He accepted it, admitting and emphasizing the fact that the decline of silver was injurious to public interests. This was in part his response to the Commons in behalf of Lord Salisbury's cabinet:

What is the policy which as a government we intend to pursue? As I have said, we are willing, we are anxious, seeing that there are evils in the present low value of silver, and in the fluctuations in the value of the two metals, to enter into a conference, or into negotiations, which certainly I believe at the present stage would be much better than a conference with other countries, upon this subject, but we are not prepared to abandon the gold standard in the United Kingdom. [Why not, pray?] If it be possible for other nations to be joined in a bimetallic league, or in an agreement on this matter which seemed good to themselves, I have little doubt but that the Indian government would be prepared to agree with us in reopening the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, and that we might endeavor *by other means* to promote the increase of silver in coinage and to aid in an international agreement on this great question.

The *other means* at hand, and the only one in addition to free coinage in the colonies, especially in India, if they would not open the mints of the United Kingdom, was to ask the Bank of England to hold twenty per cent of its coin reserve in silver, under the act of 1844 empowering them to do so whenever the public exigency required.

The United States commissioners gained the coöperation and concurrence of the French government of course, for France is bimetallic. The enthusiastic response of M. Méline, the learned premier of the French Republic, to the overtures of the American envoys is worthy of record. After recounting the evils resulting from the demonetization of silver by so many nations, thereby contracting the world's currency and producing the most prolonged and general depression in prices and therefore in industries the world has ever known, he said:

To-day the situation is radically changed. The government of a great nation takes the initiative by making a decisive overture towards the great powers of Europe. It sends us as ambassadors the statesmen most likely to assure the success of their cause; for they combine with incontestable competence and great authority a very precise idea of the difficulties to be encountered in such negotiations. They did everything to obviate these difficulties before coming here, and our special thanks are

due to Senator Wolcott for the conciliatory disposition he showed on a former visit. I am convinced that our gratitude will be augmented during his stay among us. *Our concurrence will not be wanting for the triumph of the great cause which we are ready to join him in defending.*

Our commissioners and the ambassador of the French government unitedly made overtures to the British government to enter into an agreement for the reopening of the mints to the coinage of silver. The proposition was courteously received, and early in August an answer was given that the ministry would give the subject the grave consideration which its importance and the dignity of the two great nations presenting it required, and that in the early days of October, after hearing from the government of India, a response would be made.

Several leading journals in London hailed the movement as a solution of the difficulties under which the industrial world had been laboring for over twenty years, and as "a termination of the disastrous experiment inaugurated in 1873, which both the nations presenting the joint statement to Great Britain have learnt so bitterly to regret." The reopening of the Indian mints, the withdrawal of the half-sovereign from circulation, and the substitution of silver as to one-fifth of the reserve in the Bank of England, were all discussed and apparently agreed to. The terms were mutually acceptable, and the ides of October came. The governors of the Bank of England publicly announced their willingness to keep one-fifth of their coin reserve in silver, when suddenly, like a clap of thunder in a clear sky, the demand of the gold clique and cabal was made through their dailies that this movement must cease; that neither the Indian government nor the Bank of England should give it any encouragement. Articles in the *Statist, Financier,* and *Westminster Gazette,* favoring the plan, were no longer published; but bitter denunciations of the editors, writers, cabinet ministers, and financiers who had written, spoken, or in any way expressed themselves in favor of increasing the demand for silver with the view of establishing its old parity with gold, or any fixed parity, appeared every day, and no response, except in abject submission and apology, could appear in print. The government of India and

the governors of the bank thenceforth were silent. Let the Indians starve rather than coin their silver bracelets, anklets, and hoardings of every kind. Let farmers and other industrials become bankrupt. We want cheap wheat and cheap cotton, said they: we don't produce these things; we buy them.

The cabinet yielded to the dictation of the money kings and declined to enter into negotiations to restore silver as primary money. They will use it as subsidiary money. They have no silver to sell. They buy it, and want to get it as cheap as possible.

No, these facts were not all published in the great American dailies. These are dominated by the same conspiracy that rules the English press, banks, and ministry. It remains to be seen whether it also rules the American people. There is still a little freedom here. We *can* change our government officials every four years, in name at least.

An examination of the provincial press of England, of the proceedings in the House of Commons and in country meetings of all sorts where the people have spoken at all, shows that the possibility of the return of silver was hailed with joy and hope. In nearly every instance these organs for the expression of popular opinion were unanimously in favor of the coinage of the white metal on the same terms as the yellow. A committee appointed by the Commons to investigate the cause of the depression in agriculture and to suggest a plan for relief reported, ten out of sixteen signing the report, that the actual cause of the distress in agricultural communities was the constant decline in the prices of agricultural products, and that the decline in prices was caused by the demonetization of silver and the cessation of its coinage, and that the only relief they could see was the free coinage of silver. They also sneered at the hypocrisy of those gold advocates who speak of the restoration of silver as a cruel and wicked robbery of labor and of the poor farmer, "and gave them to understand that the gold standard profits the consumer and not the producer," and that, "if prices are not affected as they insist by any changes in the standard, or in money, we do not understand

why a reversal of those changes now should inflict any robbery, 'cruel' or otherwise, on labor."

The voice of India was for instant free and full coinage of silver. The chairman of the board of the Bank of Calcutta said:

> India is certainly not in a state of prosperity now; the position is distinctly critical. Statesmen in England either cannot or will not understand the danger that threatens this country as a consequence of legislation which is most hurtful to the commercial community and to all interested in manufacturing and agricultural industries. I think that the evils which the fanatical worship of the gold standard has brought upon us, and is likely to accentuate if unreasonably persisted in, are, after four years' experience, established beyond controversy, and to leave matters as they are means for the government of India hopeless financial confusion, for the commerce of India a constant and ruinous impediment, for the taxpayers of India the prospect of heavy and unpopular burdens, and for the country as a whole a fatal and stunning arrestation of its development.

He also showed that "at the same period of natural famine in food there has been an artificially created famine in money which has added incalculably to the sufferings of the people."

The government of India consists of the Secretary of State for India, who is a member of the English cabinet, the viceroy of India, and a council of fifteen persons, nine of whom must have had at least ten years of experience in India. No official decision of this government has been divulged upon the question of the advisability of coöperating with the government of the United States and of France. In the presence of the awful famine which has swept away one-tenth of the population, and which has been caused and intensified by the refusal to coin the silver held by the agricultural and other industrial classes amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars in value, which refusal has taken away from these people the means to carry on farming or any other laborious occupation, as well as the means to buy bread when they had not raised enough for their food, it is absolutely incredible that any person who had ten years of experience in India could not see and would not say that the opening of the mints in India, where silver is the only money in circulation, would help to stop the spread of famine and pestilence in India by giving the people more money with which to buy bread, medicine, seed, and imple-

ments. The fact must be, and is, that the conspiracy which controls the United States and the United Kingdom has overawed and hushed the government of India.

What does all this duplicity and chicanery mean?

The secret is out at last and it is this: if Great Britain opens the Indian mints, drops the half-sovereign, substitutes silver coins in its place, and keeps one-fifth of its coin reserves in the Bank of England, France and the United States can and will restore bimetallism. Then the vassalage of America to the money power of Europe will be annihilated. A pan-American financial policy will arise which will make this continent independent of Europe. The markets now controlled by Europe will be open only to America.

The appeal made in the month of November last by the Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, Count Goluchowski, for the coöperation of all European nations with the ministry of Great Britain, "against the destructive competition of transoceanic countries, which are consummating a policy that would close the markets of America, including perhaps the English colonies there, to Europe, would create large and assured fields for supply and sale for the United States, and would narrow the export of their adversaries still further," reveals the key to the situation. Already the metropolitan press of England and the United States, under the instruction and by the dictation of their capitalistic managers, are explaining away this utterance. But this is demonstrated, that the people of those countries are in favor of free coinage, and the governments also were, but a clique muzzles the press, overawes kings and ministries, prevents legislation, and dictates the *status quo*.

The further fact is demonstrated that this clique of conspirators knows that if by any means whatever the United States should return to the free coinage of silver, the independence, power, and wealth of the United States would be assured and increased.

Such an argument stated by a combination of moneymakers to ambitious and loyal monarchical officials and editors would induce them to oppose bimetallism, but pretend to favor it. But when revealed to the American people as it has

been, not only by the events of the year 1897, but by diplomatic messages, the result must be more vigorous and universal efforts by them than ever to return to bimetallism. This administration may not enact it because it is pledged to international action, which is now impossible, and the President is accessible to only such as the money-makers approve. He is a bimetallist, but his cabinet is not, nor are his other intimate associates and advisers.

But the inevitable and manifest duty next to be done is the enactment of a free-coinage law for both metals; if with the coöperation of our sister republics in Europe, well—better in fact than with the coöperation of the monarchies of the world, for ours is a government for the people, and not for kings, nobles, and courtiers "who bend the suppliant knee to power that thrift may follow fawning," and much less for that other secret power behind the throne which makes and unmakes kings and which the people's power alone can overthrow, and which naturally prefers monarchies or aristocracies to republics.

Jacksonville, Florida.

THE MISSION OF MACHINERY.

BY HENRY MATTHEWS WILLIAMS.

IT is within the power of modern machinery to supply the wants of all mankind. The total power of the machinery now existing is far in excess of the total hand power and horse power in the world. Under present conditions machine power is continually producing in excess of consumption. The only remedy now is to shut down factories, thereby curtailing consumption and causing suffering, if not starvation, all because we have produced too much. These conditions are becoming more aggravated every decade, as competition gives way to combination, and machinery is more and more perfected. And the tendency is towards further combination. It is not likely that the condition of free competition will ever be reverted to, economists seeing plainly that it was a condition of enormous waste of men and material. Indeed, monster machines imply combinations of capital and combines in management. The bigger the machines and plants, the more certain are we of industry crystallizing into a few giant corporations. And we are certainly not going back to the era of small and comparatively inefficient machines.

Hence I can see no hope for machinery being allowed to do its best and accomplish its mission for humanity, which is to make wealth abundant for all, except in public management. Under the trusts and combines, the machines will only work as long as a profit for the few is in sight. Then they will shut down until the half-starved consumers have caught up with production. Under public management consumption would be practically without limit. And the machines could make all the workers rich. I will try to prove this by facts and figures.

The figures that ought to convince and must convince the unprejudiced that every worker could be wealthy under public management are the figures showing the productive power of machinery, the productive power of the earth, and the share

of each worker in the grand results of these productive powers. In other words, I propose to show what land will produce, what machinery will produce, and what is each man's share of the things thus brought into existence.

In studying this subject the reader must take certain propositions as axioms. These propositions can be thus stated: Under public management,

(1). Labor strikes will be at an end; this will eliminate an enormous source of waste.

(2). Machinery will be enabled to develop its entire capacities. This would add enormously to production. The steam power now in the world is vastly greater than all the hand power and horse power put together, not to mention the enormous electric power now being developed from streams, tides, etc.

(3). All the waste of advertising would be ended. This would add an army to the producers. And it would stop an immense waste of material now practically thrown away.

(4). The untold waste of competitive methods would be stopped. Parallel railroads, a multiplication of petty stores, wagons, milk carts, typewriters, telephones in offices, show windows, street advertisements and sandwich men, stock exchanges and bucket shops, and a multitude of such unnecessary things would be done away with. This would add billions to the wealth of the people at a stroke. Besides this, the army of lawyers, justices, and constables who live on debt-collecting would be added to the producers. Also the entire standing army, except what was needed on frontiers where civilization had not yet fulfilled its mission.

(5). A tremendous waste from fires would be stopped. Under public management warehouses, stores, and granaries would be made fireproof at first—an immense saving.

Other sources of waste under competition will occur to the reader. But to our figures. First let us take agriculture. To show what would be each worker's share under public management we will assume, of course, that only the most efficient machinery would be worth using under such management, and that the land would be cultivated by the best known methods. This would not be the case at first, but

could speedily be put in practice. When the nation gets down to ploughing and reaping, it is going to do it by steam or electricity, and not with a mule.

With steam ploughs and reapers, such as are in use in California and of which I have photographs, three men can plough, seed, or reap eighty-five acres a day. These three men, to make the crop, will have to go over the land four times—to plough, harrow and fertilize, seed, and finally reap. Three men thus make the crop in four days, which is equivalent to twelve men doing it in one day. Hence each man's share of the crop, if there were no other factors in the calculation, would be one-twelfth. Thirty bushels is an average wheat crop. Our eighty-five acres ought to yield 2,550 bushels. Therefore, each man's day's wage would be one-twelfth of this, less the allowance for seed and use of machines. (Of course there would be no rent. The nation is not going to pay itself rent.) The one-twelfth is two hundred and twelve bushels, in round numbers. Let us be liberal in necessary deductions and take off of each man's share ten bushels for seed and fifty-two for wear and tear of machine and cost of distribution. This leaves for each man's day's wages 150 bushels of wheat, or its equivalent in other produce.

The average of thirty bushels per acre as the product of wheat under public management is not a mere guess, but is based on the average product raised in England and other parts of Europe. I did not base my figures on the American average because, as is well known, wheat culture in the United States has been conducted on the improvident, ground-skinning policy of no feed for the soil as long as new acres were anywhere in sight. The following from Appleton's "American Cyclopædia," article "Wheat," is to the point:

> The history of most of the wheat-growing portions of this country shows a regular decrease in the yield; counties in the State of New York in which the average yield at the beginning of the century was twenty to thirty bushels to the acre now return five to seven bushels. In the fertile soil of Ohio the average diminished in fifty years from twenty-six bushels to half that amount; and so long as there remain new lands to be cultivated this will probably continue to be the case. That this decrease is due to the lack of a proper system of agriculture is shown by the fact that in England, where the land has been in cultivation for centuries, the average yield is thirty-six bushels to the acre.

Of course if we are to base our wheat-growing capacity under public management on the system of the American land-robber instead of the English land-feeder, we would better not make the change, as the processes of culture under public management would exhaust the soil more quickly than under the present system. But, as the public always demands the best methods and the best results, I assume that under public management we should raise an average of wheat about as great as that of the English farmer. I have, however, allowed six bushels off for the difference of climate. Thus we have thirty bushels as the average per acre under public management, feeding the land with all the necessary fertilizer, and using only the best machinery.

One hundred and fifty bushels of wheat as one man's wages under public management of agriculture! Let us see how it works with other products, using the best machinery and allowing it to do its full work.

Now let us take potatoes. With the same steam ploughs and with harrows and diggers of equal power, we can of course do about the same for this crop as we did for wheat. But as potatoes need hoeing, hilling, and dusting with insect powder to kill the bugs, we will allow twice the number of times of going over the crop as for wheat. Of course the hoeing, hilling, and dusting can be done by steam or electricity. Here is the showing: Three men with the machines go over the land twelve times, making the crop in twelve days. This is equivalent to thirty-six men doing the work in one day. Hence, each man's share in the crop would be one-thirty-sixth, less deductions for seed, etc.

Eighty-five acres will produce one hundred bushels per acre (an average good crop), or 8,500 bushels of potatoes. Deduct at the rate of eight bushels per acre for seed, or six hundred and eighty bushels, which leaves 7,820 bushels. Further deduct from this, say, two hundred and twenty bushels for cost of distribution, wear and tear, etc., and it leaves 7,600 bushels to divide by thirty-six, which gives in round numbers as each man's share two hundred and ten bushels as the result of his day's work.

Two hundred and ten bushels of potatoes or one hundred

and fifty bushels of wheat as the result of one man's work for one day under public management! We are getting on.

By the same method of figuring, beans (used in "Boston baked beans"), with about the same cultivation as wheat, and allowing for a crop thirty bushels per acre—which is an ordinary yield—a man's day's work, after allowing all necessary deductions, would produce one hundred and fifty bushels as his share of the crop.

It is evident that with steam or electric ploughs, cultivators, diggers, etc., other crops would yield in like proportion to each worker on his day's labor.

As another example in the agricultural field, take sugar beets. The yield of this crop is from seven to eleven tons per acre. We will calculate on the basis of ten tons per acre. The cultivation is quite simple. Machine planters and diggers are in use, as well as steam or electric cultivators. Calculating on the basis of our eighty-five-acre plot, and with the steam ploughs, etc., that cover this area in one day, we have the following.

Three men plough, seed or plant, cultivate, and dig at the rate of eighty-five acres a day. Suppose they have to go over the crop five times, which would be ample. The three men make the crop in five days, which is equivalent to fifteen men making it in one day. Now, divide the crop, which is 850 tons, by fifteen, the number of shares. We have fifty-six tons, in round numbers. Deduct six tons for seed, wear and tear, transportation, etc., which would be ample, and fifty tons to each worker are left as the outcome of his day's work.

And when I tell you that each ton of sugar beets yields two hundred and forty-nine pounds of refined sugar, you will see that each man has produced in one day beets enough to make 12,450 pounds of refined sugar. This is the result, bear in mind, with steam or electric ploughs and other machinery, on a scale such as would be the rule under public management. Is it any wonder that the Sugar Trust wants to buy up all the beet-sugar plants? And would not public management solve the sugar question for every man, woman, and child in the nation?

There is no need to go further into the question of the food

supply under public management. It is evident that it would be abundant. Let us pass on to the important question of clothing. It is not worth while to go into figures in regard to the raw material for clothing, which is chiefly cotton, wool, and leather. It will be sufficient to say that the amount of raw material could be enlarged to any extent desired under public management. Under such a system, production being strictly to supply consumption and not to reap a profit, and consumption being limited only by capacity of the people to consume, the production of raw material and of the finished product would of course be enormously increased over what it is at present. It is doubtful, however, if it would ever equal or even come near the capacity of machinery to bring forth.

Those who doubt this do not know the power of modern machinery. I hope to convince them in this article that it is a giant—aye, a demigod—which will bestow upon every man wealth when it is taken out of the hands of the few, who shut off its forces when its products no longer bring them in a profit, and allowed to work along without let or hindrance for the benefit of all.

But before we go any further, please note an apparent paradox. If the man who raises the one hundred and fifty bushels of wheat in a day is entitled to it as his day's wage, there will be nothing for the miller to grind if you allow the wheat-grower to keep it. And, going a step further, if the man working in the mill is allowed to hold on to the flour which his day's work produces, less wear and tear, cost of raw material, etc., there will be nothing for the baker, and no bread for the consumer.

Of course everything would come to a standstill if producers and all other workers were to hold on to the products of their day's work. But as no one wants to do that now, so no one would desire to do it under public management. Indeed, no one would be allowed by law to stop the wheels of civilization by "hogging" his day's production at the day's end. Under public management he would receive some sort of a check or credit, showing that he had performed a day's work, or a fraction of a day's work, as the case might be. The time-book system suggested by Edward Bellamy might

answer the purpose. By means of it he could exchange the product of his day's labor for the product of any other man's day's labor, thus giving his wheat for clothing, shoes, groceries, luxuries, or whatever else he desired.

And here I cannot withstand the temptation to digress a little to remark that if every worker had the equivalent of one hundred and fifty bushels of wheat to spend at the end of each day, what a lot of shopping there would be!

But let us see how much clothing he would be entitled to get in exchange for his credit card representing one hundred and fifty bushels of wheat or two hundred and ten bushels of potatoes or fifty tons of sugar beets, etc. To do this we must again consider only the best machinery, the swiftest and most perfect looms, such as a great trust would put into its factories, and which of course would be the only kind worth using under public management.

With the Paget warp weaver, which was exhibited at the last Paris Exposition, one man can produce each day of ten hours forty-eight woollen undershirts or sweaters, or four hundred ladies' scarfs or small shawls, or one hundred fringed towels, or fifty yards of cloth eighty-four inches wide.

Indeed, with this machine one girl can produce and does produce that amount of woven goods in a day. Under public management, the person tending such a machine would be entitled to its day's product, or its equivalent, less wear and tear, cost of transportation, and raw material. Not a yard of cloth or a single garment would be snatched away to pay some magnate a "profit." How is it at present?

So we have the agriculturist swopping, by means of the time card or credit book, his one hundred and fifty bushels of wheat for forty-eight undershirts, or four hundred scarfs, or one hundred towels, or fifty yards of cloth—pretty good for one day's work! Of course in each instance the produce or manufactured goods would go to the public warehouses, and no one would actually make a trade at the end of each day. Consumers would get what they wanted when they needed it, and the rest would remain to swell the general stock. A man could draw out his full day's pay in products of one kind or another every day, but he would not care to load himself

down and fill his premises up. What he could not at once use would be safer and better kept in the public storehouses.

But to proceed to other necessaries or luxuries. How about coats, which are now made in sweat-shops, and for which the makers, working under deadly conditions and without the best machinery, are paid thirty-six cents a dozen? Under public management, and using an electrical revolving cutter, one workman will cut the cloth for five hundred coats a day. These machines are now in use in some wholesale houses, but who reaps the benefit of them? Under public management the workman will.

Then, under public management, the tailoring on our coats would be done with the best and swiftest machinery. Let us see what can be done. The Chicago *Record*, in its "Shop-Talk of the Wonders of the Crafts," illustrated a sewing machine that makes 3,500 stitches a minute. The woman or man in a sweat-shop, working an ordinary treadle machine, can make but six hundred stitches a minute. With a machine making 3,500 stitches a minute a skilful workman should be able to put together one hundred and fifty of the five hundred coats the cutter can turn out. Deduct fifty of these for the cost of material, cutting, transportation, etc., and we have one hundred coats as the day's turn-out of the coatmaker.

There is more work about a coat than about a pair of trousers, so it is safe to assert that the output per day of the pantsmaker would be at least as great as that of the coatmaker.

But suppose you are a baker. What, under public management, would be your day's wages in your own product? Take the best showing under private management. I believe it is made by a bakery in Brooklyn, N. Y. At that bakery three hundred and fifty persons, using machinery, turn out 70,000 loaves per day, which is at the rate of two hundred loaves to each worker. This is not such a good showing as ought to be made to compare with other things we have mentioned. With the best machinery that could be used, I am sure the product would be at least double this, say four hundred loaves to each man. Deduct fifty from each share for material, fuel, transportation, etc., and, under public man-

agement, we should have as your wages for each day three hundred and fifty loaves of bread.

Look now at the shoemaker's job under such management. He would be entitled, of course, to the day's product of his labor, less the deductions before mentioned. How many pairs of shoes would he get, or their equivalent? You will see from the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* almanac that "with a McKay sewing machine one man can sole six hundred pairs of shoes in a day." I have not the figures as to the output of the other shoe machinery that has revolutionized this craft, but I have seen it at work and know that it is equally swift. Let us put the product at five hundred pairs a day to each worker, and deduct for wear and tear, etc., as before. The shoemaker's day's wages will be four hundred and fifty pairs of shoes.

This process of calculation can be carried out in regard to other industries, taking the figures given in the various trade journals as to the output of the best machinery. Thus, we have for a day's output one hundred and thirty brooms, or 1,250 two-pound tin cans, or 5,000,000 match sticks, or 5,000 buttons sewed on by machinery, or 5,000 buttonholes made, or 120,000 wooden butter dishes (at the rate of 200 a minute), or one watch or small clock, or 75,000 square feet of paper, to each man.

To recapitulate. The following table shows what a man would have to exchange, or turn in for his "credit," at the end of each day, working under public management and with the machinery described. He would have, for example, either of the following:

Wheat	150 bushels
Potatoes	210 bushels
Beans	150 bushels
Sugar beets	50 tons
Sugar	12,000 pounds
Undershirts	40
Sweaters	40
Shawls	350
Towels	50
Cloth, yards	40
Coats	100
Pairs trousers	100
Loaves of bread	350
Pairs of shoes	450

And other products in like proportions, according as machinery has been perfected and can be used in the production.

The deductions made for management, transportation, wear and tear, etc., in the above calculations are very generous, because, under public management, as you will doubtless observe, the man engaged in management, bookkeeping, transportation, and industries that are not directly productive, must receive a compensation equal to that of the producer. All cannot tend the machines, nor can all be engaged in transportation or supervision. But it is evident that, under such public and collective industry, with the private profit-taker eliminated, the man who produced would expect to receive as much as the man who supervised or helped in the work of exchanging products. And, on the other hand, these latter would expect to be at least as well remunerated, for it would be the right of all to produce who could be made useful.

Under such a system, values being based on production, brain work that was needed in the process of invention, transportation, keeping accounts of produce, etc., and for all industry not "ornamental," would be compensated exactly as labor was compensated for work in the field, at the forge, or in the mine. And as all labor would be superabundantly remunerated, no one would have a right to object to this, or if he did, the public could conscientiously ask whether he was a man or a hog.

Art work could be compensated with honor. That is the chief object of an artist's toil now. Such work would be extra, engaged in as a labor of love, as it should be.

The teacher and the physician would be paid as well as the tiller of the soil or the miner, and would in addition receive honor according to merit.

The figures given above are based on the best machinery. As it might be fifty years before such machinery could be installed all over the country, this system should be put in practice gradually. Under public management, for example, it would be quite safe to award twenty dollars' worth of produce (necessaries of life or otherwise) per day to every worker as payment for a day's work as soon as the scheme was

in force. The amount could be increased at the rate of $10 worth a day each year till the limit was reached, which would be about $150 a day (in produce or luxuries) as soon as the machinery described was fully working. I speak in terms of dollars for the sake of making myself clear. As a matter of fact, money must have no place in this plan. If it is allowed, the evils we have suffered under from the "financier" will be possible. We must have time and labor as the only measures of value. And "if a man will not work, neither shall he eat."

P. S. Since the data for the above article were gathered, the great coal strike has taken place. Just before that strike, on June 19, a special despatch appeared in a St. Louis paper stating that the large corporations were waiting for such an opportunity as a strike would give them to put into the mines the new mining machines that can dig 250 tons of coal per day, or fifty times as much as one miner can dig. How far they have profited by the opportunity time will show. It is pretty safe to say that another strike of the coal-miners will hardly succeed.

This leads me to reiterate that the only solution of the labor-displacing problem is public ownership. As the writer of the despatch referred to stated truly, this invention of steam diggers can ultimately only mean "the total extinction of the coal-miner as an industrial factor"—unless, it may be added, the whole people become owners of mines and machines.

On the subject of labor displacement, Congressman Dockery, in a speech at Paris, Mo., on Sept. 1, 1897, made the following startling statement: "Five hundred thousand men now do the mechanical labor that a few years ago furnished employment for 16,000,000." The writer of this thought an error had been made in reporting this statement, and wrote to Congressman Dockery, who confirmed the correctness of the report and vouched for the figures.

As between trusts and public management—the people's trust—we have the choice between enormous wealth for the few with comparative pauperism for the masses, and abundance for all. The choice is easily made.

THE CORPORATIONS AGAINST THE PEOPLE.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

IT IS of vital importance that the friends of popular government should grasp in a broad way the great basic issues involved in the titanic struggle of the present—a struggle upon which depends an issue no less momentous than the very existence of popular government. The conflict which is pending is between corporate power in the hands of a few on the one side and public interests and the people's rights on the other. Any narrowing of this issue, or any attempt to elevate one of the many evil consequences flowing from it so as to make a paramount issue of that which is partial, or only a single stem from the giant stalk, is a serious blunder which can serve only to divide the forces of progress. Even if the single reform, however beneficent, triumphed, it could in the nature of the case be at best but a partial success. Thus, monopoly in money, monopoly in transportation, monopoly in all public utilities, whether national, State, or municipal, and monopoly in commodities essential for man's life, comfort, or well-being, are the offspring of corporate control, of society's needs, and civilization's demands, in which the great profits of the few are acquired at the expense of the many. Against this evil, as the concrete representation of despotism in its latest role, all reformers, all friends of liberty, freedom, and justice should unite.

The forces of freedom and the forces of oppression are being rapidly marshalled, the lines of battle are being drawn. The tendencies of the opposing theories are no longer vague or doubtful. If the corporations are to continue, a popular government cannot live, any more than liberty can exist under the rule of absolutism. Here is a fact for thoughtful people to consider. The corporations, as we shall presently see, are the sworn enemies of public rights, individual independence,

common justice, and that wholesome liberty which marks a free government.

Nothing is gained by pursuing the ostrich policy. It is neither manly nor safe to disguise the naked facts, which are no longer disputed questions among honest and informed citizens. The situation in the United States to-day reminds one of a certain Eastern legend. Abdallah, an oriental prince, was one day reclining on his couch, sipping his wine, listening to the music of birds, and enjoying the rich fragrance wafted from his garden of roses, when a beautiful fly entered his apartment and poised on the edge of his wine-cup; he watched the little insect with interest until it flew away. The next day it returned to his cup, and so on, each successive day finding the little visitor at the prince's lonely board. In a short time Abdallah became strongly attached to the fly; he encouraged, humored, and petted it, never noticing how rapidly it was growing, nor the strange transformation that was gradually taking place, by which the once small and inoffensive insect was assuming the form of a man, and later that of a giant. With the growth of the intruder the vigor, health, and greatness of the prince diminished. Abdallah became so fascinated with his visitor that he gave him the right of his house; and when his self-invited guest, after appropriating some of the prince's most prized treasures, gave them back to Abdallah, the poor potentate went into an ecstasy over the generosity of his guest, wholly oblivious of the fact that the little returned was but a moiety of his own wealth which the interloper had appropriated. With the ascendency of the giant that had once been a fly came the complete transformation of the prince. He lost all capacity for reason and self-government, and reflected only that which the giant desired him to manifest. Hence he became a cringing lackey at the feet of a soulless tyrant. Under this fatal spell Abdallah dismissed, degraded, or destroyed all his true friends and faithful servants and followers, putting in their place the wily tools of the giant. Then another change came over the unhappy prince; the fascination of love changed to the fascination of fear. The warnings of his old friends had been mocked, their fidelity had been rewarded with disgrace, and

now the prince felt himself a powerless victim of one who was a stranger to every high or holy sentiment. One morning the prince rose not. His servants entered his apartment to find him dead. It was whispered that the print of the giant's thumb was on his throat.

This legend is suggestive. The corporations have ensnared our nation as did the apparently harmless and beautiful fly. They have been tolerated until they have gained power and a firm foothold in the government throughout all its ramifications. Moreover, and worse, the great opinion-forming agencies of the age have come under their power. Silently, secretly, but with the one central thought of mastery through consolidation and triumph through organization, a few men have banded themselves together and have seized upon various sources of wealth,—sometimes the wealth which nature through countless ages has prepared for all the children of earth. In other instances, those things which, arising from and being dependent upon society, clearly belong to the people collectively, have been seized upon and utilized for the benefit of the few; while a third method of accumulating wealth has been through indirect oppression by securing a monopoly of the products which enter largely into modern life, a monopoly rendered possible through the protection afforded by government and the aid of those who had already grown powerful through the control of nature's treasuries and society's opportunities. These class favors and special privileges have been frequently supplemented by acts which, to say the least, have been glaringly immoral, such as the watering of stock and gambling with loaded dice. In this manner have the corporations advanced step by step till the warnings of statesmen and scholars, which a few years ago were denounced as absurd and demagogical, are no longer questioned.

The great power of corporations is fed by sources of wealth which belong to all the people, and the unjust appropriation of which by a few entails that natural suffering upon the social body which an infraction of hygienic law entails upon the physical body. Thus, nature has provided land rich in productive power; she has stored light and heat in her secret

recesses for the blessing and comfort of all the people; and it is the right, nay, it is the supreme duty, of the government to see that society as a whole enjoys the blessings of these sources of comfort and essentials to life. It is a crime when a few persons are permitted to seize and hold for their own profit these vast privileges, while the humblest citizen, because of these unequal advantages, is made to suffer and die for what otherwise would have made life a joy.

To-day we find the vast oil fields of America in the hands of a corporation which has behind it a record of lawlessness that may well amaze intelligent foreigners; and this corporation, with its hands on the tap which supplies the people's light, levies a revenue from millions of people, which if enjoyed by all instead of by a few score people would render it possible to reduce taxes on the one hand, and, on the other, for the nation to carry on vast measures for internal improvements that would give employment and good wages to the "out-of-works" on practical and needed enterprises, such as the erection of permanent levees, the reclamation of arid land by irrigation, the building of great highways for the people, and similar necessary improvements. The infinitesimal fraction of the vast accumulation farmed from the people by one man in the Standard Oil trust, which has been given to a conservative sectarian educational institution, gives a very fair hint of the enormous benefits which would accrue to all if this wealth, which nature has stored up for society, were operated for the benefit of society, instead of being seized and appropriated by a few in such a manner as to render possible an oligarchy at once lawless, corrupt, and cruel.

The great oil monopoly is a fair illustration of one way in which associations or corporations composed of a few men are growing rich almost beyond the imagination of man, through the stored-up resources of nature, which should be, nay, which are, the common heritage and inalienable property of *all* the people.

In the great coal corporations, with their frightful system of oppression, so suggestive of galley-slave methods, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, their control of the output which places the nation at the mercy of a few persons, we

have another illustration of the same vitally important fact which confronts the republic to-day. Nor, when considering the injustice practised against the wretched miners, and the extortionate prices charged for coal, must we lose sight of the very important point, that with government ownership and fair profits a vast revenue would accrue to the state from this and other sources of natural wealth which by right belong to all the people—unless it can be clearly established that might and craft make right. These great reservoirs of wealth provided by a beneficent Providence for humanity are being seized and held by an infinitesimal proportion of society, and through this injustice, this wrong, this moral crime, the sufferings of the people are yearly increasing, while the normal unfoldment of civilization is checked, real progress is retarded, and the currents of public life are being polluted by a subtle and deadly poison.

Passing from the treasure-house of nature, where is found wealth which if employed by the people for the good of all would soon change the front of civilization,we come to another source of corporate power, which, in the hands of organized society, where it manifestly belongs, and operated as is the post office for the good of all, would prove a double blessing to the people, because (1) the enormous interest on fictitious valuation, or watered stock, now being wrested from the people—which is essentially dishonest—would under public ownership disappear; and (2) a fair profit or revenue above running expenses on actual investments would, in the hands of the national, State, or municipal government, yield an income sufficient to reduce taxes to a minimum. Under existing conditions corporations control franchises of fabulous value to society; and through the possession of these public or quasi-public utilities they are levying tributes incomparably greater than all the burden of direct taxation, tributes which go to enrich a few who are already enormously wealthy, to increase the power of corporate greed, to further enslave the millions, debauch and corrupt government, and shift the basis of national life from justice, integrity, and freedom to might, cunning, and oppression.

The history of the great monopolies which so largely con-

trol the storehouses of nature's wealth or govern their output and distribution, and the story of the rise of the various other natural monopolies, such as railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and the public utilties in municipal life, would each require a volume.* The story of one, however, is practically the history of all, and I shall therefore merely refer to one or two typical illustrations.

In a masterly review of the railroad question recently made by Justice Walter Clark, of the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, the able jurist showed from the returns made by the railroads operated in that commonwealth for 1896, that the net earnings of the three principal roads were $2,975,000, or almost fifteen per cent on the full actual valuation of the railroads, a valuation which according to the railroad corporations is in excess of the value of their entire property.† Yet though according to their own reports for 1896 their net earnings were almost $3,000,000, the claim of the roads is that in addition to a large interest on the actual cost of the property, or its real valuation, they must pay interest on $70,000,000 of fictitious capital, or water. But I ask, in the name of reason, justice, or right, why should every farmer, every traveller, and every shipper in North Carolina be thus systematically plundered to pay for capital which never existed except on paper? Why should the wealth-creators of North Carolina pay fifteen per cent on a liberal valuation of the entire railroad properties, after all running expenses, including princely salaries to favored officials, have been paid, when under state-ownership three per cent would yield a handsome

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*The reader is urged to peruse Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's masterly works, "Wealth against Commonwealth," which gives a startling picture of the history of the Standard Oil monopoly, the history of a crime which reads like a romance; and "The Strike of the Millionaires against the Miners," being a chapter on the crimes of corporate power as illustrated at Spring Valley, near Chicago; also Governor William Larrabee's scholarly work on "The Railroad Question," which, though extremely temperate in spirit, proves in a startling manner how the people are being wronged out of millions upon millions of the wealth which they create, and how society is being debauched by the railroad corporations. The writings of Professor Frank Parsons, Professor Edward Bemis, and other scholarly and careful thinkers should be studied by all earnest men and women. They all illustrate the vital truth that organized corporate greed is becoming all-powerful through systematic plunder, through the control of opinion-forming organs of the press, the crushing of opponents and competitors, the debauching of government, and the enslavement of the people.

†The three leading roads own more than four-fifths of the total valuation.

profit for money invested, and twelve per cent would remain with the proper owners, or real creators of the wealth?

In the case of the New York Central, as very ably discussed by Governor William Larrabee,* a similar revelation is made; while in the cases of the Atchison, the Iron Mountain, the Erie, and other great trunk lines even more astounding is the story of the corporate plunder of the public. The methods pursued by the Pennsylvania, as pointed out by Governor Larrabee, while more ingenious are scarcely more creditable than those of other lines. But, as I have already said, the story of one of these great corporations which own and control these vast public utilities is, with slight variations, the story of all.

When we come to quasi-public utilities in municipalities we find the same record of *public plunder for private gain.* Take, for example, the metropolitan street railway of New York, which furnishes a fair illustration. The New York *World* of October 11, 1897, published a carefully prepared and somewhat exhaustive history of the rise of this giant monopoly. The story shows that there is to-day about $20,000,000 of water in the body of this one child of corporate greed, which enjoys an enormously valuable street franchise, and in return compels the travelling public to pay dividends, or interest, on $19,880,000 *more than the total cost of the property.* Here is a summary made by the *World* of the extent of water in this one corporation. It should arrest the attention of every thoughtful person. It is a fairly typical illustration of the way in which the people of every great municipality in the New World are being plundered for the enrichment of the few:

From the official reports filed with the Railway Commissioners by the Metropolitan Street Railway Company and its constituent companies up to June 30, 1896, it appears that $19,880,000 in water goes to make up the capital stock of $16,500,000 and bonds of $9,000,000 of the Metropolitan. These are the figures in detail:

$450,000 excess of amount paid in stock and bonds by Houston, West Street, and Pavonia Ferry Railroad Company for the purchase of property of Avenue C Railroad.

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* "The Railroad Question," by William Larrabee.

$430,000 excess of reported cost in 1883 over report of 1882, for which no equivalent in value is shown.

$500,000 excess of stock payment for Chambers Street Railroad over fair value for road and franchise.

$6,000,000 amount of bonds issued in 1891-1893 by the Houston Street company, and for which no report is returned, except that they were exchanged for stock.

$200,000 paid to promoters for franchise of the South Ferry Railroad, according to report in 1886.

$950,000 Broadway Railroad Company capital stock over and above the amount paid for the property at the receiver's sale in 1889 of the assets of the Broadway Surface Railroad Company.

$850,000 of the stock and bonds of the Metropolitan Crosstown Railroad Company issued in excess of fair value of property.

$6,000,000 of the $10,000,000 of the stock and bonds of the Lexington Avenue Railroad Company, being the amount above the cost of the property.

$4,500,000 of the $6,000,000 stock and bonds of the Columbus and Ninth Avenue Railroad Company issued for construction and equipment, being in excess of the cost of the property.

$19,880,000—total water.

The same paper makes the following comments on the facts disclosed:

The tremendous loss to the people of this city through the gift of its street-railway franchises to private corporations is clearly shown by the reports made to the State Railroad Commissioners by the Metropolitan Street Railway Company and the companies which make it up.

By the figures in these reports it appears that fully $19,880,000 of the entire capital and bonds of the Metropolitan Company issued up to 1896 is water.

This immense sum was divided up among a host of people—promoters, constructors, and manipulators. It represents the profit in "deals" with the property of the people.

Some of it, perhaps, represents the cost of "securing" franchises. It certainly does in the case of the Broadway line, obtained by gross corruption on the part of Jacob Sharp.

But more clearly than anything else this stock-watering means high street-car fares to the people. It means a vastly increased amount on which interest and dividends must be paid, and consequently it means that fares will not be reduced.

The New York *Journal* published some valuable articles showing the enormous revenues which properly belong to the city of New York, but which through the control of quasi-public utilities by private corporations are diverted into the pockets of the few. This paper also published a table giving the annual income in interest, rental, and dividends from

some of the leading public utilities of New York, of which the following is a summary:

Street and Elevated Railroads	$9,023,881
Gas Companies	4,714,746
Electric-Light Companies	824,780
Brooklyn Street-Railway Company	2,588,775
Total income in dividends, interest, and rentals	$17,152,182

Under municipal ownership this immense sum would be saved to the people in cheaper service and in lower taxes.

These illustrations are fair samples of the El Doradoes of wealth which annually flow into the pockets of the few, who, through the corporate control of public utilities, are levying unjust tribute for private gain from the wealth-creators of the nation.

Special privileges or protection granted by legislation are another source of gain, from which, with the aid of those who control nature's stores and the utilities made valuable by society, the few have been enabled to form vast trusts and monopolies. Thus, in the one item of sugar it was made possible for one great trust to take millions of dollars from the people by levying an additional tax on every spoonful of sugar eaten. All the corporations are linked together by the band of community of interest. There are periods when there is local warfare for a short time while the greater corporations are absorbing or crushing their smaller rivals, but these are merely incidents in the march of corporate power, and the fact remains that *corporate greed is a unit against public weal.* The corporations exist for the purpose of acquiring wealth for the few from the nation or the units that make up the nation; and corporate power, having no ethics, and indeed no conscience or soul, is the most formidable and essentially demoralizing influence in the republic, a power which corrupts and subverts government while it organizes oppression, and in whose atmosphere neither justice nor liberty can long survive. Its influence is as a moral miasma in public life, while it impoverishes, enslaves, and debases the people. From the national government, despite the persistent efforts of organized corporate power to prevent exposures, have come such glaring

and revolting swindles as the Credit Mobilier, the Whiskey Ring, the Secret Bond Deal, and the Armor-Plate and the Sugar scandals. These are fair examples of the debauching influence of the corporations in public life. The Tweed Ring and the exposures of the Lexow Committee were startling illustrations of the corrupt conditions in municipal life which were rendered possible by the influence of corporate power seeking franchises and special privileges.

But the less open and less brazen influence of the corporations is something even more alarming than their bolder and more direct methods. Such are the purchase of large interests in great opinion-forming journals and the silencing of voices which would soon awaken the conscience of the nation were they allowed to expose the corrupt and immoral practices of the corporations; the union of great advertising interests in a practical boycott by withdrawing their patronage from papers advocating measures beneficial to the people but offensive to the millionaires, such as the income tax; the pressure brought by bankers and insurance companies upon the advertising patrons of the press, as well as upon the press which advocates measures opposing the money-lending interest. These are a few of the influences which have long been actively at work, and which, owing to the rapidly increasing power of the corporations and their Machiavellian methods, are becoming more and more successful.

The real conflict of the present, the struggle upon which the issue of free government is hanging to-day, is between corporate power and the public weal. It is a life-and-death conflict between interests organized in bands and conducted for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, on the one hand, and the genius of free government and the well-being of the millions, on the other. It is of first importance to keep ever in the foreground the fundamental fact that the real issue is and must be the commonwealth against the corporations; that is, the freedom, happiness, and prosperity of all the people against the aggressions of organized greed. It matters not whether we consider the question from the standpoint of economics, from that of public morality and national integrity, or from that of private virtue and self-respecting

manhood; whether we view it in its relation to the liberty of the people and that sound morality upon which enduring free government alone can rest; whether we view it merely as a question of business relating to the interests of the people; or whether we consider the higher and more important aspects which relate to the fundamentals upon which lasting civilization rests,—this issue becomes one of first importance to every right-thinking man, whether he be statesman or educator, farmer or artisan.

And what is more, in the presence of this mortal struggle between the forces of progress and those of oppression an awful duty devolves upon every man, a responsibility which no one, I care not how insignificant his influence may seem, can evade without committing a moral crime for which, somewhere and in some way, he will suffer as surely as there are moral laws running through the universe, and as certainly as the infraction of law brings evil consequences. This question, therefore, is one that concerns in a vital way every man and woman in the nation. What more glorious work can one engage in than that of rescuing freedom from oppression, reinstating justice on the throne of law, and bringing hope, happiness, and prosperity once more into the lives of the people?

SECRET SOCIETIES AND THE STATE.

BY J. M. FOSTER.

IT has been authoritatively stated that "there are in the United States over fifty distinct secret orders, with over 70,000 lodges and 5,500,000 members. This does not include members of the various labor organizations, or the 500,000 members of secret military orders, such as the G. A. R., or those connected with college secret fraternities. These numbers will not include as many persons, since one man is often a member of two or more societies, but it is safe to say that in all there are fully 6,000,000 persons in this country held in the coils of Secretism."* Has the state any duty to perform with reference to this gigantic power, which is growing at the rate of 300,000 members per annum?

This leads to another inquiry: What is the nature and province of the state? I answer:

1. The state is not a voluntary association. A man may join a voluntary association or not, just as he elects. But has he this option in civil society? He is born into the state, and is by nature subject to its laws. The corporation and the nation differ as greatly as the artificial and the natural. The corporation is the creature of the state, is responsible to the state; and appeal can always be had from it to the state. But the state is the creature of God, accountable to none but Him for the use it makes of the great powers with which He has invested it. "It is something monstrous," said Thomas Arnold of Rugby, "that the ultimate powers in human life should be destitute of the sense of right and wrong"; and that comes only from a sense of responsibility to God.

2. It is not a social compact. The atheist Hobbes of Malmesbury originated this idea. Denying the existence of any fixed standard of right, and consequently that there could be any such thing as virtue or vice, this speculative philosopher resolved all law into one, the will of the legislature.

* Report on Secret Societies in Reformed Presbyterian Synod, June, 1897.

But who were his disciples? None but the godless, the dissipated, the scorners of all that is sacred. The heart of England was shocked at its blasphemy. It was stoutly resisted by the great thinkers of the seventeenth century as undermining the foundations of civil society and absorbing justice in the consciousness of power. After the Long Parliament, Hobbes fled to Paris to escape the evils of his own doctrines. The clearest assertion of this doctrine was in France, and its highest development was in the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau. But the dissemination of this doctrine cost that nation the Reign of Terror. There can be no doubt that this theory had its influence in the Convention which framed our national Constitution in 1787, for, as Franklin said, with three or four exceptions the members thought prayers unnecessary. Such a convention would be expected to give us a constitution that does not acknowledge Almighty God as the source of all authority and power, nor the Lord Jesus Christ as the divinely appointed Ruler of nations, nor the Bible as the fountain of all law. But the American people never have voted and never would vote to reject the higher law and Lawgiver.

3. It is God's moral ordinance. It is that settled order of things which is manifestly in harmony with the divine will. It has its necessity in the constitution of our nature, and its authority in God's word: "The powers that be are ordained of God." It is clothed with authority and powers which transcend all human institutions, and thus becomes the heaven-ordained and heaven-commissioned agent representing the divine authority among men.

I. *The being of the state is from God.* The Creator has established divine institutions among men for specific purposes. The *family* is a divine institution. Marriage is an ordinance of God. It is God's appointed method of restraining vice, fostering virtue, multiplying the human race, and developing the better sentiments of the human heart. It has its necessity in the very constitution of our nature, and its authority in God's word: "They twain shall be one flesh." The *Church* is a divine institution. It is "the kingdom of heaven" among men. Its organization is from God. "Upon

this Rock I will build my church." Its authority is from God. "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Its constitution is from God. "Unto them were committed the oracles of God." Its laws are from God. "Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Its commission is from God. "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." Its duties as the witness for the truth have been enjoined. "Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord." The *state* is another divine institution. It is the arrangement, the appointment, the contrivance of heaven for man. It is the divinely appointed custodian of the rights of the people. It exists for the punishment of evil-doers and for the praise of them that do well. It guards the family. It protects the church.

God has appointed these three institutions in which the man is to be developed to the full girth and proportion of perfect manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of a perfect man.

But the secret, oath-bound lodge is a mere human device. It lays upon its members obligations, with the solemnity of an oath oft repeated, that are inconsistent with loyalty to these divine ordinances. A man who performs all his duties properly in the home, the church, and civil society has no time or energy or means to devote to the secret lodge. It is a matter of unlimited experience that the good lodge member neglects his duties in one or other of these divine institutions. What is inconsistent with God's appointed order ought not to exist.

II. *The powers of the state come from God.* The state wields tremendous powers. It has the power to levy taxes, to institute a tariff, and to regulate that mighty factor in our commercial life—the currency. It has the power to organize schools, to enter the homes, take the children, place them in the schools and educate them, without asking the leave of the parents. It has the power to draw out all the physical, mental, and moral forces of the nation in self-defence, just as a sword is drawn from its sheath. It has the power of life and death. This does not reside in the individual. No man has a right to take away his own life, much less to employ another to do

it for him. No company of men, even seventy millions, has the right to execute the criminal. And yet the state every day exercises a power which does not reside in the individual or the mass. Where does it get this power? The only answer is: "Power comes from Almighty God." As the Savior said to Pilate, "Thou could'st have no power over me at all except it were given to thee from above." In the 82nd Psalm rulers are called "gods," because they represent God on earth. In the 13th chapter of Romans rulers are called "God's ministers." They are clothed with authority from Him, and they administer His law. Civil government is the arm of Jehovah administering the affairs of His government among men. But secret oath-bound lodges are intruders upon this divine prerogative of the state.

The society of Jesus was organized by Ignatius Loyola in 1540. It is secret and oath-bound. The Encyclopædia Britannica says: "Jesuitry is a naked sword, with its hilt at Rome and its point everywhere." Every Jesuit is bound by oath to poverty, chastity, and obedience. Coligny was brutally murdered by the Jesuits on the night of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24, 1572. William the Silent, Prince of Orange, was struck down by Girard, a Spanish Jesuit, July 10, 1584. A Jesuit assassin, Ravaillac, stabbed Henry IV, May 14, 1610. The disloyal oaths caused the Jesuits to be expellel from Prussia, Italy, Austria, France. Many went to South America, a few to England. An old order of the masonic craft existed there, imported from Syria, whence it had come from the East. The Jesuits joined this order. They secured the protection of princes for the craft, and hence were called "Free." Charles I, Charles II, and James II joined the order, with many princes, though they never lifted a mason's tool. Hence the term "Accepted." The banishment of Charles II seems to have suggested to these Jesuits the first three degrees of apprentice, fellow-craft, and master mason. The grand lodge was not organized in London until June 24, 1717. But these Jesuits went with the banished King Charles II to France and organized lodges there.

From the members of these lodges who had taken the first three degrees, they organized another order called the Illumi-

nati. This was nothing but a school of atheism and anarchy. It grew with wonderful rapidity. The French nation was honeycombed with it. The whole people were prepared for resisting authority. Mirabeau, the profligate and disappointed politician, and the Duke of Orleans, his silly tool, were at the head of this secret order. They issued the mandate. The dynamite exploded. France was deluged with blood. The French Revolution was enacted. Anyone wishing to trace the steps of this tragedy, should read "The Conspiracy in Europe," by John Robinson, A. M., Professor of Natural Philosophy, and secretary to the Royal Society of Edinburgh.*

What the Jesuits have done in France through the Masonic lodge, they may do in the United States. We know that Jesuits priests are in 100,000 confessionals in our country, and these are so many telephones, bringing them into speaking communication with our homes, offices, schools, churches, courts, and legislative halls. Many of our great cities are in the hands of the Jesuits. Some of our legislatures are under their power. The Jesuits at Washington have a way of bringing Senators and Representatives to their way of thinking. The daily press of our country is largely under their hand. They are making a deadly assault upon our public schools. The time is near when our government will be compelled to follow the example of the continent and expel the Jesuits.

The murder of William Morgan in 1826 by the Freemasons caused forty-five out of every fifty of the members to leave the order. In their indignation they exposed the oaths by which the lodge members are bound. This gave rise to the law which was passed by the Vermont Legislature in 1833.

A person who administers to another an oath or affirmation, or obligation in the nature of an oath, which is not required or authorized by law, or a person who voluntarily suffers such oath or obligation to be

* He belonged to the lodge in Scotland. He took forty-five degrees in Paris. He was made the custodian of the papers of the French lodge. He travelled extensively in Europe and collected documentary evidence from many lodges. He clearly proved a "conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe, carried on in the secret meetings of Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies," and published these in a volume of 390 pages, in 1798. He divided the book into four chapters: 1. The Masonic Schism; 2. The Illuminati; 3. The German Union; 4. The French Revolution.

administered to him, or voluntarily takes the same, shall be fined not more than $100 and not less than $50; but this section shall not prohibit an oath or affidavit for the purpose of establishing a claim, petition, or application by an individual or corporation administered without intentional secrecy by a person authorized to administer oaths, or an oath or affidavit for the verification of commercial papers or documents relating to property, or which may be required by a public officer or tribunal of the United States, or of any State, or any other country, nor abridge the authority of the magistrate.

In 1839 the legislature increased the penalty to $200. Massachusetts and New Hampshire adopted this law. Daniel Webster, the great lawyer and statesman, said:

All secret associations, the members of which take upon themselves extraordinary obligations to one another and are bound together by secret oaths, are natural sources of jealousy and just alarm to others, and especially unfavorable to harmony and mutual confidence among men living together under public institutions; and are dangerous to the general cause of civil liberty and justice. Under the influence of this conviction I heartily approve the law lately enacted in the State of which I am a citizen, for abolishing all such oaths and obligations.

Massachusetts repealed this law in 1880. In 1893 the Masonic Lodge of Worcester, Mass., was incorporated under the general law of the State. But this was not deemed sufficient. And in 1896 the legislature passed an act authorizing the Masons to build a temple, have a library, hall, lectures, and a benevolent fund. This statute empowers them to accumulate property and do business to any extent they desire. Such powers in the hands of secret lodges are dangerous to any municipality.

In Hartford, Conn., in August, 1895, Dr. Griswold, a Mason, set fire to his buildings to get the insurance. He confided the facts to Dr. Jackson, a brother Mason. Dr. Jackson laid the facts before the civil authorities. The culprit was tried and sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary. Then the Hartford Lodge tried Dr. Jackson for unmasonic conduct in informing on that guilty brother, and expelled him. The lodge in that case was used against law and justice.

In Illinois, a judge refused to recognize the sign of distress given by a brother Mason, who was the criminal in the dock. He said: "I will not recognize those signs when I am on the bench." But his Masonic oath bound him to recognize them, and his lodge censured him for his unmasonic conduct. Thad-

deus Stevens said: "By Freemasonry, trial by jury is transformed into an engine of despotism and Masonic fraud."

The government found it necessary to assail the "Knights of the Golden Circle" during the war, for they were plotting to destroy it. It became necessary to throttle the Molly Maguires and the Ku-Klux Klans as a means of self-protection. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that anyone who has taken the Endowment-House oaths of the Mormon hierarchy should not be naturalized, and if he has been naturalized, should be disfranchised. Let it be proclaimed in trumpet tones, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, that the highest tribunal in our land has decreed that the secret oaths of that religious fraternity disqualify those taking them from becoming citizens; or if citizens, from exercising the privileges of citizenship. The murder of Dr. Cronin in Chicago led to the trial of the order of Clan-na-Gael. Their horrid oaths were exposed, just as the wicked oaths of the Endowment House in Salt Lake City were brought to light in the trial over the Idaho test-oaths disfranchising Mormons. The courts have decided that these disloyal oaths disqualify those taking them for citizenship.

The secret order of Mafia came over to us from Italy. They showed their true character in the murder of Chief of Police Hennessey, of New Orleans. That assassination was a crime which demanded retribution. Eleven members of the order were put on trial. Through fear of the order the jury acquitted them. A mob attacked the prison that very night and summarily despatched these guilty wretches. That massacre cannot be justified. It was mob law, and that is a danger and a symptom of a greater evil behind it. When justice breaks over its legal bounds, no one is safe, and the insidious disease of anarchy is underneath. But a secret order that is an oath-bound gang of ruffians and brigands cannot be tolerated here. That massacre is the handwriting on the walls of the secret dens of the Mafia.

The Highbinders of California have been imported hither from China. They are a secret, oath-bound, murderous order. The courts have dealt with them just as with the Mafia.

These facts lead us to the conclusion that the power of the

government ought to be invoked in the destruction of all secret, oath-bound lodges. The Vermont law should be adopted by every State in the Union. Congress should crystallize it in a similar national law. That will drive these secret societies beyond our borders.

III. *The laws of the state come from God.* Law is the expression of the will of God. The phrase of Hooker is too sublime ever to become trite: "Law has its seat in the bosom of God, and its voice is the harmony of the world." Two thoughts filled the mind of Kant with ever-increasing admiration and delight: "The starry heavens above us, God's law within us." Cicero long ago declared that "those who fail to recognize the will of God as the basis of all law, lay the foundation of government *tanquam in aquis*, as it were in the waters." Blackstone said: "Any law that contravenes the law of God is no law at all." Man cannot make law. He may discover and interpret and apply God's law. God gave the ten commandments to the Jewish nation as their constitution. They are the basis of all moral legislation.

Justinian, the Roman emperor, made the decalogue the basis of his Tribonian Code. Charlemagne issued a code of laws based upon the ten commandments. Alfred the good, king of England, gave his people a code founded upon the law of Sinai. The Magna Charta of King John was drawn from the law of Moses. John Calvin and the Reformers of Switzerland founded the Genevan Republic. They built upon the two tables of Sinai. William the Silent and the Reformers established the Dutch Republic. It was founded upon the ten commandments. Pym, Hampden, Sidney, Cromwell, and the Puritans gave England civil and religious liberty. Knox, Henderson, Melville, and the Covenanters gave Scotland civil and religious liberty. They gave what Moses had given them.

The Puritans of England, the Covenanters of Scotland, the Huguenots of France, and the Dutch Reformers from Holland brought civil and religious liberty to America. Plymouth Rock means the ten commandments. Our republic is the lineal descendant of the lawgiver of Sinai. The state is the divinely appointed keeper of both tables of the Decalogue. The majesty of law has been committed to the civil power.

Here is the basis of moral legislation. Here we find the divine commission of the state to deal with the Secret Lodge System.

1. *The authority of the Lodge over its members is inimical to public justice.* Mackey's "Lexicon," page 8, says: "The Master is supreme in the Lodge. Such a thing as an appeal from the Master to the Lodge is unknown in Masonry. The power of the Master is supreme." Page 103: "The government of the Grand Lodge is completely despotic; its edict must be respected, obeyed without examination by its subordinate Lodges." The English nation could behead their king, and America could impeach their president, but the tyrant of the Lodge cannot be appealed from. "Should the Grand Lodge decree wrongfully or contrary to the ancient constitutions, there is no redress for its subordinates." "The Master is supreme arbiter in all questions of order. For no misdemeanor, however great, can he be tried by his Lodge, for as no one has a right to preside there in his presence except himself, it would be absurd to suppose that he could sit as judge in his own case." If there is any such thing as a dangerous combination, the Lodge is one. An officer of a Grand Lodge in Missouri, in 1867, said:

> Not only do we know no North, no South, no East, no West, but we know no government save our own. To every government save that of Masonry, and to each and all alike, we are foreigners. We are a nation of men bound to each other only by Masonic ties, as citizens of the world, and that world the world of Masonry; brethren to each other all the world over; foreigners to all the world besides.

That is either pure bombast or the rankest treason. In either case those sentiments are unworthy and dangerous.

2. *The oaths of the Lodge are a menace to public rights.* Take the first three degrees of Masonry. The Entered Apprentice swears to keep the Lodge secrets, on the Bible, in the name of God, on the penalty of having his throat cut, his tongue torn out by the roots, and his body buried in the rough sands of the sea at low-water mark. The Fellow-Craft oath, besides secrecy, adds a promise to abide by all Lodge rules, obey signs and summonses, assist poor Fellow-Crafts, etc., under penalty of having his breast torn open and his heart plucked out and exposed, to be devoured by the vultures of the air, etc. The Master Mason's oath adds the keeping of a

brother Master Mason's secrets, murder and treason excepted, and they left to his own discretion, binding him under no less a penalty than that of having his body severed in twain, his bowels taken out and burned to ashes, and the ashes scattered on the rough sands of the sea, where the tide ebbs and flows twice every twenty-four hours. The Royal Arch degree amends the above thus: "Murder and treason *not* excepted." These oaths and imprecations increase in blasphemy and barbarity through all the thirty-three degrees.

These oaths are taken either in jest or in earnest. If the former, they should be prohibited, because they tend to break down the sacredness of the oath. If sincerely, who is to inflict these horrid penalties? Does the Lodge punish its guilty members thus? These oaths are dangerous and disloyal, and should be prohibited.

3. *The false religion of the Lodge corrupts society.* The Lodge is a religion. Mackey speaks of a Mason as "free from sin by living up to the rules of the order." "The white apron is by its symbolic purity to aid us to that purity of life and conduct which will enable us to present ourselves before the Grand Master of the universe unstained with sin." "Masonry consists in a knowledge of the great truths, that there is one God, and that the soul is immortal."

The Grand Sire of the Odd Fellows, in consecrating their cemetery near Chicago in 1868, said: "Our Grand Master will take all who are buried in this ground to Himself in the day when He makes up His jewels."

In the Lodge, Pagan, Mohammedan, Jew, and Christian unite in worship. But whom do they worship? Not the Christian's God, for it is not good Masonry to mention the name of Christ in the first three degrees. The worship in which all join without Christ is not the worship of the true God. It is the worship of Satan. They sacrifice to devils, not to God. As was said of the Samaritans, whose religion was a strange medley of the heathen nations with whom the King of Babylon colonized the land and the few Israelites left after the deportation of the ten tribes: "They feared Jehovah and served graven images."

The Tremont Temple Baptist congregation worshipped in

Music Hall while the Temple was being rebuilt. On Easter Sabbath afternoon, 1896, some 2,500 knights marched into the hall in full uniform. The Boston Christian Endeavor choir occupied the platform. A Sire Knight presented the Baptist congregation with a lecturn, a bronze pulpit, the figure of an angel whose uplifted hands supported an open Bible, the gift of the Lodge, valued at $1,500. Rev. George C. Lorimer, D. D., the pastor, accepted it on behalf of the congregation. Then the Endeavorers and Knights joined in singing hymns, and the congregation helped them. Was that not a repetition of the Samaritan compromise in God's worship? Dr. Lorimer was giving one hand to Christ and the other to the devil. Let our government remove this alluring tempter, the Lodge.

4. *The Lodge is the enemy of the home.* How often a Mason spends $300 for his uniform, while his wife wears a $1.50 calico dress. A writer in the *North American Review* for May last, says:

> For mere personal gratification, aside from any real or supposed benefits, the members of the various fraternities in the United States spend annually $250,000,000. It would all but revolutionize a large section of American society, if the wives and daughters of the households of the men who belong to these organizations should insist on their right to spend for their own adornment, or for their own personal pleasure, dollar for dollar spent by husband or brother for initiation fees, dues, uniforms and regalia, swords, plumes, banners, and banquets.

The moral standard of the Lodge is shocking. Think of the Master Mason's oath. After the Jubula, Jubulo, Jubulum scenes, in which the candidate for the third degree has been struck in the throat by the first ruffian, Jubula, and on the left breast by the second ruffian, Jubulo, and in the bowels by Jubulum, the third ruffian, who kills him outright, and, at the end of fourteen days, he is raised from the grave, the following oath is administered, among others:

> I do promise and swear that I will not have carnal or illicit intercourse with the wife, mother, daughter, or sister of a brother of this degree, knowing her to be such, nor will I permit another brother of this degree to do so if in my power to prevent it.

The implication of that oath smells of the bottomless pit. Who would allow that standard of morals in society?

AN IMPORTANT PHASE OF GUTTER JOURNALISM: FAKING

BY J. B. MONTGOMERY-M'GOVERN.

TO THOSE unacquainted with the methods of journalism in large cities, everything read in a metropolitan newspaper is taken for granted to be literally true. This is the case not only with people in small towns, who, accustomed to the local gossip (as veracious as it is uninteresting) and the few telegraphic despatches of their own village papers, suppose the great dailies published in New York and other large cities to be run on the same principles, but also with the vast majority of the city readers of the various representative organs of "progressive" journalism. The latter, when confronted with any unusually startling statement in the pages of the evening or morning paper, occasionally shrug their shoulders and suppose the account to be "a trifle exaggerated," never doubting that the main facts in the case are true. It will probably be a revelation, as disagreeable as startling, to these people to know that often there is not even a foundation of truth in the double-leaded articles with flaming headlines published in both the daily and the Sunday papers.

Of all phases of "gutter journalism," as modern or "new" or "yellow" journalism is often termed, probably none is more disgusting or fraught with more evil consequences than that known in newspaper parlance as "faking" or "fake journalism." It is resorted to chiefly by news bureaus, press associations, and organizations of that sort, which supply nearly all the metropolitan Sunday papers and many of the dailies with their most sensational "stories," as in newspapers parlance all articles are termed. It is perhaps scarcely necessary to explain that "faking," in the newspaper sense, means the publication of articles absolutely false, which tend to mislead an ignorant or unsuspecting public.

In this variety of journalism—if that word may be so debased—women, as a rule, succeed better than men; perhaps

because they have a more fertile imagination, but more probably on account of their greater tact in persuading men, whose desire for free advertising is stronger than their love of truth, to "stand for" these stories.

Fake newspaper articles are often sent by these press associations to the editors of daily papers, so ingeniously worded and so cleverly conceived and executed, that the rascally compact between the "reporter" of the press association or news bureau, who has been sent to "work up" the story, and the doctor, dentist, architect, or other professional or business man, who has agreed to "stand for" it, that the newspaper editor, though now constantly on the alert for "fake" stories, is often deceived, and sends one of the reporters of his own paper to investigate the matter. The latter hurries to the scene of the reputed accident or other startling occurrence, and after receiving full "verification" of the press association story by the man who has previously agreed to "stand for" it, returns to the office and reports to the editor that the story is a genuine one, and accordingly it appears in that evening's or next morning's paper, often under sensational headlines and filling a column or more.

The one absolutely necessary requisite to be a successful "reporter" of a press association is the possession of an unlimited supply of that quality usually termed "cheek," or still more expressively, "gall." To some extent this is a necessary qualification of every reporter, but the amount required by the reporter of a regular paper is infinitesimal compared with that necessary to the success of a "free-lance" reporter, as the reporters of these numerous press associations are frequently called. In addition, a free-lance reporter must be absolutely impervious to rebuff, however cutting, and sometimes to open insult, for where one professional man, for the sake of the advertising, will verify an absolutely false story in regard to himself, others feel insulted at the suggestion of such a thing, and sometimes tell the reporter pretty frankly what they think of her and her calling. Still, if the truth were known, it would be a startling revelation to the public to learn how many otherwise perfectly reputable business and professional men, whose statements are generally considered above question,

have "stood for" and unblushingly verified these absolutely false stories for the sake of getting their names in the papers.

To cite a case in point, which occurred in New York a short time ago: The managing "editor" of one of the numerous downtown press associations conceived a wonderfully plausible story of attempted suicide which, ostensibly, had occurred in a fashionable doctor's office that day; the would-be suicide in the case being rescued by the timely interference and heroic efforts of the doctor. This account the "editor" had neatly type-written and entrusted to one of his girl reporters, who was to take it to the doctor and convince him of the numerous advantages which would accrue to himself if he would "stand for" the story. Before leaving the office the reporter was impressed by the "editor" with the "delicate nature" of the task she was undertaking, and how much depended upon her own lively imagination and powers of persuasion. Duly impressed with the implied compliment to her skill and tact in such matters, the young and inexperienced reporter, with the hardihood of such as rush in where angels fear to tread, took the type-written document to the physician in question and explained the nature of her errand. The physician declined the proposition, explaining that he "could stand a good deal in the way of exaggeration, but could not bring himself to swear to a story that had an absolute lie for its foundation."

The reporter, determined not to return to the office without at least a partial success, decided to make another attempt, and knowing that the more prominent the man concerned the better the story would "go," next spoke to one of the most eminent professional men in the city, who rejected the offer with scorn, declining to have anything to do with "such a dirty species of advertising."

From her heart the reporter could not help admiring the man who had replied as he did, but bread and butter depended upon her getting that story in the paper on the morrow. For the first time the thought seriously occurred to her that this work in which she had engaged was not only beneath her dignity as a woman, but actually dirty and disreputable, but comforting herself with the thought that her parents and friends in her far-away village home knew only that she was

engaged in journalism in the city,—not in what sort of "journalism,"—and stifling her conscience with the remembrance of the assurance the press association "editor" had given her that this sort of work was the only stepping-stone to a position on the staff of a regular paper, she determined not to give up, but to make another attempt to get some one to "stand for" the nefarious story.

The third time she was eminently successful. The physician approached appeared only too glad to take advantage of the offer. The spirits of the reporter revived; she examined the doctor's office, pointed out the cord with which the patient was supposed to have attempted to strangle herself during the temporary absence of the doctor in the adjoining room, the lounge to which the patient had been removed, the restoratives applied, etc., etc. The doctor greedily swallowed the bait thus offered in the form of a free advertisement, went over the story several times in the reporter's presence so as to be accurate in the details and able to give a coherent, unhesitating account to the reporters of the daily papers who the press association reporter promised would soon call to verify the story.

The reporter then returned to the office of the press association, and after relating her experience and final success, was warmly congratulated by the "editor" upon her "cleverness and diplomacy." She was paid too,—in the eyes of the "editor," well paid,—but as she afterwards said: "What a price for such a day's work,—the wherewithal for a few days' bread and butter in exchange for my own self-respect."

The account of the accident was sent out from the press association to the editorial rooms of the numerous daily papers. Next morning nearly every paper in the city contained a glowing account of the attempted suicide in Dr.———'s office, the methods resorted to by that gentleman to resuscitate the patient, and other details, ending with the sentence: "Owing to the urgent pleadings of the lady, Dr.——— refuses to give the name and address of the patient, but says she belongs to one of the wealthiest and most exclusive social circles in the city."

This is only one of the multitudinous "fake" stories which

are almost daily published in some of the most "reliable" newspapers in the metropolis. Nor are physicians the only men, by any means, who secure gratuitous advertising by lending themselves to the wily machinations of "free-lance" journalism. Numerous are the "fake" stories daily sent out by news bureaus, press associations, and the like, in which lawyers, merchants, architects, and men of almost every occupation figure as the heroes. Sometimes a "prominent business man" —giving, of course, his name and address—is "held up" by a footpad in a lonely street or avenue near midnight. Next morning the papers are supplied with a long account of the incident, through a press association, the manager (or "editor") of which is of course well paid for supplying the "tip" to the papers. It is scarcely necessary to explain that the "hold-up" —including the "theft of a gold watch and other valuables," the ensuing fight, the escape of the footpad before the arrival of a policeman, and all other details—is a plot, in which the man robbed, the supposititious robber, and the free-lance "editor" or reporter, are all participants.

The press associations would reap a golden harvest from the dramatic field, as actors and actresses are, with few exceptions, ready to verify any story which will bring their names prominently before the public, but newspaper editors have, from experience, grown rather wary of accepting these stories relating to Thespian lights for more than they are worth, so now a "press-agent yarn" has to be very plausible and extremely well verified in order to see the light of day in a reputable daily paper. However, even the "most elect" in the newspaper line are sometimes deceived, and editors of those papers which pride themselves most on their reliability often give columns to stories apparently true, but in reality most grossly the reverse, relating to some prominent actor or actress.

As an example of how "press-agent yarns" in regard to actors and actresses are concocted, I will cite a case in point. Mr. Menry Miller was advertised last winter to make his first appearance in New York as a star at the Garden Theatre under Mr. Frohman's management. Prior to his opening night he received the following letter:

"Mr. Henry Miller, Garden Theatre. Dear Sir,—You are

probably aware that nowadays it is sensation and not talent that wins. As you are to make your first stellar appearance in New York, it is almost necessary that you do something to attract attention, and I have a scheme to propose. On Sunday night your house will be entered by burglars. They will turn the place upside down, and upon discovery pistol shots will be fired. They will escape leaving blood-stains on the floor. You will get the credit of fighting single-handed two desperate robbers. The New York *Herald* and other morning daily police reporters will get the story, and the whole town will be talking about you. I will furnish the burglars and take all chances, and will only charge you one hundred dollars for the scheme. I can refer you to a dozen managers. . . . .

"Address
"Empire Press Association,
"General Delivery, Post Office."

It is only justice to Mr. Miller to add that in this case the offer of the "press-agent yarn" was contemptuously rejected.

Great as is the field for this disreputable "fake journalism" in the daily papers, it is in Sunday stories that the free-lance reporter finds his or her greatest glory. Some of the stories emanating from these press associations and published in the great metropolitan Sunday papers would do credit to the imagination of Jules Verne. To have a three-column story of the most weird, grotesque, or impossible sort published—with previous advertising for several days—in any of the most widely read of the Sunday papers, it is only necessary to have a lively imagination, an utter disregard for truth, and the tact to persuade some more or less well-known individual to "stand for" the story which is given to the public as truth.

The public reads the account of a marvellous house of Pompeian design, built entirely of glass bricks and columns of many colors and designs, soon to be erected at Newport—for a Western millionaire—by a prominent firm of city architects, whose name and address would seem to be security for the truth of the story. This same public little suspects that the whole thing exists only in the imagination of the "fake" reporter, who has persuaded the architects, whose names are given, to draw both the interior and exterior designs for the building.

In the same way jewellers are persuaded to "stand for" the invention of marvellous match-boxes and other unique (and impossible) freaks. A manufacturer is induced to announce —through the medium of a press association—that he has recently invented and is about to patent and place on the market a wonderful glass bicycle; a chiropodist that he has recently set a diamond in the toe-nail of one of his patients, and for another patient has replaced a missing toe with an artificial one of solid gold. Another man, little less unscrupulous than the "fake reporter," allows his name to be used in connection with a marvellous account of a tribe of white and fanatical Indians recently discovered in the West.

Were space allowed for the enumeration, more than half of the Sunday stories over which the public wonders and gapes could be traced to these infamous press associations and news bureaus, whose sole object seems to be to deceive and grossly mislead the readers of those papers supposed to supply reliable news and trustworthy information. That such institutions not only continue to exist and flourish in our large cities, but are actually increasing in number almost daily, is one of the darkest blots on latter-day metropolitan journalism. The question is: To whose fault is this state of affairs due? Scarcely to the editors of the newspapers themselves; certainly not to those of the better class and more reliable papers, for the latter have from time to time, after discovering the fraudulent character of some of these associations, not only refused to have any further transactions with them, but have exposed them openly to the public. Still the press association is verily a hydra-headed monster, and for every one that is thus crushed, two seem to spring up in its place.

The continued existence of these disreputable news bureaus, then, must be attributed to the writers and reporters who prostitute their talents to this rottenest of all rotten journalism, and to the unscrupulous men and women who allow—and are often anxious—to have their names used in connection with "fake" stories for the sake of the spurious notoriety it brings them. For the latter, to whom more than to anyone else the news bureaus owe their present success and flourishing condition, not even the most charitable could find an ex-

cuse. For the former—that is, the writers who go about soliciting the materials for these infamous falsehoods, then writing them up—the only excuse possible is ignorance. It may be urged that necessity is also an excuse, but those who have been through it say, better let a young man clean the streets, and a young woman scrub floors,—occupations at which they can at least keep their honor untarnished,—than engage in a calling in which they lose their self-respect, their regard for the truth, and everything that makes manhood or womanhood worthy the name.

A young woman coming to the city in search of work in the journalistic field is often entrapped into working for a press association in either one of two ways. In the first place, after having her application for work met with a refusal at the office of every newspaper in the city, she goes, almost in despair, to the office of a press association, where plenty of work and good remuneration are offered to her. It is a choice between accepting this and returning crestfallen to her native village; in nine cases out of ten she accepts the former.

Another and even more frequent way in which the inexperienced and unwary girl—and sometimes boy—is inveigled into eventually becoming a "fake" reporter, is by replying to one of the now numerous advertisements of "Reporting and journalism taught free of charge." Suppose the girl in question has just come from the country and is anxious to learn something of the wonderful city journalism of which she has heard such marvellous accounts; in all good faith she applies at the address given in the advertisement. If the "editor" of the advertising press association considers her a promising-looking confederate, he explains the nature of the work to her, promising to teach her without charge, and afterwards, if she is successful, offering her substantial remuneration. The girl, in her ignorance, supposes this to be only one of the branches of legitimate journalism, and considers herself very fortunate to have received such an offer—only realizing after her eyes have been somewhat rudely opened by perhaps approaching the wrong man with the request for a "stand-for" story, what a dupe the so-called "editor" has made of her.

The worst feature of this "fake" journalism, however, is

that, although often entered into in honest ignorance, success in its field is frequently a matter of boasting with the men and women engaged in this disreputable calling, who openly vie with each other in the number of "fake" stories they are able to "work off" each week on unsuspecting newspaper editors and a still more unsuspecting public. The poison of its influence seems often to extend over the entire lives of those once engaged in it, for should a press-association reporter be fortunate enough to eventually secure a position on the staff of a regular paper, he (or she) is seldom successful in the legitimate branch of the profession, on acocunt of his proneness to exaggerate and his apparent inability to report or describe events exactly as they occur.

Fake libel-suits constitute another phase of faking even more reprehensible than the "stand-for" news items and "Sunday stories." Upon the result of these suits many disreputable men and women in large cities not only secure large sums of money annually, but are said to actually depend for maintenance solely upon the income derived from them. In cases of this sort, the newspapers—or rather their owners—are nearly always the chief sufferers.

To secure grounds for a successful libel suit requires some little ingenuity on the part of the rascally perpetrators of the plot, as well as on that of the infamous free-lance reporter who furnishes the "tip" to the papers. The latter, however, is in some instances one of the instigators of the nefarious scheme, having previously made arrangements with the alleged "victims" of the libellous article that he is to come in for a large share of the profits should the suit be a successful one. All that is necessary to secure grounds for a libel suit against any newspaper is for the man or woman so disposed to find a "reporter" conscienceless enough to enter into the plot, and—for either the payment down of a certain amount of money or else the promise of a large share of the proceeds—to agree to write a libellous and untrue account of some alleged escapade of the parties concerned. This "news item" he hands to the editors of various daily papers, who occasionally, on account of the hurry of getting the paper to press, do not take time to have the article verified, but print it as it is handed

in. The result is a complete triumph for the "libelled" parties. They have no difficulty in proving that they were not engaged in the escapade,—whatever that may have been,—and that the article is a wilful and malicious slander. Their indignation at the attempted besmirching of their spotless characters is only to be soothed by a suit for libel against the papers which published the account. This suit is unfortunately usually successful, unless the papers—even though realizing that they have been tricked—escape the notoriety and costs of a long suit by the immediate payment of a few hundred dollars as a "compromise." Editors, however, having learned wisdom from experience, are now usually rather careful how they publish articles which might be considered libellous, unless they are either apparently well verified or are handed in by some man of their regular staff.

That it may be better understood how these fake libel-suits are managed, I will quote an instance. A short time ago the following account was furnished to the New York *Daily News* by a peripatetic "reporter":

"Mamie———and Kitty———are both eighteen years old, both pretty, and both work in the same dry-goods store on 6th Avenue, and both are in love with a young and dashing fellow named Jimmie———. Kitty lives with her parents in a brownstone front at ———street, while Mamie lives in an equally imposing residence at ——— Street. They had been warm friends until both fell in love with Jimmie ———, since which there has been a coolness between them, and for some weeks they have not spoken to each other.

"Last night Mamie visited Kitty's house, and some words ensued over their best fellow, which widened the breach between them. When Mrs. ———, the mother of Kitty, heard of it, she became very angry and said she would chastise the pert Mamie for trying to take her daughter's beau away from her. True to her word she went to meet Mamie, who generally takes the Elevated train at ——— Street and ——— Avenue. When they met at the corner of ——— Street, Mrs. ——— said: 'You will steal my daughter's lover from her, will you?' and then began to land blows on Mamie like a well-trained pugilist. The first right-hander knocked Mamie in the street, and the attack was followed up until several blows had been delivered by Mrs. ———, and in fact until a young man pulled the infuriated mother away

from her victim. Then she turned on him with a right-hand swing, which he ducked. This gave Mamie a chance to escape, which she did, and she returned home, crying. When a policeman of the ——— Street station arrived on the scene of battle, neither of the parties would make a complaint, and Mrs. ——— walked away muttering, 'I will teach the young hussy to mind her own business.' "

Upon investigation—which the editor was wise enough to make—Mamie's address was found to be a coal-yard. Mrs. ——— and Kitty lived at the address given in the article. Inquiry among the neighbors proved that both Mrs. ——— and her daughter were living on the proceeds of several successful libel suits, all of which had commenced with the publication (at the secret instigation, of course, of Mrs. ———) of alleged libellous articles in regard to herself in various newspapers.

Reporters on the regular staff of daily newspapers sometimes "combine" to fake the editors of their papers—and indirectly the public—by sending in false or greatly exaggerated reports of cases which they have been sent out to investigate. This usually occurs when the assignments given to them prove too difficult to be successfully managed, and rather than return to the newspaper office with no report—thus acknowledging their failure to secure the news they have been sent to get —they will evolve from their own brains imaginary news on the subject and write it out for next day's paper as a veracious statement of the case. When instances of this sort occur it is of course usually necessary for several reporters of as many different papers to "combine" or compare notes and agree to stand together in their statements.

A case in point occurred not long ago when several reporters were sent to interview the ex-jurymen in a famous murder trial. The jurymen refused to speak for publication, whereupon the reporters, fearful of a "calling-down" from their several editors should they fail to hand in the required interviews, combined to write a sensational set of "interviews," which were accepted by the editors as *bona-fide*, and accordingly appeared in the papers of the following morning.

In another case a report reached several newspaper offices

simultaneously of the explosion of a bomb in one of the principal streets of a suburban city. When the reporters reached the scene they found the disturbance due solely to the firing of a few cannon-crackers and harmless torpedoes with which Italians in the neighborhood had been celebrating a national Saint's day. Nevertheless, the reporters, determined not to have their trip out of town for nothing, entered into a "combination" to write a startling and sensational report of the hairbreadth escape of citizens of ——— who were passing on ——— avenue when some Italians "of anarchistic tendencies" threw a bomb into the street, which almost immediately exploded. This account concluded: "The Italians who threw the bomb escaped before any arrests could be made."

The form of "fake" journalism for which—beyond all others—there is perhaps least excuse, and one which is fraught with more serious evil consequences, is one which is not infrequently practised by the editors of daily and Sunday papers. This particular phase of faking consists of the publication of alleged "cable news," dated from some place in Europe or other foreign country, which news has been written in the editorial rooms of the paper publishing it, or else is originally the invention of the fertile brain of some press-association reporter, who hands a sensational "write-up" of the news in question to the editor of some daily or Sunday newspaper. The editors of these papers, even when they would hesitate to be, in the first instance, the inventors of this spurious news, do not scruple to accept and publish accounts of startling trans-Atlantic occurrences which they know to be false, and to make the account more plausible often themselves date the article from the European or other foreign city from which it is purported to have been written, prefacing in parenthesis: "Special cable despatch to the ———." Fake news of this sort is often calculated to produce international ill-feeling and even to lead to war talk, and is frequently invented and published for that very purpose, in order to affect the stock-market for the purposes of speculators. Startling as the supposition may seem, it is impossible not to suspect that in cases of this kind, bribery, direct or indirect, is frequently resorted to by the speculators most interested; and, at any rate, the fact that

editors of supposedly reliable papers—even more than the press-association representatives—are to blame for the dissemination of foundationless and often mischievous "foreign news" is one which cannot be denied.

The extent to which this faking of "cable despatches" is carried on in this country is shown in the following article, which appeared in the Chicago *Inter Ocean* early in December last:

We explained recently in these columns the demoralization wrought in the Associated Press by its present management. We showed how two members of the Chicago newspaper trust had arrogated to themselves the power to pass judgment on what the American public should be allowed to read. We demonstrated that news was distorted and suppressed to suit their prejudices and business interests. The instances which we cited to prove our charges concerned exclusively American affairs. We propose now to shed a little light on the abuses of the Associated Press cable service.

The Associated Press obtains most of its foreign news from the Reuter agency in London. This agency is both respectable and competent. Handled honestly, it gives a service of which no newspaper need be ashamed. But it has not been handled honestly. This cable service has been made a medium of fraud upon the public. Much of its report has been turned into the laughing stock of intelligent men. To delude the patrons of the Associated Press with the pretence of inexhaustible resources, the Reuter despatches have been stuffed with lies, lengthened with clippings from stale London newspapers, and puffed out with padding sent over by eight-day steamers from Liverpool. It has been no uncommon thing to send West a cable report of 5,000 words when the New York office had received barely 500 from London. It has been no uncommon thing to impose on the Associated Press newspapers a so-called cable despatch of a column, in which only the first twenty or thirty words were of foreign origin.

Perhaps a concrete example of what Melville E. Stone's system can do and has done will make his methods clearer. There was a hurricane on certain islands in the Indian Ocean. About twenty words on the subject were sent by cable from London. The able manufacturer of cable news used the twenty words. Then he wrote in 200 or 300 more of the details as he imagined them. Next he let his fancy run riot through all the horrors of human and brute life caught in such a storm. The London newspapers were not available, as they had not anticipated a hurricane, so the manufacturer of cable news skipped them and proceeded to quote the gazetteer on the geography, population, and products of the islands. Finally the encyclopædia was drawn upon to furnish a description of the near-by land and the surrounding water.

Thus have "cable" despatches been made under Melville E. Stone's mismanagement of the Associated Press; thus has a great foreign news service been distorted and demoralized.

It was with full knowledge of these facts that the *Inter Ocean* arranged for a special cable service on which it could rely for the truth. We valued, and still value very highly, the Reuter despatches, but we feel that we must have some check on the amazing transformations to which these despatches have been subject under Melville E. Stone's mismanagement of the Associated Press. It is characteristic of the newspaper trust that, speaking through the Associated Press, it presumes to forbid our using this check. The opinion of the members of the trust seems to be that anything is good enough for the public, providing they say so.

Gentlemen of the newspaper trust, we print lies for nobody. If you wish to print them we can only say, follow your preferences. The *Inter Ocean* is a newspaper, not a gold brick. It prints the news.

Spurious telegraphic despatches from different parts of the United States are also often published in papers which the public regard as trustworthy. The publication of these "despatches," while perhaps productive of less harm than that of the alleged cable news, is equally inexcusable on the part of the editor in whose paper they appear.

A few months ago a rather striking instance of this kind occurred in New York. A Sunday paper which is usually regarded as one of the most reliable in the city published a sensational account of the alleged appearance of a genuine mermaid off the Pacific coast. The creature was purported to have been seen and captured by an officer of the British army and a Russian nobleman (the name and alleged rank of each being given) while on a yachting cruise. The account, which was a plausible one in every detail, was actually written in the office of a press-association in the city—as the editor of the paper knew—but when it appeared in the New York Sunday *Herald* it was dated "Tacoma, Washington. By telegraph to the *Herald*."

This article, which was supposed to contain trustworthy information, was not only believed and much commented upon in New York, but was extensively copied in out-of-town papers.

That editors of reputable papers—men from whom the public has most right to expect honest and legitimate dealing—should wilfully deceive the people in regard to matters really important is a form of literary dishonesty for which it would be hard for the most charitable to find an excuse.

NOTES ON THE THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF A CHILD.

BY FANNY D. BERGEN.

THE notes that follow relate to an experiment carried on in the face of many difficulties, and they are therefore quite fragmentary. No single set of observations on the development of the theological and cosmological ideas of a child can enable one to form a just conception of the general course of the appearance and growth of such ideas, but every careful record of observations must be of value.

Early training along evangelical lines caused the mother of the child, a part of whose intellectual history is here recorded, so much mental suffering that she felt anxious to prevent the child from enduring the torture which she herself had undergone. Later, it occurred to her that, by carefully insulating the mind of a child from any dogmatic theological instruction, a useful experiment in psychology might be made.

The mother's own childhood had been passed in an atmosphere of somewhat primitive Methodism, of Congregationalism, and of Scotch Presbyterianism,—the latter being the creed of an old servant of the family, with whom the little girl held many long discussions over theological matters. A picture, in the great family Bible, of the angel chaining Satan for a thousand years, was one of the most potent factors in giving to the little girl a painfully vivid conception of hell. She used often to hold her hand as close as possible to a red-hot stove, to see if she could possibly endure the fires of hell. Again, she would tear bits of the thick, callous epidermis from the palm of her hand and burn them in a candle-flame to see whether such injuries done to parts of the body after separation from it, could pain the body itself. For she felt sure that the flames of hell must dismember those whom they enveloped, and yet she had been taught that the sufferer there could hope for no escape by death. Some such experiences are apparently not very uncommon among imaginative children. Her terror

of death was constant and intense, so much so that she often lay awake for hours, praying that she and her dearest friends and relatives might by some miracle be spared the need of dying.

When the observations here recorded were begun, the mother had never heard of the systematic studies of earliest childhood by Perez, Preyer, and others; nor has she since been able to find in the admirable "Studies of Childhood" by Sully, or elsewhere, much evidence of investigation of the kind of which these notes form a brief record. She therefore followed no well-elaborated plan. The child, whose attitude on various philosophical and theological questions at different ages is here described, was as carefully insulated as possible from any theological training or teaching whatever. After he learned to talk, domestics were always employed with the express stipulation that they should never speak in the presence of the child of anything pertaining to religion. When the family boarded, it was where no blessing was asked at table.

In one household a silent grace was said, after the manner of the Quakers. The child noticed that the two ladies with whom the family boarded, before beginning a meal always bowed their heads, and he bowed his own in a very pronounced way, but kept looking out carefully from the corners of his eyes. One day he asked why Miss ——— always held her eyes shut with her fingers when she sat down to table. He was told it was because she felt grateful for nice food to eat and many other comforts. If, in the child's presence, there was conversation on topics in which common religious or theological words were used, they were spelled. When five and a half years old the little boy often asked, "What does g-i-o-n mean?" He had caught the last syllable of "religion" by hearing it spelled. By and by he became very curious to know what "capital G-o-d" meant. The child was not sent to Sunday school, to church, or to school. He was not taught to read until eight and a half years old, therefore it was easier to keep him from familiarity with such words.

Soon after he began to read he had as a lesson in his reader an extract from the New Testament. His face lighted up as he ran in to his mother to say, "At last I know what 'G-o-d'

spells. It is God," correctly pronouncing the word. As will be seen further on, the child had, some time previous to this, heard the word God, and had asked its meaning, but did not know its spelling. Until he was six and a half years old the child very rarely played with other children, except under careful guardianship, so that his conversation with children did not offer opportunity for him to hear remarks about Sunday school or church. When he was about seven he went to an Easter service for children. He seemed to bring home no notion of the religious lesson about the resurrection of Christ, but said, "The minister talked about how the flowers and plants waked up in the spring." The child had received some little oral lessons in botany, and therefore was able to follow the scientific part of the sermon, but apparently entirely lost the symbolism which had been the main thought of the minister. The next time that he went to a church was when he was about ten years old. It was to a vesper service in a Roman Catholic church. The ritual did not seem to make any especial impression upon the child, but he was much moved by a large picture of Christ which hung in some conspicuous place. In speaking of this to his mother he said, "You could hardly help crying as you looked at it."

From this time on he occasionally went to this or that church. If a visitor had to go alone in the evening, or if there was other practical excuse for his going, he did so. By the time he was twelve he was encouraged to go to church, but he gradually came to show a great distaste for church-going, though when very young he had been eager to go. He sometimes listened to sermons that were read aloud to his mother. Once, when between fourteen and fifteen, after hearing a minister friend read aloud a good common-sense sermon, he said: "I should enjoy going to church if I could hear sermons like that, but I get tired of this talk about blood, blood, blood; lamb, lamb, lamb; God, God, God." After he was twelve he heard any discussion upon religious or theological subjects that chanced to occur in his home. He listened with great interest and intelligence to such arguments, and afterwards often gave his own notions upon various subjects. As far as possible until he was fifteen years old his parents pre-

vented him from knowing their own views or beliefs upon mooted questions. Upon ethical subjects he received instruction from earliest childhood, without, however, being given any of the usual theological sanctions for rules of conduct.

I do not know how or when the child obtained a notion of death. The first time he was observed to possess such a notion was when he was not more than three years old. He was very fond of looking at a collection of fine photographs. After he was old enough to be amused by pictures, these had been shown to him from time to time with an idea of developing a more refined taste than could be produced by the pictures in the ordinary books for young children. Among the photographs was a copy of Correggio's Madonna. One day he pointed to the baby, saying, "Dead! dead!" He evidently used the word intelligently, but it could not be ascertained how he had become acquainted with it. He one day greatly amused a caller by pointing to a cupboard where the album containing these pictures was kept, calling "Dead baby! dead baby!" until the album was brought. Then the pages were turned until he found his "dead-baby" picture. Not far from this time he one day saw a small ant killed by being stepped upon. His mother said, "Poor little ant!" The child repeated, "Poor little ant; he will never eat any more." He had been taught nothing of death up to this time. In fact, for some years great pains were taken never to speak in his presence of the death of any friend. Gradually, however, he came to know that people did die. Usually it was with reference to some historical or public character that the fact of death was mentioned. Then nothing whatever was said of any funeral rites, nor was there any suggestion of life after death. The child's mother generally said simply, "So and so is sleeping under the green grass," or "Then he" (or she) "was put to rest under the green grass."

During the winter and spring preceding his sixth birthday the child was in the habit of daily tearing the leaf from an Emerson calendar which hung in his mother's room, and taking it to the latter to hear her read and explain the quotation for the day. Naturally, during these little talks the boy learned something of Emerson. One day he asked, "Where

does Mr. Emerson live?" When told that he was dead, was "sleeping under the green grass," the little boy said, "Will he ever wake up?" "Some people think he will, and some people think he will not," was the reply. "What do you think?" the child asked of his mother. She said, "I do not know." Naturally, during this reading and talking over the quotations from Emerson, a good deal was said about nature. One day the child asked, "Why do you and other people always say 'she' about nature, as if they mean a woman?" Apparently at that time he in no wise personified nature.

When he was between seven and eight, a meddling neighbor, who knew that the child was not sent to Sunday school, seized the opportunity of the death of a little boy in the neighborhood to try to give the child some religious teaching. That evening, when he came for his good-night visit with his mother, he said, "The Smiths are very silly. They believe very queer, fairy things. Mrs. Smith talked to me about Rufus" (the little boy who had died), "and she said that he was up in the sky. She called the sky Jesus. She said that if people are bad they are burned up after they are dead. But that isn't true, is it?" His mother told him how, instead of putting the dead to rest under the grass, some people thought it better to cremate them, as ancient peoples had done. She gave a very brief account of cremation and the sanitary reasons for such a custom. The child thought it an excellent plan, and wondered why it was not generally practised. By this explanation of cremation he was prevented from receiving the idea of hell, which was doubtless what the woman had been endeavoring to teach him. Up to this time the child had always spoken of Jesus as "the golden-rule man." An engraving of "Christ before Pilate" hung in the family sitting-room, and he had early been told something of the life and rules of conduct taught by Jesus. His teaching of the golden rule had been specially dwelt upon, so the child thereafter called Jesus "the golden-rule man." The mother now told him that he must have misunderstood Mrs. Smith in what she said about Jesus, for that was the name of the man in the picture who taught the people of his day so much about right living.

By careful management the boy was protected from any knowledge of funerals and their rites until he was something past eight years old. About this time he probably saw a funeral train in the street, for he one day described a peculiar "long hack" that he had observed. It was not until he was about ten that he came in, saying, "I have at last found out what those queer, long hacks that I have told you about, are for; they carry dead people." Up to this time, and perhaps for a year later, say until he was eleven years old, the boy manifested no particular or personal feeling about death. Sometimes he asked questions about burial or cremation, and he made remarks concerning the uselessness of the religious rites that he had learned were often observed over the dead. He always spoke in a perfectly cheerful, matter-of-fact manner concerning the fact of death. But when some eleven years old, he began to show a sort of physical terror at the thought of dying. It was but rarely that he mentioned this fear, and I am sure that it was no constant horror to him. Only, when occasion led him to speak of it, he expressed a fear of death that was purely physical. He would say, "If I knew that I was going to die I should scream,—just scream and howl until I died." When questioned, he seemed to think that death necessarily must be attended by intense pain. It was supposed that he must have acquired this notion in reading, but his parents never knew the origin of the terror, which was indescribably strong. It was a perfectly unreasonable, savage fear, that he apparently outgrew or else after four or five years learned to overcome.

When just past five years old, the child, with his nurse, was boarding in a private family where the only other boarder was a lovely old lady, of strong evangelical faith. She made much of the little boy, and one day asked him to come into her room. In looking at the various articles on her table he saw a very large book, and touching it, said, "What is this book?" "The Bible," the lady replied. "And what does that tell about?" asked the child. The lady, who was probably much startled to meet a child of five, the son of cultivated people, who had never heard of the Bible, said, "Why, don't you know? It tells about God." "What is God?" the little boy went on to

ask. "Why, don't you know—God, who made you?" "Who did make me?" was the next question. The lady then began to conclude that there must be some special reason for the peculiar ignorance of a child generally intelligent, and very considerately said, "Oh, I guess you grew!" and began to talk of something else. I have always thought it a remarkably considerate thing on the part of this pious orthodox woman that she thus quickly closed the conversation. Later she talked with the nurse and gave to her the exact conversation as here repeated. The nurse of course explained somewhat the plan of the parents in the education of their child.

One morning, a few days after the above incident, the little boy very seriously suddenly asked his father, as he was getting ready for breakfast, "Father, where did you get me?" His father evaded the question for the time. But a week or two later, when his mother (who had been away) came, the child one day abruptly said, "Mother, how do people come to be?" The mother had previously been told by the nurse about the dialogue concerning the Bible, and was not unprepared for questions, and therefore easily changed the conversation, without directly answering. About the same time he also asked his mother, "What is God?" The child was told that it was a hard word to define, that different people attached quite different meanings to the word, that perhaps "nature" would for a little boy do as well as anything else for a definition. He was then asked not to talk about the word God with other people, since it would be better to wait about this, as about many other words and subjects, until he was older and could read what the wisest people who had written books had to say. Then, he was told, he could make up his own mind as to what to him seemed true or most rational.

When nearly eight years of age the child was one day on a railway train with his father. They passed a marsh where many frogs were to be seen. The child said, "Father, where did the first frogs come from?" "From eggs," was the reply. "No, I don't mean those. I mean the very first frogs—before there were any to lay eggs," the child went on. This conversation led to some very elementary oral instruction in organic evolution. The boy, as has been before said, was not taught

to read until he was more than eight, but he heard much reading, which was carefully selected. From this time on he heard more or less on natural-history subjects, in which the development theory was directly or indirectly touched upon. One day he said, "If I only could find out where the very first sand came from!" Again, "When Mr. W——— comes home from Europe, the first thing I mean to ask him is if he can't tell me where the first sand came from." Mr. W——— was a friend who at the time was studying philosophy in Germany. By "sand" I think the child meant elemental matter.

When the child was something past nine, a housekeeper was engaged in the family, with the usual understanding that she was never to talk with the little boy about God or upon any religious topic. She apparently felt it her duty to break the promise that she had given to her employers, for the little boy one day came in to his mother, saying, "I've been having an argument with Mrs. Lapel. She seems to think that God is a big man, sitting in a big rocking-chair up in the sky! I told her the sky was nothing, and that God could not be there. I told her that if you would get all the ladders in the world and fasten them together and stand them up (they would break, of course, but I said this to her just for the sake of argument), and if you could climb to the top you would find that the sky was nothing, that there was nothing for a chair to rest on; and with that I closed my argument on theology with the Lapel." His tone was one of profound disgust at the lack of logic and of scientific knowledge of the woman.

It was not far from this time that the family lived for a year in a farmhouse. The only near neighbors were just across the street, a delightful family to whom the child soon became closely attached. He often hurried over early in the morning to get a pail of fresh water from the well of these friends, and sometimes ran in for a morning call. One day, after one of these calls, he asked what kind of a book the Bible was. He said that the Y———s all sat down every morning and read from it. Also that he had noticed that when people spoke of the Bible they used a different tone from that in which they ordinarily spoke. Some general notion of the nature of the Old and New Testaments was then given to the

child by his parents. He was very eager to read this book, but was advised to wait. He was told that he had better learn more of the history of his own country before he began to read that of ancient peoples, and so on. This curiosity lasted, however, for a year or two, but was soon allayed when he was a little past ten by his having presented to him a copy of the New Testament, with full permission to read it. At first he was very curious to see what its pages contained, but this spirit lasted only a short time.

While between nine and ten the boy one day made some childish threat as to what he meant to do to a boy who had struck him. His mother asked him to guess what Jesus would have done had he been so unjustly treated. The child considered for a moment or two and then, with a sweet smile and with an air of having reached a conclusion as to what would be perfect behavior under similar circumstances, said in a low, gentle voice, He "would have struck the boy just exactly as hard as he had been struck, but not one bit harder!" He was then told of the doctrine of non-retaliation, as taught by Jesus, but it did not appeal to his sense of justice. About this time he in some way heard of some one being baptized, and he asked what it meant. The ceremony was somewhat explained to him, especially how in some churches little babies were formally named at the time this rite was performed. Soon afterward he came in one day, asking in all seriousness, "Do they ever baptize dogs?" Later, when questioned as to what suggested the idea, he said that he knew dogs had names, and he thought they might be sometimes christened when named.

When about ten years old he began to question as to what was meant by the soul. He was answered rather indefinitely, being told that there were great differences of opinion as to what was meant by the term. He was informed that, to people in general, it often meant something like "mind." The child apparently thought a good deal about the matter, for he told his parents, two or three months later, that he believed that there was no such thing as soul, that it was just a sort of nickname for the mind. Evidently he was able to conceive of nothing that was not material. He often used to go to the small farmer's who lived near by and look on while a sheep or

ox that had been killed for market was cut up. His parents felt that he might thus acquire familiarity with the anatomy of mammals, and encouraged him to go and ask questions of the farmer. One day, some months after the family left their farmhouse home, the little boy said, after something had suggested the idea of the soul, "I don't believe there is any soul. Every time I used to watch Mr. Y——— cut up an animal I just tried to find the soul. I used to look in every place,—in the brain and every place,—but I never found anything but that Mr. Y——— would give me some name for it when I asked him." Evidently he thought the brain a likely neighborhood in which to find his material soul. He was told how philosophers did not think of the soul as a thing that could be seen or weighed, but the child seemed unable to imagine an entity that had not the properties of matter as he knew it.

When about eleven years old, the boy one day said, "If the devil is the king of the witches" (a crude definition that had been given him years before, when he had asked what devil meant, after for the first time coming upon the word), "I don't see that it is any more swearing to say 'devil' than it is to say 'witch.'" When twelve years old he one day heard some one remark that, if a boy must use some by-word or oath, "By Jove!" was as unobjectionable as any, he replied, "Yes, it is all right now with us, but long ago, in Greece, it would have been the wickedest kind of swearing."

When something past eleven, being one day asked how he explained the fact that the apostles related the occurrence of miracles, such as walking on water, the boy said: "Well, I suppose that one man told another that Jesus did so and so, and the other man told it with a little more, and another with a little more, until they made out wonderful stories, just as the newspapers exaggerated that story about Mr. ———." He referred to an amusing newspaper account, that was much garbled, of an incident that had happened to a friend of the family. In answer to the question, what he would think if told that his mother believed in the miracle of the loaves and fishes, he said: "I don't know but that it would be a silly thing, but what would at once flash across my mind would be that you were a great fool to believe it."

When eleven and a half years old he attended a Congregational prayer-meeting one Sunday evening. He had never heard of any such service. Upon coming home he laughed and hopped about in great glee, saying, "Oh, we had a jolly time!" I inquired particulars, requesting him to calm down and give me some details of the service, asking who preached, etc. (I supposed it had been a sermon, with the usual service.) "Well," he said, "there was no sermon, but different people made speeches, and it was very interesting." I asked what the speakers talked of, and he said, "Oh, about different historical characters, Paul, John, Jesus, and so on." Then he went on to tell some details of one speaker's notions of John. I asked if anyone was at liberty to speak in this meeting, or if they were selected. "Oh, anyone who liked, I guess. Well, I don't know as they would have liked a little boy like me to speak, but Mrs. B———" (our housekeeper, who had accompanied him) "or any grown-up person could, I think."

A few weeks later he went again with the housekeeper to the regular Sunday-evening service in the same church. He came home very indignant over the general attitude of the minister on the sin of not going to church. He then went on to say, "The minister thinks that every person that is not a Christian is very wicked! I thought to myself as he was talking, 'I guess he forgets the Mohammedans.'" At the time, the boy was deeply interested in reading the "Arabian Nights," and was enthusiastic over the virtues of the Caliph Haroun al Raschid.

When almost twelve years old the boy attended an Easter service for children at a Congregational church. In his report of the meeting to his mother, he said that he got tired of hearing the same story told so many times, meaning the story of the resurrection according to different narratives in the New Testament. He said, "Why, anyone would know that it could not be true." When asked why, he said: "Because such things never happen now, and in such regards things have not changed in 2,000 years." When asked briefly to relate the account of the resurrection as he remembered it from the service (he had never heard it commented on in detail before), he said: "Well, Jesus was put in some sort of tomb, which was watched by

soldiers. They did not see anything, but after three days the people who believe it say Jesus came out of the tomb and went up in a whiff of cloud into the sky, and that was the last ever heard of him." When told, in reply to his utter scepticism, that many intelligent people believed in the account, and explained it by supposing that Jesus was endowed in some unusual way with mental or spiritual force that overcame the usual laws of matter, he said: "Well, I don't believe much in this endowment talk. People are fitted to do certain work—for instance, one man to be a blacksmith, another something else, and so on. Jesus's work was moralism, and he did it, and did it well too; but you can't make me believe all this story about his coming to life after he was dead."

When about thirteen and a half, after reading aloud for the first time to his mother the early part of the Gospel of Matthew, in commenting on the divine parentage of Jesus (which he did not understand from the text), he said, "Of course Jesus was the son of Mary and of Joseph. When a child is born of a man and wife, each of them is a parent. God could not be his father unless it were said in a figurative way, as we say Washington was the father of his country." Speaking of the temptation, he said that was possible, only it was told in a rather figurative way. He thought Herod's massacre of the innocents might actually have occurred. Upon reading, in Matthew iii, the account of the baptism of Jesus, after some minutes of thought he said: "That idea of God coming down out of heaven in the shape of a dove, and the voice coming out of heaven, seems to me rather a Punch-and-Judy kind of an affair." He said: "Jesus must have been a very wise and good man, but his friends and disciples kept on telling wonderful stories about him until they made him out a witch, for no one but a witch could do the things that he was said to have done. But there are no such things as witches anyway, so the things never could have happened at all."

When he was fourteen years and nine months of age the boy's mother had a long talk with him upon the use of the word God and his own conception of God. Many of his sentences were immediately recorded,—often verbatim,—and all here cited are practically in his own words, though at the time

it was impossible to report accurately the entire dialogue. The conversation was brought about by some protestations of the boy against church services and the popular use of the term God. He at length admitted that we could not escape a belief in some power back of life and the whole physical world, but he said: "I don't believe in saying 'God,' because people who use that word almost always have an anthropomorphic idea of God. They seem to think that in personifying this power (that is, thinking of it as a kind of big, exalted man), they exalt—compliment—the power. But I don't think so." He went on to say, in almost the following words:

"This earth and man are but a very small fraction of the whole of space, and for man to personify this great power to me seems unfit—belittling. Why, suppose the mountains of the moon to be conscious, they could just as well give this power some name, for instance 'Thyke,' supposing that to mean something like themselves, only bigger and more exalted. Or the sun, if it were conscious, could personify this power and think of it as a great exalted sun, etc. I don't think this power is conscious; but supposing it were, *I* don't believe it would like this personifying of itself. And then I don't believe in worship. I don't believe in worshipping any *thing*. I don't see any good in it. And if this power were conscious (I don't believe it is), I believe it would rather we would just go along and attend to our own business instead of wasting time and money and strength in this worshipping. Then, as nearly as I can understand, almost every race seems to have had some one, a sort of 'go-between,' as the Japanese would say, or interpreter, between this great power they call God, and man,—Jesus, and Buddha, and Mahomet, and Confucius, etc. These they call sons of God, and I see no sense in this. But when you ask me to give you my idea of this power, it is very hard to do, for I don't believe, you see, in personifying it, and probably all my ancestors for generations and generations have done so and so. When I try to think of it, there *looms* up before me a great *beneficent*, exalted kind of man. I don't believe in this, and it's *very unfortunate*, but I can't help it, and it may take all my life to get rid of this notion, which is very foolish, but which I can't help."

CAMILLE FLAMMARION AS AN OBSERVER OF OCCULT PHENOMENA.

BY WILLIAM R. FISHER, M. D.

IN THE December number of THE ARENA the well-known French astronomer, M. Camille Flammarion, has put forth a series of extraordinary statements under the title of "A Séance with Eusapia Paladino." He gives an account of his observations of this medium and of the manifestations which took place at a sitting held on July 27, 1897, and from the data which he obtained on this single occasion he proceeds to formulate most startling conclusions. He does not stop at hypothetical suggestions. He asserts sundry opinions as facts which do not admit of question, and affirms that, in the case of this Italian woman, "there exists an invisible force, drawn from the medium's organism, which can leave her and act outside of her."

If such assertions were made by an ordinary person they might reasonably be received with respect as the opinions of the promulgator, to be accepted or rejected by the reader as his temperament, his training, and his inclinations might lead him. But here we have the unconditioned dictum of one of the best-known scientists of Europe. His name is sufficient to arrest the attention of every thinking person to whom he addresses himself, and to challenge the closest investigation into the reasons which have given rise to the radical positiveness of his statements. For M. Flammarion has stepped outside the boundaries of his chosen calling and presumes to speak with authority upon a subject wherein great differences of opinion and belief are known to exist, among scientists as well as ordinary people. So astounding are some of his statements as to make an unbiassed reader question whether they have been put forth seriously by their author; whether he is not attempting to perpetrate a grim piece of satirical joking; or whether, like many of his countrymen, he holds us who live on this side of the Atlantic in such contempt that he thinks any ill-con-

sidered paper that he may scratch off in a hurry to be quite good enough for Americans.

M. Flammarion tells us that he has had unusual opportunities for the study of what are known as mediumistic phenomena. At different times, during many years, he has seen most of the noted mediums of this country and of Europe, and he says that up to the twenty-seventh day of last July he "had been completely disappointed" in them. He refers to them in a general way as "impudent, dishonest, and lying." He does not tell us why, after having had these disheartening experiences in the past, he undertook the investigation of Eusapia Paladino, whom he regarded "with scepticism, doubt, and suspicion." But so he did on this memorable day in July. And the result of a single interview with her has completely overturned all the unfavorable experiences of former years and made M. Flammarion an ardent believer in the "undoubted existence of unknown forces, capable of moving matter and of counteracting the action of gravity." He emphasizes the fact that his conclusions are based entirely upon the phenomena which were presented to him at the single séance of July 27, untested by subsequent experiment. "It is this séance alone which is in question here." Former investigations are not to be taken into account.

What were these phenomena which produced so sudden and complete a change in the mind of this prominent scientist, trained as an observer in one of the most exact of modern studies? He is careful to tell us that Eusapia Paladino is an illiterate woman, forty years of age and by no means prepossessing in appearance; so it is not reasonable to suppose that feminine fascination could in this instance have entered in as a disturbing influence. He gives a minute description of the room in which the séance took place, but he does not tell us anything about the people who took part in it. The meeting occurred at the house of a family named Bleck. Out of seven observers, four (perhaps five) were members of this family. With the characteristic politeness of his nation, M. Flammarion says "it was hardly permissible to suspect the good faith of the respectable Bleck family." Why not, M. Flammarion? Assuredly, in an investigation of this kind, having

as its object the determination of questions of grave import, no person and no thing should be exempt from suspicion. Interrogation should be as searching here as in any other piece of scientific study.

M. Flammarion looked carefully about the room and satisfied himself that the doors and windows were securely fastened. He could find no "trace of any arrangements whatsoever, such as electric wires or batteries, either in the floor or in the walls." There was, however, one arrangement which awakened a passing suggestion of doubt; but this he complacently overlooked, because "the medium declared that it was necessary to the production of the phenomena." "Across one corner of the room, to the left of the outside door, were hung two bright-colored curtains, which came together at the middle and thus formed a small triangular cabinet." M. Flammarion asks: "Why this cabinet?" and every unbiassed reader will repeat his question. Why is there always a cabinet? Sometimes it is a cabinet of wood; sometimes an ordinary screen; sometimes a mere curtain. But always, when manifestations take place at a séance, there is present some contrivance which painfully suggests concealment as its object. Behind these bright curtains there were a sofa, a chair, musical instruments, a bell, and some putty.

The usual manifestations took place, some in the bright light, most of them in more or less obscurity. The table round which the observers sat swayed to and fro and was raised in the air; a small tripod stand moved towards the table and fell down; raps and sounds of a mallet were heard, musical instruments were played, various sensations of being touched were felt by different observers, opaque objects passed before a small red lantern, the putty bore the imprint of a hand and a face, and so on. There was nothing new; nothing that has not been done over and over again; nothing that has not been explained over and over again. And, in this connection, it is well to remember that M. Flammarion himself admits (p. 745) "that all the observed phenomena can be perfectly well imitated, and indeed have been imitated."

M. Flammarion says that he "took all needful precautions to eliminate" the possibility of fraud and deception during

this séance, which he professes to have conducted under the "strictest test conditions." He may have used certain precautions which he has failed to describe, but, judging from his published statement, the evidence seems to show that his observations, far from being accurate, were carried out in a very careless and unscientific manner. This is all the more to be wondered at when we recall that in the opening of his article he bitterly denounces the deceptions of all the predecessors of Eusapia. But he is "certain that throughout the exhibition Eusapia was not able to effect any trickery." She was very closely watched by his companion M. de Fontenay and himself. Her hands and feet were controlled so that they could not be moved without detection, and during the experiment with the putty she rested her head upon M. de Fontenay's shoulder. But the thought does not seem to have entered M. Flammarion's mind that some one else might have been the active agent in producing the phemomena which seem to have affected him so deeply. And, above all, he fails to appreciate the fact that, while his attention was so much given to close observation of the medium, he was unable to watch the manifestations, as they took place, with critical coolness. Granted the presence of an accomplice at this séance, either in the circle or behind the curtains, the mystery can be speedily explained.

M. Flammarion lays much stress upon the use of photography in his investigation of this Italian medium, and yet practically he did nothing with it. He gives us two illustrations, one, a table standing on its four legs; the other, the same table in the act of "levitation." A critical study of the latter picture does not show more than three legs of the table to be clear of the floor. But it is useless to waste time about this. "Levitation" is performed by every medium, and M. Flammarion must have witnessed it many times before as the work of some of those "dishonest and lying" mediums to whom he has referred. The attempt to photograph a materialized hand by flashlight was a complete failure, although the invisible force, now materialized, obligingly "snapped its fingers thrice" as a signal to set off the magnesium light. Now, if M. Flammarion was really intent upon a searching investigation into

the true cause of these phenomena, why did he not try the effect of the flashlight upon some of them, without warning. He expresses his regret that "the conditions" demand an absence of light for the development of certain manifestations; but he says it would be unscientific to object to this, and he proceeds to give reasons why the presence of light waves may be prejudicial. He instances the uselessness of attempting to make a photograph without a dark chamber. Granting the necessity for darkness at certain stages of a séance, what harm could be done by violating this condition? If M. Flammarion had suddenly illuminated that darkened room when the guitar was sailing about "above the heads of the sitters" he might have made a genuine discovery. He might have added potent testimony to the support of psychic force, or he might have been compelled to add the name of Eusapia Paladino to the long list of unmasked charlatans. Whatever the outcome might have been, it is much to be regretted that the magnesium was not lighted unexpectedly during the dark séance.

M. Flammarion tells us that his time is constantly absorbed in astronomical labors. Let us imagine him to be making an astronomical observation. He looks into the telescope and he sees something, apparently in the heavens, which is entirely unlike anything that he has ever witnessed before. The phenomenon seems to antagonize the immutable law of gravitation, which is the cornerstone of astronomical science. What would be the first impulse of his mind, under conflicting emotions? Undoubtedly he would question the accuracy of his observation. He would suspect some error in his instrument, or, failing there to find an explanation, he would begin to doubt the healthfulness of his organs of vision, perhaps his brain. He would summon other astronomers to repeat the observations and, by frequent trials, either verify or refute the evidence of his senses. Can it be believed that this man of science, after one look at the extraordinary sight, would be ready to appear in print with a series of astounding deductions, opposing all his previous experiences, and based solely upon this single observation? Yet this is the astonishing attitude which M. Flammarion has voluntarily assumed.

The incredible feature of M. Flammarion's narrative is not to be found in the phenomena which he describes, but in the spectacle which he himself presents to the world: a scientific man, trained in the exact methods of modern study, who is ready, on the strength of one imperfect investigation, without the aid of cross tests or the corroboration of repeated experiment, to set aside the results of the experience of thirty years, and to propound an hypothesis which attacks the foundation of that science to which he says he has devoted his life!

It is not worth while to dwell upon M. Flammarion's conclusions or his attempts to explain the phenomena which he has described. He tells us that he saw no reason to accept the spiritualistic hypothesis. He firmly believes that "there emanated from the medium an invisible force" which was capable of acting "as though it were an independent being." He declines to go further at present; but, perhaps, some day, in a sequel to "Urania," he may tell us more about it. In the course of his contribution to THE ARENA M. Flammarion has made no truer statement than when he says: "Men of science are perhaps the easiest to dupe of all men, because scientific observations and experiments are always honest."

There is no topic in the wide range of human interests that approaches in importance the solution of the problem of a future existence. Thousands profess to believe that there is no longer any doubt that disembodied spirits exist as personal entities, and that they are permitted to communicate, in some degree at least, with persons living in the world, through the instrumentality of chosen human beings, who are known as mediums. Science looks on in doubt, but is eager to be convinced. All it asks is that these mediums shall submit themselves and their manifestations to the tests that are in common use in the investigation of the other phenomena of nature. To the one who is able to demonstrate beyond peradventure the existence of spiritual entities and dispel the scepticism of our time, the world stands ready to accord the highest honor as the supreme benefactor of the human race.

A GOVERNMENT RAT.

BY ZOE ANDERSON NORRIS.

FOUR Congressmen were dining at Chamberlain's. They leisurely sipped their *pousse café*, waiting for the black coffee and toasted crackers; and while they waited one anecdote succeeded another, each followed by sharp repartee and caustic wit. Indeed so sparkling was the repartee and so brilliant the wit, that Thomas, the sedate and dignified, was obliged to retire now and then to the sacred precincts of the kitchen to laugh.

It was bitterly cold outside, but in the splendid dining-room the heat was tropical. Roses, drooping from a tall vase, wafted the breath of summer from the centre of the table; and, from out the curtained recesses beyond, the delicate fronds of ferns and palms glimmered greenly.

The Congressman from Kentucky stopped in the middle of a story to glance through the web of the curtains at the glistening web of icebound twigs outside. He suddenly turned pale, beckoned wildly to the others, who expectantly faced him, waiting for the ending of the story; and Thomas, returning just then from the kitchen, found the room empty. Only the mysterious bulging of the portières and occasional heavy breathing suggested the presence of living creatures there. At the same time there was a ring at the front-door bell.

It was not Thomas's duty to answer this bell, and at any other time he would have scorned to do so; but, with an ever-vigilant eye to tips, he found it wise, judging from present indications, to answer it now. He opened the door, allowing entrance to an icy breath of air and a timid voice which asked:

"Is the Congressman from Kentucky here?" She mentioned the district, which shall be nameless.

Thomas tiptoed to the door of the dining-room. "Is the Congressman from Kentucky in?" he asked, appealing apparently to the atmosphere.

"No!" came a frantic whisper from an animated portière.

He retired, but returned almost immediately. "Then, is the Congressman from Kansas in?" he asked.

"No!" came another whisper; and the curtain from which it issued moved about as though someone behind it were in the act of wringing his hands.

"The Congressman from Missouri then?" asked the quavering voice at the door.

This time Thomas took it upon himself to answer.

"No, ma'am," said he, "he ain't in."

"How queer that is!" continued the voice—it had the sound of coming from between chattering teeth. "I was told they were all dining here to-day. You are certain they are not in the parlor or somewhere?"

"Yes, ma'am," answered Thomas in a tone sufficiently loud to be heard behind the portières, "certain."

"Thank you, then; and I am sorry to have troubled you."

The door was shut gently but firmly upon her, and Thomas, reëntering the dining-room, found the seats about the table once more occupied by the four Congressmen, who were busily engaged in draining the last drops of their *pousse café*.

At each plate had appeared, as if by magic, a shining half-dollar. Thomas made the circuit of the table, pocketing one at a time with becoming gravity and some bowing and scraping. He then brought in the black coffee and set it before them in silence. They drank it in silence, each hesitating to break the ice.

"It does seem a sort of shame," said the Congressman from Kentucky at last, a faint suspicion of apology mixed up with his brogue, "but really we can't afford to be annoyed to death by these everlasting applicants for office."

"I know that one well," said the Congressman from Wyoming. "If you treat her half-way civilly she will worry you to death. Hers is an old case, one of the oldest in Washington. The fact is, she has been in office off and on for twenty years. Every man in both Houses has helped reinstate her at some time or other, but it is impossible to keep her in a place. She quarrels with everybody. She keeps things red hot wherever you put her. In the Post-Office Department the

other clerks rose in a body and petitioned to have her forcibly ejected."

"Why don't she go to work at something else?" asked the Congressman from Missouri.

"That's just the trouble," said the Kentuckian. "The work —call it work if you want to—in these departments has unfitted her for real labor. The hours are easy, there is absolutely nothing to do half the time, and after twenty years of such a life she could no more stand to work—I say work—than she could fly to the moon. It would kill her to stand from seven in the morning till six in the evening, as these shop girls do. She wouldn't live six months."

"Why not get her a place as shop girl then?" asked the Missourian facetiously.

"Why don't she go West and grow up with the country?" asked the man from Kansas.

"She would naturally gravitate back to Washington, just as you do," answered the Kentuckian. "She tried it. She wasn't gone two months. She is like the Congressman of color from the South who, failing of reëlection, is now engaged in sweeping the floor of the House and dusting the chairs, one of which he used to occupy—anything to be in Washington! There is something in the very air of the place, something so fascinating that we all break our necks getting back, once we have been here awhile. It's the asphalt or the beautiful trees or the wide pavements of this city of magnificent distances—or something. I can't tell what it is, but it's there just the same."

"Then you can't blame her so much, after all, can you?" asked the Congressman from Wyoming.

"I wouldn't if she wasn't such a fraud. Now, look here: she and her husband hadn't lived together for years and years —a kind of habit one unconsciously grows into in Washington—but when he died she put on a little black veil and went down to collect his pension with the air of the most bereaved widow of the world."

"How much was the pension?"

"Not much, but enough, I believe, to pay her board in some little country town where board is cheap. But, dear me! she

won't live in a little country town. What she wants is to live at the Riggs House or the Ebbitt." He impatiently chewed at a stick of celery Thomas had left on the tablecloth. "Anyway," he resumed, "whatever the pension was it was more than he deserved. He never saw a gun. His eye was put out by a splinter years before the war, but he got his pension all right —he hailed from Kansas!"

And they all looked at the Congressman from Kansas, who laughed.

"Besides, you never saw such a chameleon as that woman is," continued the Kentuckian, who seemed trying to ease his mind or conscience of some weight upon it. "When the Republicans are in office she is the stanchest Republican you ever heard of; she declares she had a brother in the Union army; but when the Democrats come in—behold! another brother in the Rebel army!"

"What State does she come from?" asked the Missourian.

"Kentucky."

"Then she may be telling the truth. Kentucky was neutral. It was a common thing for brothers to fight against brothers there."

"I'll never believe she tells the truth about anything," said the Congressman from Wyoming. "She invents things—and ungrateful! Why, if you were to get her back in office to-morrow she would tell some story on you before night. She would say you were in love with her, in all probability. She has been known to say things like that even about Congressmen who interested themselves in her."

"You don't mean it! The horrid thing!" the rest cried in a chorus.

"Yes, she has lived in Washington so long she fancies everybody she meets is in love with her, though she is old as the hills and homely as a hedge fence."

"Whose constituent is she anyway?" asked the Kansan.

"She is from Kentucky, as I remarked before," said the Congressman from Wyoming.

"And I have done everything I possibly could do for her," exclaimed the Kentuckian, a red spot glowing on either cheek. "I am at the end of my rope; besides, I wouldn't lose a single

vote if she never did get back in office." Which was probably true, since it was said he had spent so much money on his election that the Cumberland mountaineers were still favorable to him, though he had been in Congress almost a year and a half.

As they rose from the table, the Kansan patted him on the back. "I wouldn't let it worry me for one instant then," said he. "You can't help everybody. Some must go to the wall. It is the natural order of things. These clerks, these Government rats, let them burrow for themselves. If she has fattened off the Government treasury for twenty years she ought to be satisfied."

And, shivering anticipatingly into their great coats, brought by the attentive Thomas, in whose vest pocket lay four additional quarters, they ran lightly down the wide stone steps and went their separate ways.

Meanwhile the Government rat lagged slowly homeward. She passed the Treasury Department, looking wistfully up at the window of the room where she had worked—or pretended to work—for so many years, and where she would never work again; then by the Corcoran Art Gallery, in whose niches stood the white marble statues, cold as herself, but so beautiful; and on into a narrower street to her dismal boarding-house, where she ascended five long flights of stairs, entered a tiny hall bedroom, and closed the door after her.

She sat on the bed without removing her wraps—a thing she frequently did—for the room was heated only by a stove-pipe running up from below; and then she thought.

The ice was caked on the windowpane, the water was frozen in the pitcher, and her fingers were so cold that she put her gloves back on to warm them.

By and by she mechanically took her purse from the pocket of her dress, opened it, and examined its contents. There were two street-car tickets, three cards with the addresses of Senators, some newspaper cuttings clipped from the want column—that was all.

Then she sat staring at the opposite wall, and wondering vaguely what was to become of her.

PLAZA OF THE POETS.

UNION SQUARE.

BY WALTER MALONE.

I watch the water lilies in this pond,
  The white, the blue, the yellow, and the red,
The sparrow tripping on their pads beyond,
  And splashing dewdrops on his wings and head.

The lotus, like a Cleopatra there,
  Reveals a bosom with a roseate glow,
As in her gorgeous old Egyptian lair
  She fascinated heroes long ago.

Adown the walk a throng of children goes
  With dewy eyes a-peep through hazy curls,
When years are poems, every month a rose,
  All morns are rubies, and all noons are pearls.

Around these seats I see a motley crowd
  Of listless loungers, miserable and low,
With backs bent double, wrinkled faces bowed,
  Or, aimless, straggling by with footsteps slow.

With corncob pipes these old men mumbling sit,
  Forsaken, friendless, waiting but for death,
When, like the dead leaves that around them flit,
  They fall—to be forgotten in a breath.

And here a hard-faced girl reclines alone,
  Dreaming of dead days with their holy calm,
Before her happy heart was turned to stone,
  And slumber to her spirit brought no balm.

Here the young poet, once a farmer-boy
  Who with glad heart unto the city came,
Sees manhood years his high-born hopes destroy,
  And slay his dreams of fortune and of fame.

When night descends, electric argent lamps,
Like radiant cactus-blossoms, blaze on high;
The city seems a world of warlike camps,
While Broadway with its legions thunders by.

In gilt playhouses hundreds sigh to see
The mimic woes of actors on the stage,
But not one tear for actual grief shall be,
The snares of childhood or the pangs of age.

Around this Square rich men and women ride;
Bedizened creatures in their fashion flaunt;
While this starved outcast, planning suicide,
Steals back to perish in his dismal haunt.

Strange, while is known so well the sparrow's fall,
Man heeds not when his brother's plaint is made;
Strange that the brightest, whitest light of all
Should cast the deepest and the darkest shade!

But still the world denies its helping hand
To those most worthy of its love and care.
If Christ returned to-night, he too would stand
Homeless and friendless, here on Union Square.

THE NEED.

BY CHRISTIAN K. BINKLEY.

Poor parts of men! Poor halves perhaps, or thirds,
Who round our little world and think it all
The universe, philosophers we call
Ourselves; all else barbarians—in herds

Named creeds and schools collect, wherein each girds
A garment not his own which marks him thrall
To Plato, Kant, or Keats, Apollos, Paul,—
Then flaunts, forsooth, his weaknesses in words.

Strongly the hero arms, and spite of creeds
Finds truth where'er it be, in prose or rhyme,
In lyrics or in love, dramas or deeds,
Springing full-armed from parent thoughts; the time
Is ripe for men, whole men; the old earth needs
A master who will dare to be sublime.

IF I COULD KNOW.

BY LULAH RAGSDALE.

If I could know that in that other place—
Hence Death shall lead me for his chief surprise—
Though it be some far star, or though it lies
Impalpable about me, otherwise—
If I could know that I should find your face—

Not with transfigured glory, not sublime
With that new living that I have not shared,
But that dear well-remembered face that fared
Earthward with mine: that same face, dusky-haired,
And full of light and song as summer-time—

If I could know that not a smile or line
Had changed in all that happy earthly guise,
The gay, free lips would ring the old replies,
And not a look from those familiar eyes
Had altered since they looked their last in mine—

If I could know that with the same old love,
The same old laughter and the same old thought,
The same familiar life—so richly fraught
With mutual memories that it seems wrought
Into the very blood and flesh above—

If we took up again that wonted life,
Into whose careless round Death stole that day,
And broke the happy customs with his gray
And awful fingers, leading you away,
And leaving sudden wild surprise and strife—

If I could know that I should find you, *you!*
You that I loved, you that I lived beside,
You that all life has ached for since you died,
Death were the truest friend; and naught beside
His coming were worth having—*if I knew!*

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

DELUSIONS ABOUT LIBERTY.

LIBERTY has its delusions as well as its delights. Men coming into the enjoyment of liberty think themselves most happy. Nations and races about to become free imagine a return of the Golden Age. Peoples who manage by revolution and war to devise a system of civil government under which liberty flourishes, or is supposed to flourish, believe that thereby some kind of millennial state will be opened for the easy happiness of mankind.

A great part of this vision is delusive and vain. It is a dream of the anxious soul hoping for much and realizing little. Men attaining to civil liberty get with their goddess a treasure of delusions as well as a treasure of realities. Liberty allures and then disappoints, not indeed because she has nothing to bestow, but because her lovers, dazzled by her charms, imagine that a free republic is only another name for heaven. Liberty is not heaven, and not a doorway into heaven. More frequently it is a doorway into a region of contention and blight and disappointment. While all nations have the instinct and hope of freedom, while they struggle hard to reach the condition of civil liberty, few or none have gained the prize, and none at all have enjoyed the high estate which they anticipated. Liberty has come to all such amid the radiance of high dreams, and has only too frequently receded amid the delusions of broken hope.

What after all is liberty able to do for men and nations?

In the first place liberty has no influence with nature. The natural world does not at all concern itself about human institutions or human conditions. To nature the government of Abdul the Damned and that of Switzerland are equally meritorious. Nature has never engaged in politics. She takes no notice of the puny methods of man in any of his theories and adventures.

It is strange that the ancients should have committed the egregious mistake of supposing that the clouds and the seasons, the earth and the sky, the winds and the rivers, are interested in the affairs of men. A great part of civilization has been founded on the absurd belief that the world is greatly concerned about its principal inhabitant. The subjective superstitions of man have been spread out over the landscape of his environment, and against the most palpable evidence of the senses he has supposed this environment to be modified and affected by his desires and antics.

Liberty is one of the antics—the sublimest antic, perhaps the best, of all which man has performed. But liberty does not make the sun shine. It does not make winter or summer. It does not make mountain or sea, valley, plain, or river. Liberty never produced a volcano or directed the course of a meteor. The tides of the sea and the phases of the moon are in nowise influenced by the fact of man's slavery or freedom. Eclipses and occultations have a total disregard of constitutions and election laws. Freedom and servitude are all one in this vast panorama of nature. The law of gravitation weighs a tiger and a man with utter impartially. To nature it makes no difference whether our products are consumed by natural decay, in the transforming fire, or in the stomachs of animals.

If nature has any concern for any living creature, it does not appear on the face of the evidence. Certain it is that she has no partiality for any particular state or condition of man. She has one law for the despot and the democrat; one law for the slave and his driver; one law for the judge and the criminal; one law for the German philosopher lighting his lamp and the Bushman eating his worms.

To suppose that liberty is any concern of the natural world is a delusion. To imagine that nature will be more or less beautiful because men are free or enslaved, is to commit the absurdity of the ancients. Liberty is no more precious to nature than is tyranny, or chains. To nature our Constitutional Convention was of precisely the same moment as an assemblage of Comanche braves. To nature the Declaration of Independence has just as much force as a negro song on

the banks of the Suwanee or a Kamchatkan conjuration on the Yenisei.

Neither does liberty or the absence of liberty affect the relations of man to his habitation. The political and civil condition of a human being cannot be made to reach into his environment. The moment that he attempts to extend the fictions of his intellectual life or social condition into the elements around him, that moment he is balked. Would he persuade nature to help him because he votes and makes speeches? Is there any sympathy in any part of the natural world for a man's political principles? Does nature care what kind of a man it is that builds a house or draws a furrow? Does she take care of one man because he has rights, and neglect another because he has none? Will a grain of corn sprout and grow the better because it is planted by a freeman? Do lilies and roses open their waxen cells and passionate hearts less gladly because they are planted and watered by a slave? Does it require less strength of muscle to row a boat or turn a capstan or wield a sledge because he who does it goes to the polls, signs petitions, and helps to save the country? The fact is that nature, in all these relations, is totally indifferent to the organic life of man. She uses her own resources for her own ends, and does not concern herself about human fictions and prejudices. Nature thinks more of a shovelful of guano than she does of the Constitution of the United States, and a great deal more of a barrel of rainwater, with its millions of wiggletails, than she does of the whole moral law.

What then? Is liberty nothing? Are the forms and conditions of the social life of man of no consideration among the eternal verities? Not at all. If freedom brings in a reign of delusions, she brings also a reign of realities. The condition of man under liberty is *not* the condition of man under despotism and servitude. Far from it; and blessed be the difference! If there be a glorious future for the human race, that future lies by way of liberty into light. But liberty is a manward and not a worldward thing; that is, liberty is a spiritual, not a material force. It has respect to man, but no respect to nature *except by way of man.*

Human institutions are indeed a matter of indifference to the natural world; but they are in nowise a matter of indifference to the man-world; and the man-world rests on the natural world. The one is founded on the other. The feet of man are on the ground. His abode is in the air, and his forehead towards the sky. Standing in this relation, he may be a freeman or a slave. If there be one truth in this world, it is that it is not the same thing to be a freeman and to be a slave. Neither is the world the same under the dominion of liberty and under the dominion of servitude. Liberty is indeed able by the agency of freemen to touch the world, to deflect the forces of the environment, to change the face of all the earth.

If nature be indifferent to man and his work, man is not indifferent to nature. This much may be said, that nature is not his enemy. If she does not sympathize with him in his work of civilization and progress, she does not at any rate resist him and defeat him in his purpose. Indeed she yields without a frown to his will and generous endeavor. By man's agency the world is much transformed. By man's agency the arcana of the natural sphere are penetrated, and the secret forces of the universe drawn from their invisible sheaths and made the instruments of his will in the accomplishment of the sublimest results.

While the world is transformed by man, he in his turn is transformed by liberty. In this is the difference, that the slave transforms nothing, and the freeman transforms everything. The slave yields himself to the dominion of natural law, and for generations he and his descendants are by the laws of their being resolved into dust and inanity. But the freeman, the man of progress and of hope, is not so. Liberty has translated him into another mood. He himself becomes a force—shall we not say a crushing force?—working among the eternal things. It is in this way that liberty as a fact and as a condition of man reacts upon him and works through him, not only touching the natural world, but transforming it, making a new landscape, in which immortal children play and eternal progress whirls her flaming car in the direction of the higher life.

The conquest of the world and of nature is made by the freeman, not by the slave. Nature submits to be conquered, and does not resent invasion. She cheerfully gives up her forests and her prairies to the armies of the free, and supplies the roses and garlands for the triumph of her conquerer. If there is anything certain in human history, it is that liberty is the inspiration of progress.

It is from this point of view that free institutions have their chief significance. The spirit of liberty is in the souls of men, and not in the natural world. The human race travels on across the domains of nature, invading, conquering, dominating the world, and creating a better and still better organic life, until the end come when the emancipation of man shall be absolute, the redemption of the earth from the dominion of blind force and the transfer of its sovereignty to the will of man shall be complete under the sceptre of reason and the inspiration of freedom.

"PRISCILLA."

Priscilla held New England in her breast
In the quaint days of Alden's stratagem!
Then hope revived, and freedom's budding stem
Put forth its leaves, and life had added zest.
Then new faith came, and virtue made a nest
In the bleak rocks, and love's rich diadem
Was dropt upon the heads and hearts of them
And all their offspring to the spreading West.

Now, where old Leif strayed with his pirate kings
In days forgotten, a majestic swan
They call "Priscilla" swims the ocean free!
She lifts the thousands on her mighty wings
And breasts the billows from the dusk to dawn,
The peerless empress of the loving sea!

BOOK REVIEW.

[*In this Department of* THE ARENA *no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.*]

A NOTE NOT HEARD BEFORE.

THE human mind is neither black nor white; else there might be a Negro poet. In that event the poet would, without doubt, be Paul Laurence Dunbar. The mind, however, is simply the mind, without color and probably without sex. Whether Aryan or Semitic, Mongoloid or Nigritian, the human spirit is the spirit—nothing more.

Therefore let no soul exploit its color. The poet Dunbar does not, we believe, lay emphasis on his race, but he does his race much honor. His little volume* easily takes its place in the body of our national poetry. It happens only now and then that a young bard is able thus to emerge and say, *Here am I.*

The public has already been apprised by Mr. Howells, and before Mr. Howells by the poet James Newton Matthews, of Dunbar's coming. We add our humble word of praise.

Mr. Dunbar's volume contains a hundred and five lyrics, not one of which is feeble or mechanical. Of these pieces twenty-five are in dialect. They are deeply pervaded with the sentiment and folk-lore of the American Africans. Mr. Dunbar rivals Joel Chandler Harris in his ability to transcribe into linguistic symbols the indescribable chuckle and grimace and dodging and yaw-yaw of the Negro natives. This he does, however, not as a comedian, but as an artist.

Dunbar's philosophy is good. In "An Ante-bellum Sermon," for example, the old black expositor of the gospel, charged with preaching discontent, denies it thus:

> 'Cause I isn't; I'se a-judgin'
> Bible people by deir ac's;
> I'se a-givin' you de Scriptuah,
> I'se a-handin' you de fac's.
> Cose ole Pher'oh b'lieved in slav'ry,
> But de Lawd he let him see,
> Dat de people he put bref in,—
> Evah mothah's son was free.

*"Lyrics of Lowly Life." By Paul Laurence Dunbar. With an introduction by W. D. Howells. 16mo, pp. 208. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co. 1897.

THE ARENA FOR MARCH.

THE ARENA for March will be a special number rich in reform contributions and strong in arguments for the promotion of the People's Cause. The new year is rife with stirring conditions, and the premonitory throes of a great transformation are felt.

"Trusts: their Causes and the Remedy." By Senator Marion Butler.

The opening article is a powerful contribution on the subject of Trusts and Monopolies. Senator Butler considers these great abuses of our industrial and commercial life in the fearless manner for which his writings are proverbial, explaining the causes of the monopolistic disease and pointing out the remedies therefor.

"The Victory of the Vanquished." By Hon. Charles A. Towne.

The second article will be by the patriot and statesman, Hon. Charles A. Towne, one of the foremost defenders of popular liberties, and an eloquent advocate of reform. He will show that notwithstanding the ostensible results of the election of 1896, and of the recent senatorial contests in several States, the defeated patriotic people have been in reality triumphant.

"Currency Reform." By Anthony W. Dimock.

The third paper is a strong article on the reform of the currency, by Anthony W. Dimock, who discusses the question from a point of view not often occupied in *The Arena*. Mr. Dimock, as is well known, is a wealthy business man of New York City, a banker, and prominent member of the stock exchange; he is a representative, in the better sense, of the money power. His paper, however, is honest, able and fearless, and will well repay a careful perusal and study by *Arena* readers. To Mr. Dimock's article, the Editor of *The Arena* will reply.

"A Single Standard for the World." By F. E. Woodruff.

In another valuable paper F. E. Woodruff will appear in advocacy of a single standard of value for the whole world. This paper also may be commended to our readers as a useful study on the great subject of the day, though in this case, as well as in the case of Mr. Dimock's contribution, the views of the writer are not wholly indorsed by *The Arena*.

"Commissioner Harris's 'Statistics and Socialism.'" By George Wilson.

George Wilson, Esq., President of the Lexington National Bank, of Lexington, Missouri, will present in the number for March an able critique of Commissioner Harris's monograph on "Statistics and Socialism" which appeared in the *Forum* Magazine.

"The Epic Opportunity." By Dr. William Bayard Hale.

The article entitled "The Epic Opportunity," by Dr. William Bayard Hale, which was announced to appear in February, will be presented. The contribution is an eloquent exposition of the significance of the opportunity now presented for the general improvement of the civilized life.

"Law, Lawlessness, and Labor." By H. W. B. Mackay.

In this number, also, will be given an able article by H. W. B. Mackay, who discusses the question of government by injunction, particularly as shown in the terrible affair at Hazelton, Pennsylvania. Mr. Mackay takes the working man's side of this question, which is the side of liberty.

"The Exiled Christ in Christian Russia." By B. O. Flower.

B. O. Flower's article will be an able consideration of the social and religious conditions prevailing in Russia. Mr. Flower sets forth in particular the atrocious policy of the government in attacking and persecuting the innocent Christian communities which abound in certain parts of that country.

"The Telegraph Monopoly." Part XV. By Professor Frank Parsons.

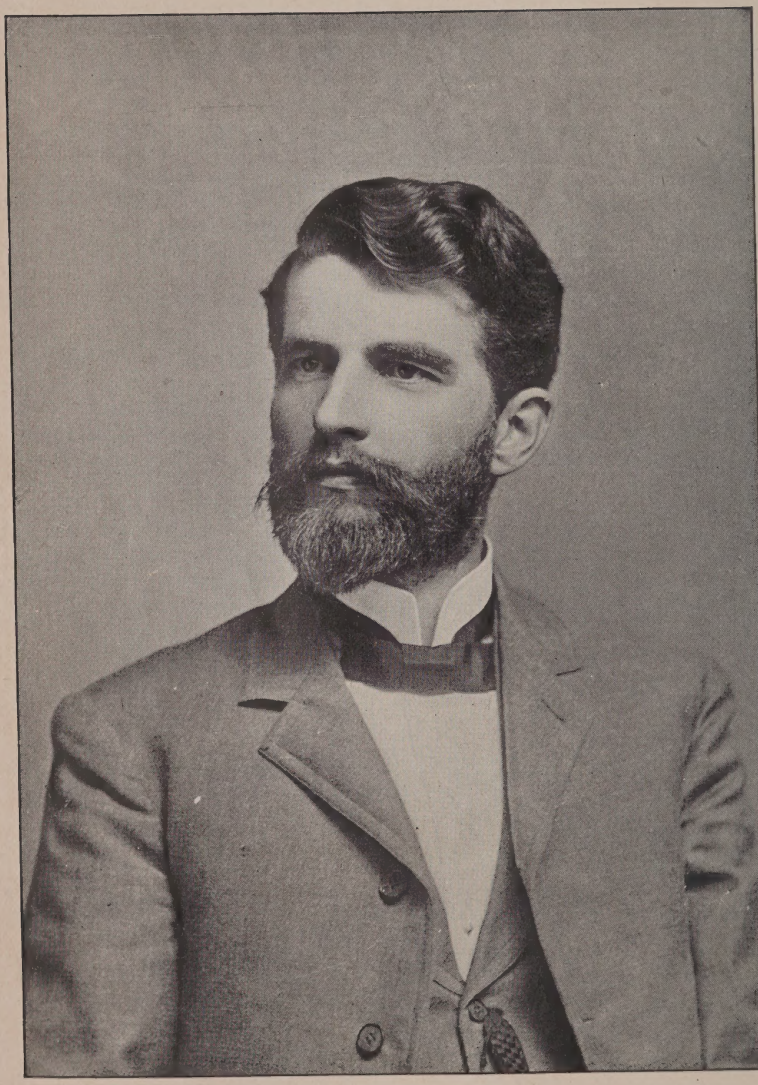
Professor Frank Parsons will continue his unanswerable historical argument against the telegraph systems of the United States.

"Girls' Coöperative Boarding Homes." By Robert Stein.

Robert Stein, of the United States Geological Survey, will discuss the interesting movement now successfully undertaken to establish coöperative boarding homes for young women and girls.

"The Medical Trust." By Dr. T. A. Bland.

The abuses which the orthodox schools of medicine are accused of creating and defending will be pointed out and attacked in an article by Dr. T. A. Bland, who accuses the profession of organizing a trust in its own interest.



Marion Butler

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into *the arena*,
Where like gladiators, we must fight for them."—*Heine.*

THE ARENA.

VOL. XIX. MARCH, 1898. No. 100.

TRUSTS: THEIR CAUSES AND THE REMEDY.

BY HON. MARION BUTLER.
United States Senator for North Carolina.

TRUSTS are cancers—industrial cancers—on the body politic. They are eating cancers; they are spreading cancers; they are fatal to the prosperity and life of the republic. Everybody admits this; everybody is opposed to trusts; yet trusts continue to thrive and prosper, and to multiply each day. Why is this? Because the voters have been deceived and misled about the causes that produce trusts and the true remedy to root them up and crush them out.

The last Republican legislature of New York appointed a committee to investigate trusts and report a bill to cure the evil. After many months of pretended investigation, the now famous Lexow anti-trust committee made a long report denouncing trusts and declaring that they were the overshadowing evils of the age, yet closed by reporting that in the opinion of the committee the legislature was powerless to correct the evil, and that the only remedy lay in Congress.

In December, 1896, President Cleveland, in his last annual message to Congress, went out of his way to discuss the question of trusts. He warned the people against this growing menace to our industries and to our government, but closed by saying that Congress was powerless to remove the evil, and that the remedy lay with the legislatures of the several States.

A few months later William McKinley was inaugurated President of the United States. In his inaugural address he

arraigned and denounced trusts more severely even than his predecessor. He said that the life of the republic demanded that this monster—this insidious and blighting curse—should be plucked from our industrial system. Yet he offered no remedy. He simply denounced the evil, nothing more.

One would judge from the language of Cleveland and McKinley that they were both honestly opposed to trusts; yet neither of them is opposed to the causes that produce trusts; both of them are the apologists, supporters, and defenders of the fundamentally evil agencies and conditions that inevitably produce and foster trusts. Indeed, it is well known that they were both nominated by the trusts, elected by the trusts, owned by the trusts, and therefore must serve the trusts.

A few years ago the Republicans passed an anti-trust law which they said would remedy the evil. It did not. The Democratic party denounced the Republican anti-trust law as a sham and a fraud, and charged that the Republicans never intended to pass a law that would be effective. The Democratic party under the Cleveland *régime* came into power. The Cleveland Democrats proceeded to pass an anti-trust law of their own, which they claimed would remove and eradicate the evil. It has not done so. To-day the Republican anti-trust law and the so-called Democratic anti-trust law are both on the statute book, side by side, and in full force. Yet trusts continue to grow and prosper and multiply in numbers as never before. What is the matter? The truth is that neither of these so-called anti-trust laws contains the true remedy. Neither of them is directed at the causes that produce trusts.

The so-called Democratic and Republican anti-trust laws now on the statute book are ineffective; first, because the evil laws now in existence and in full force, which inevitably produce trusts, are not repealed; next, because the so-called anti-trust laws are not directed at any of the fundamental conditions that foster and promote the existence of trusts. A statute declaring that water shall not run downhill would be ineffective unless the statute should repeal the law of gravitation. To state it another way, the attempt to remove and

cure the industrial cancers called trusts with the so-called anti-trust laws is as futile and foolish as it would be for a physician to attempt to heal a cancer growing out of blood-poison by an application of salves. The only cure for such a cancer is a constitutional tonic that will remove the blood-poison from the system. Dr. Cleveland and Dr. Sherman have each been applying their anti-trust salves to the industrial cancers on the body politic for years, while the disease has increased and the patient has grown sicker with each application. To-day the whole nation is sick nigh unto death with a chronic and constitutional disease, the complication of trusts that infest our industrial system. These trusts can never be broken up until the causes that produce trusts are removed.

What, then, are these causes?

First, we must see what a trust is. A trust is a scheme or a device to establish a complete monopoly of any line of business. Whenever any number of individuals organize themselves into a corporation and get a complete monopoly of any line of business, so that they can crush out all kinds of competition and regulate absolutely the price of not only the manufactured articles sold to the public, but also the raw material bought from the producers to make the articles, then we have a typical modern trust. But the all-important question is: how can any corporation get a complete monopoly of any line of business? That is, how is it possible for such a monopoly—such a trust—to be organized and maintained? Are not the thousands of people in a certain line of business more powerful than one syndicate or corporation in the same business? Are not seventy millions of people more powerful than a half-dozen of that number? They are if they have equal opportunities. Then how is it possible for a very small number of men to drive out of business and crush their thousands of competitors, secure a complete monopoly, and maintain it in the face of the remainder of the nation? There is but one way in which it can possibly be done: the monopolists must first *get control of the instruments of commerce.* Those who control the instruments of commerce can of course control commerce itself, can destroy all competition, and can put any kind of business and every business into a trust at will.

Now what are the instruments of commerce? They are three in number.

The first is money,—the measure of values, the medium of exchange,—which is a vital element in every business transaction. Money is the life-blood of commerce, and business stagnates and congests when the supply is cornered, or when the quantity in circulation does not increase with the increase of population and business, just as the human body grows weak from congestion or loss of blood.

The second great instrument of commerce is transportation. Cheap transportation that can be used on like terms by all, is an essential factor of business in any country; but the larger the country, the more important is transportation. In a country of the immense distances of ours the transportation question is of equally vital importance with the money question. But the opportunity and the right to use this instrument of commerce to transport products from one end of the country to the other at the same prices and on the same terms that your competitor pays or enjoys is of even more importance in preventing the building up of trusts than the question of cheapness. Wherever there is discrimination in freight rates, no matter whether the freight charges are high or low, a powerful leverage is given to those who have the benefit of rebates and favoritisms to crush out competition.

Do such discriminations exist? Yes, and necessarily so when a few great bankers and syndicates own and control this powerful instrument of commerce, and can therefore regulate rates and make discriminations in favor of monopolies and trusts with which they are allied. What do we see to-day? One man, J. Pierpont Morgan, representing a foreign gold syndicate composed of London Jews, owning and absolutely controlling, as the agent of that trust, eight of the biggest railroad systems in the nation. Which are they? The New York, New Haven, and Hartford, extending from New York to Boston and throughout New England; the Erie, with all its branches and feeders; the New York Central, extending from New York to Chicago, with all its ramifications; the Northern Pacific, extending from Chicago across the continent to the Pacific ocean, with all its ramifications; the great

Lehigh Valley system; the Big Four, covering the great fertile Central West between St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Chicago; the Chesapeake and Ohio, running from Baltimore out to Chicago and the great Northwest; and the Southern Railroad, extending from New York south to New Orleans, with all its ramifications in more than a dozen States.

These powerful systems, with the tributaries which they dominate and control, comprising more than 55,000 miles, govern every means of modern transportation in all the great, populous, and important sections of the nation from Chicago east and south, except the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Seaboard Air Line, and the Atlantic Coast Line. Morgan and his gold backers have their greedy eyes on these—have them surrounded and cornered—and will press the button and gobble them up in their own sweet time. In short, this man Morgan, representing the cold-blooded Shylocks, the descendants of the money-changers whom Christ drove from the Temple, can to-day sit down around a table with six other railroad magnates, all of whom are already working in harmony and conjunction with the gold syndicate, and control absolutely every mile of railway in the nation. By a stroke of the pen they can lock the wheels of every locomotive, they can put up rates or they can put them down, they can build up one section and tear down another, they can form partnerships with other industrial pirates, and they can organize trusts until there will not be an independent business left in the nation.

The third great and vital instrument of commerce is the transmission of intelligence. As far as the business world can use the Post Office Department everyone stands on a fair and equal footing; but the information that controls the markets and affects vitally the business world, from the Associated Press despatches to the daily newspapers, the stock reports, and so on, down, are transmitted by telegraph. The tremendous importance of this instrument of commerce is not generally realized. The actions of men are controlled by their opinions; their opinions are formed on the information they receive. Therefore the opinions and actions of the wisest and best men are sadly at fault if the truth has been kept

from them, or if it has been colored or perverted. Those who can control what we read can control our thoughts; those who control our thoughts can control our votes; those who can control our votes can control our pocketbooks and the destinies of the nation.

Here, then, are the three vital instruments of commerce—Money, Transportation, Transmission of Intelligence. How should they be used and by whom should they be controlled? Can agencies so powerful, and the proper use of which is absolutely essential to the welfare of all the people, be trusted in the hands of a part of the people to be used for their own private gain and power? Clearly not. Then how should they be used and controlled in order to give equal opportunities to all and to promote the general welfare? Clearly these instruments of commerce should be used as public functions at the lowest possible cost and without discrimination in favor of one person and against another. This must be done in order to put every industry and business enterprise on an equal footing. Has this been done? No. But instead we have permitted the reverse to be done. These vital instruments of commerce are to-day completely in the hands of private individuals and speculators, who therefore have the business world at their mercy. Whenever a government permits the instruments of commerce to go into private hands it has surrendered its most important function of sovereignty. It has surrendered its power to "establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty." It is to secure these rights that governments are established among men.

The instruments of commerce are natural monopolies—they are natural trusts. When they are used as public functions, open and free to the use of all on like terms and conditions, then there is healthy competition, with widespread industrial activity, and general prosperity and happiness. Under such just and happy conditions it is impossible for an industrial trust to be organized and maintained. But when these natural monopolies—these natural trusts (the instruments of commerce)—are controlled by private individuals and cor-

porations for private gain and power, they become the parent trusts that produce general business stagnation in the midst of plenty, and breed industrial trusts to absorb every line of business; and when such industrial trusts are organized and maintained they aggravate the conditions that gave them birth. The causes that destroy business prosperity are the causes that produce trusts. A trust is the child of business stagnation, and it feeds on hard times. Put into the hands of a few men the instruments of commerce that all men must use, and how can the remainder of mankind compete with them or do business at all except upon their terms—terms dictated by selfishness and greed?

In short, those who have a trust on money, a trust on transportation, and a trust on news, have it in their power to levy tribute on every man and every industry in the nation in order to enrich themselves and their allies. They have other, and, if possible, still more dangerous powers: they can use the instruments of commerce to extend princely favoritisms to some and to make deadly discriminations against others. Thus, as I have said, they can build up one section of the country at the expense of another; they can build up one town and tear down another; they can build up one business and tear down every other business competing with it. By this selfish, greedy, and tyrannous use of such tremendous powers they have made millions of paupers to make a few millionaires; they have produced general business stagnation and widespread suffering in the midst of plenty. They have even taken charge of the government itself. They are the authors of the present hard times, and they are directly responsible for the organization of every trust. Was there a trust in existence before half of the people's money was destroyed by burning the greenbacks and demonetizing silver, and the control of our finances was placed in the hands of a banking syndicate? Was there a trust in existence before the railroad and telegraph, the other two instruments of commerce, were monopolized by private greed? During the thirty years in which a few private individuals, organized into corporations, have secured a trust on money, a trust on transportation, and a trust on intelligence,

there has sprung up, grown, and multiplied, the aggregation of monster industrial trusts which are to-day blighting our industrial system and sapping the life-blood of the republic.

These facts are too plain for controversy. Here, then, we have the causes that produce trusts.

But what is the remedy? Clearly it is to remove these causes. Clearly it is to see that the instruments of commerce are wrested from the hands of private and corporate greed, and operated as public functions for the public good. And whose duty is it to take charge of and regulate these instruments of commerce for the public good? Clearly and unquestionably the duty of Congress. Section 8, Article 1, of the Constitution, in enumerating the powers and duties of Congress, lays down as the third power and duty to be exercised, the following:

> To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes.

Thus we see that every Congressman and Senator, when he takes the oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will use his vote to regulate commerce. But how can he use his vote to regulate commerce, or how can Congress, acting as a whole, regulate commerce, without regulating the instruments of commerce? Does Congress regulate these instruments of commerce to-day? No. They are regulated by private persons and corporations in the interest of private and corporate greed. Monopolists and corporations use the people's instruments of commerce as the most powerful agencies and weapons in the industrial system of the nation, to oppress, tyrannize, intimidate, and rob every independent person and business enterprise. They bleed the country, make themselves millionaires, and then use a part of their ill-gotten gains, their red-handed blood-money, to control and dominate Congress itself.

It is true that Congress pretends to regulate these instruments of commerce; but the fact is that those who control the instruments of commerce control Congress, prevent the passage of effective laws to cure the evil, and secure the passage of other laws in their own interest which aggravate the evil. Congress made its fatal mistake when it put into the

hands of private persons and syndicates these powerful vital and constitutional instruments of commerce, which make trusts, and make them greater than Congress.

In all our political campaigns the allied monopolies which have a trust on money, a trust on transportation, and a trust on intelligence combine. They select the conventions they will control, they elect the candidates they have selected. Of course they control them after they are elected. This has gone on until to-day these allied trusts control and dominate every branch of our government. What a terrible mistake Congress has made in surrendering to private greed such powerful weapons and indispensable public agencies for general business prosperity and the preservation of good government! If the commanding officers of an army should disarm their own soldiers, turn over their guns to the enemy, and then attempt to fight a battle, they would not act more foolishly or treacherously than Congress has done in failing to execute in behalf of the people its vested constitutional powers in a matter of such vital importance to the general welfare of the country and the life of the government.

Can there be any excuse for this gigantic blunder perpetrated by Congress in the light of and in defiance of the teachings of all history since the dawn of civilization? Does not the experience of mankind, in every country and in every age since government was first organized, teach that whatsoever power has controlled the instruments of commerce—whether it has been a government or a combination of business interests—that power has always controlled commerce itself? Yes. And the whole experience of mankind further teaches that whenever a government has failed to control the instruments of commerce, and has left their control to private interests, these private interests have not only controlled commerce, but have also controlled and dominated the government.

This great danger was clearly seen by the founders of our government when the Constitution was framed and adopted. When we read the debates in the Constitutional Convention, we find that those who opposed monarchial ideas and Hamiltonian theories of government were in the majority, and declared undying opposition to all forms of monopoly. They

took the position that a natural monopoly should never be allowed to go into private hands; that a business which was a natural monopoly was a monopoly at birth, and that therefore no one could honestly claim to oppose monopolies if he favored putting such a business into private hands. The result of that discussion, and of the patriotic foresight of the founders of our government, was that every instrument of commerce, as then existing, was made a public function.

Did not the fathers declare undying opposition to banks of issue? Did they not provide that the government should issue all money, the first great instrument of commerce?

The second instrument of commerce—transportation—at that time was the dirt roads—the king's highways—and our lakes, rivers, and other navigable waters. Did not the fathers provide, with jealous care, that the rivers and other navigable waters should be public highways—should not be owned and controlled by private syndicates, but should be kept open and navigable at public expense, and used on equal terms by everyone? Since that time inventive genius has made the steel rails supersede, as a vital instrument of commerce, the old cart and wagon ruts. If it was important that the old dirt roads should be public highways, maintained at public expense for the public good, free to all alike, then is it not a hundredfold more important that this new, improved instrument of commerce, this modern means of transportation, shall be controlled, maintained, and operated in like manner?

Go read the debate over the proposition to establish a post-office system and operate it as a public function. Did not our fathers take the ground that this, being a natural monopoly, should never go into private hands, but should be operated by the government as a public function for the public good?

Now every argument that controlled our wise and patriotic forefathers in dealing with the instruments of commerce, and providing against the birth and growth of monopolies and trusts, at that time, should control us to-day in dealing with the instruments of commerce in their present form—the mail system improved by electricity, the iron highways, and the circulating volume of money.

Take these great natural monopolies which are the three

vital instruments of commerce, from private hands, and use them (as the fathers did) as public functions, and we remove at once the three most powerful and dangerous trusts—the trust on money, the trust on transportation, and the trust on news. We do more: By removing the control of these natural monopolies, which in private hands are the parent trusts, we remove the causes that produce the aggregation of monster industrial trusts that to-day threaten the institutions of the Republic. Therefore if we wish to deliver our government and our industrial system from the deadly clutches of the monster trusts, we must hasten to retrace our steps, correct our mistakes, and boldly take the same action that the fathers did with reference to these great natural monopolies. In short, our fatal error has been in departing from the doctrines of Jeffersonian democracy. Apply to present conditions the principles of Jeffersonian democracy and the constitutional remedy above pointed out, and we shall have the three great instruments of commerce—money, transportation, and the transmission of intelligence—in their modern form, operated as public functions at cost, without discrimination against any, and with equal opportunities to all.

Thus the one vital, comprehensive, and paramount question confronting our people to-day is this: Shall we have a government by the foreign gold trust and its allied monopolies, which have captured our instruments of commerce, with the industrial trusts of which these are the parents—a government of the trusts, by the trusts, and for the trusts; or shall we, by reëstablishing the principles of Jeffersonian democracy, under which the instruments of commerce must be used as public functions, break the power of these industrial demons which are devouring us, and reënthrone a government of the people, by the people, and for the people?

Let this be done, and then the causes that produce trusts will be removed; let this be done, and then every trust in existence will vanish as a fog before the rising sun. Let this be done and then equal opportunities for every individual and every independent business enterprise will be restored; let this be done, and then, and not till then, will there be a permanent condition of general prosperity.

THE VICTORY OF THE VANQUISHED.

BY HON. CHARLES A. TOWNE,
Chairman National Committee Silver Republican Party.

AT Heraclea, with the Romans in tumultuous retreat before him, Pyrrhus the Epirot took counsel of his prophetic soul and dreaded the repetition of such a victory. Things are not, necessarily, what they seem. Fabius, falling back again and again as his enemy advanced, was regarded by the camp-followers of his pursuer as not only defeated but disgraced. Subsequent observers have reached a different conclusion. To his routed soldiers fleeing before the impetuous onset of Charles XII, Peter the Great administered the consolation that the victorious Swede was but teaching them how to conquer him.

The political campaign of 1896 resulted in the apparent success of the gold standard. Its forces immediately entered upon an armed occupation of the country and began carrying out an elaborate programme for making the conquest secure and permanent. They are multiplying and provisioning their strategic outposts, and their commanding officers display all the swagger and insolence of conquerors. In the latest operation successfully concluded by their arms the great State of Ohio surrendered at discretion, and the victorious satrap who had conducted the siege returned, flushed with pride and swollen with official plunder, in more than Roman triumph to the capital.

But the end is not yet. Those who are not blinded by spectacle and pageantry or deafened by the obedient shouts of hired retainers; they who have studied the motives of the combatants, the origin of the dispute, and the fundamental nature of the controversy, know full well that these demonstrations in the gold-standard camp are at least premature.

A great cause is rarely won in a single engagement. The final and decisive battle comes only after a long campaign of strategy and manœuvres, in the course of which many skir-

mishes between detachments of the main armies, and even some partial collisions of the latter themselves, will occur, and with varying fortune. Meantime, if one of the forces be composed of seasoned veteran troops, thoroughly disciplined, well appointed and provisioned, commanded by experienced tacticians, possessing unlimited resources, and operating on interior lines; while the other consists in large degree of raw levies, undrilled, supplied but poorly with accoutrements and commissary, under officers not bred to arms, with nearly empty war-chest, and attacking from scattered bases of operation; it may well be that for the former every conflict that ends short of the complete demoralization of their foe is a defeat, while for the latter every skirmish or collision that tries their valor, adds to their confidence, improves their discipline, and teaches them mutual reliance, is a victory.

The campaign of 1896 was not a final engagement. It was but the greatest of the series of preliminary tests of strength and courage that precede the death grapple. And yet it was a stupendous battle. It was a magnificent struggle. Little wonder that the supporters of the gold standard, who, anticipating an easy encounter with far inferior forces, found, when the conflict was over, that they had gained a decision over an army stronger by almost a million of men* than any that had ever before gathered under the banner of a cause at an election, should at first magnify the importance of the event and regard the result as conclusive. But they are beginning to realize their error. After innumerable interments of the "dead cause of silver," and after ten thousand obituaries upon its splendid leader in that contest, an increasing number of the principal gold-and-monopoly organs are warning their partisans against over-confidence, advising them that neither bimetallism nor Bryan is dead after all, and adjuring them to prepare for the last great clash of arms that is to determine the fate of the country.

Before 1896 the line of battle between the cause of an appreciating money measure and its allied evils on one hand, and that of the general welfare of the masses of mankind on

*Mr. Bryan received 6,502,925 votes. The largest popular vote for President ever before given to a candidate was Mr. Cleveland's in 1892, *viz.*, 5,556,918.

the other, had not been plainly drawn. An approximately clear definition of that line is the first and greatest victory for the people growing out of that campaign. For many years the cunning of those who have been planning to subdue the Republican party into an obedient instrument of the purposes of the selfish interests of the world was able effectually to disguise both its ulterior designs and the gradual steps by which the party was being led into a practical championship of them. For a long time the language of its platforms was permitted to breathe fidelity to principles which its actual administration of the government was constantly discrediting. For example, in 1888 that party in its national platform ranged itself on the side of the people in the two following pronouncements, the one for bimetallism, and the other against the trusts:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market.

Again, in its platform of 1892, it reiterated these positions:

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily endorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

Meantime the clutch of special interests upon the party and upon the government, and that, too, regardless of what party was in power, was becoming tighter and more relentless. By plain administrative usurpation a pretended construction of the law was made whereby the government surrendered its option to pay its demand obligations in either gold or silver, and gave to the holders the right of compelling payment in

gold; and in every conceivable way the attempt was made to eke out by the interpretation and violation of statutes whatever the law lacked of having put us absolutely upon the gold standard. At the same time, under the impetus of declining prices and reduced consumption resulting from the appreciation of gold, and with the encouragement and favor of government, the trusts and monopolies continued to grow in numbers and in power.

When the Republican national convention met in 1896, the gold-and-monopoly interests thought themselves sufficiently strong to take a great step forward in the assertion of their purposes. It was not deemed quite safe to go at one bound from the direct and positive promises of bimetallism of 1888 and 1892 clear over to unadulterated gold monometallism. The process must be a little more gradual than that. A sort of half-way resting-place was needed, and this was found in a weak and transparently dishonest declaration for an international agreement for the free coinage of silver, intended to quiet the suspicious but predisposed-to-be-deluded bimetallists, followed by an emphatic and unambiguous assertion in favor of the gold standard, designed as an assurance to the creditor interest of the world. Here is the familiar plank:

> The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore [*sic!*] opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote; and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

It cannot be regarded as a mere coincidence that this platform, which thus signalized the capture of the Republican party by the British money standard, should have had never a word to say on the subject of trusts and monopolies, which are the offspring and adjunct of that standard. It was wholly

appropriate and, indeed, inevitable, that a party that had ceased to "demand the use of both gold and silver as standard money" should also cease its "opposition to combinations of capital, organized in trusts and otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens." And it was also natural that, in the campaign that followed, all the trusts, monopolies, and unrighteous combinations of capital in the country should rally, as they did, to the support of the party that had become their vassal, and should place at its command their uncounted millions of money and their unparalleled coercive terrors.

The disreputable methods by which the contest of 1896 was notoriously won; the vast extent and infinite detail of intimidation and corruption with which the perfect organization of the Republican party covered the entire country as with a fine-meshed net; the contemptuous frankness with which the large financial concerns, the gold brokers, the leviathan bankers, and the oppressive combinations of wealth allied themselves everywhere with the Republican propaganda; the general mendacity and brutality of the metropolitan gold press; these and many other similar influences served to solidify the forces that fought for popular rights, to encourage them with proofs of the justice of their contention, and to inspire them with that high moral conviction without whose sanction no great cause was ever yet victorious.

Events that have succeeded the election have only emphasized these results. The conduct of the administration has thoroughly unmasked the ambuscade of the St. Louis platform and thereby justified the attitude of those Republicans who denounced that platform as a disguised gold-standard device, and left the party because of it. I am aware of the fact that Senator Wolcott recently, in that speech in the Senate toward which persons of all classes of opinion looked with so much anticipation, to which they listened with so much disappointment, and which they recall with so much regret, was careful to the verge of painful solicitude to show that, at every step in the unsuccessful negotiations of the international monetary commission, it had enjoyed the support of the President of the United States. But the same

speech that praises the President excoriates his Secretary of the Treasury. The Senator, in specifying certain obstacles that had interfered with his negotiations in Europe, referred to "pretended statements in letters and interviews from the Secretary of the Treasury, to the effect that there was no chance for international or other bimetallism, and favoring the permanent adoption of the gold standard." But in his catalogue of embarrassments he studiously refrains from listing what everybody of common information knows to have been the most serious embarrassment of all, namely, the special message of President McKinley of June 24, 1897, wherein he distinctly endorses the proposed plan of the so-called Indianapolis sound-money convention, which that convention itself, in January preceding, had formally declared would embrace three fundamental features: 1. The permanent establishment of the gold standard; 2. The retirement of the greenbacks and Treasury notes; 3. The erection of a huge system of banks of issue.

Why be at pains to mention a long list of petty interferences with the progress of negotiations, while keeping silence as to the thing which, even if it had stood alone, must effectually have damned every proposition of the Wolcott Commission? What could have been the estimate of our sincerity formed by the great European cabinets when, in the very midst and at the most crucial point of negotiations for an international agreement for the free coinage of silver, entered upon at our instance, the cable flashed across the ocean the text of the President's astounding special message to Congress in emphatic recommendation of the gold standard? Is it to be wondered at that the "statements of representatives of New York bankers in England," of which the Senator complains, should have been believed when, as he says, they ascribed to the President views favorable to the gold standard?

Senator Wolcott also, and very properly, reprobates the statement of Secretary Gage before the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, that the first object of his currency plan is "to commit the country more thoroughly to the gold standard"; a plan which, the Senator carefully observes, "the President's message specifically does not endorse."

It would be more accurate to say that the message "does not specifically endorse" the Secretary's bill; for, aside from the fact that the Secretary is the administration's finance officer, even the President's annual message, despite its halting and evasive method, carried, in effect, a recommendation not materially different from the Secretary's.

But, for one, I wish to record my excessive weariness of this carefully practised policy of distinguishing between the President and his chosen and sworn official subordinates. It is not only discrediting the chief magistrate to assume that he is not in control of his own administration, but it is an insult to the intelligence and common sense of the country to attempt to make it appear that on the overshadowing question of the hour the President entertains one conviction and his Secretary of the Treasury a diametrically opposite one. This is especially true when it is remembered that the very question of their respective views on the subjects of coinage and currency has recently been made the theme of criticism and of acrimonious controversy in Congress and in the public press; and that the Secretary's resignation, laid before the President because of this very criticism, was not accepted. The Secretary's views are the President's views. If this had not been the case he would never have entered the cabinet. If not the case to-day he would have been allowed—yes, he would have been requested—to get out of it. Mr. Gage's opinions were no secret before his appointment, and he has not disguised them since. He has the courage of his convictions. Moreover, he is a man of too much personal independence and too much self-respect to occupy his high official position, and one of such close confidential relations to the President, under false pretences. If Lyman J. Gage were not in accord with his chief's policy on a question deemed by himself to be of dominating importance, he could not be kept in office. He is in harmony with the President, and it is no violation of confidence to say that he has so stated.

It is certainly a gain of very large proportions that the campaign of 1896 and the developments that have followed it, have clearly defined the issue that must be decided by the electors of the country before the unrestricted and legalized

reign of gold-and-monopoly can begin. The Republican managers declared in their campaign text-book of 1892 that "nine-tenths of the people are bimetallists." It was undoubtedly true then, and it is true to-day. No man of information doubts that in 1896 a plain and honest declaration for the gold standard would have met the indignant rebuke of an overwhelming majority of the voters of the United States. Upon such a declaration the Republican party will be driven to make its fight in 1900, with the open, and probably avowed and defended, alliance of the trusts and combines. Then no subterfuge will avail them. The people will see clearly and will strike unerringly. The decisive battle will be joined in 1900, and we shall win it.

The elections of 1897 proved how valuable to the opponents of the gold standard had been the lessons and discipline of 1896. Despite the facts that business conditions had somewhat improved, to a small extent as the result of the stimulus to certain industries afforded by a tariff which they were permitted to dictate, and to a much greater extent due to a demand for our staple exports caused by the Indian famine and the unprecedented shortage of all food-product crops in Europe; that the whole claque of subservient newspapers were constantly engaged in bolstering confidence with glowing pictures of prosperity; that the Republican managers concentrated in a few States the large remnant of the millions of unspent campaign funds of the preceding contest, together with the other means and methods that made the campaign of 1896 so infamously memorable; that the administration massed its place-holders in the critical localities and employed its prodigious patronage with unexampled skill as an instrument of "practical politics";—yet the sentiment of opposition to the rule of gold and monopoly had more than held its own.

In Iowa a plurality of 65,552 for Mr. McKinley in 1896 fell to 29,987 for the Republican candidate for Governor in 1897. In Maryland the corresponding Republican pluralities were 32,224 and 7,109; in Massachusetts, 173,265 and 85,543; in Ohio 47,497 and 28,165, while the legislature stands as follows: Senate, 17 Republicans, 19 opposition; House, 62 Republicans, 47 opposition. In Virginia the Chicago plat-

form received a plurality of 19,341 in 1896, while in 1897 the plurality of the Democratic candidate for Governor was 52,815. In New York McKinley's prodigious plurality of 268,469 was changed into one of 60,889 for the Democratic candidate for chief justice. Kentucky, which, after a campaign of tremendous tension wherein the full power of the Republican national committee was supplemented by that of a friendly State government and the aid of the Watterson-Carlisle Democracy, had given McKinley a plurality of 281 in 1896, came back to the opposition, to stay, as Mr. Watterson himself avows, with the emphasis of 17,804 plurality. In Nebraska, where every characteristic machination of the enemy was employed in the desperate hope of dealing a fatal blow at the prestige of Mr. Bryan, the fusion plurality of 13,576 in 1896 was more than maintained, the figures rising to 13,819 notwithstanding a falling off of thirty thousand in the total vote as compared with the presidential election. These results, everything considered, were most encouraging.

Since the campaign whose result was to seat Mr. McKinley in the White House no political contest has been waged in the country whose outcome was watched with so much interest as that wherein Marcus A. Hanna was struggling to secure his return to the United States Senate from the State of Ohio. The significance of this contest lies not so much in Mr. Hanna, although he is a remarkable study himself, as in what he represents in our civilization and politics. So far as I know it has never yet been contended that he possesses any special ability beyond what is rather vaguely implied by the designation of "successful business man"; which may mean a great many things, some of which, admirable and common as others may be, would be thought very slight qualifications for a senatorship. He has no professional training, no learning, no legislative experience, unless the assiduous pursuit of franchises and special privileges through municipal councils and State and national legislatures can be said to have furnished it. He is simply a man of coarse and strong fibre, masterful, ruthless, not given to fine humanitarian distinctions, who has fully comprehended, not by mental processes but by natural sympathy, the material ideal of end-of-the-

century success, and has pursued it until he has grasped it and made it his own. In this pursuit he seems to have become thoroughly familiar with the "business methods" of our era: the power and eloquence of money, and how to make it work and talk; the resistless force of combination to destroy competition, absorb markets, and wring profits from necessity; the unhappy weaknesses of human nature, and its stops which circumstance puts under the hand of the unscrupulous "to sound what note he pleases"; the advantages of a vicarious corporate responsibility; the convenience and sufficiency of a business conscience. By the nature of his interests and the character of his methods he is distinctly a personification of the gold standard and its concomitants, the trusts and monopolies.

When Mr. Hanna became chairman of the Republican National Committee and took personal charge of the campaign of 1896, it was his boast that he brought "business methods" into politics. He unquestionably spoke by the card. The conduct of affairs speedily exhibited the fact. The colossal machinery that was at once erected, not more vast in its extent than minute in its detail, perfect in its adjustment, and noiseless in its operation; the immense amount of money raised, beyond the "wealth of Ormus or of Ind," and utterly out of comparison with any previous campaign fund; the comprehensive organization that attended to the manufacture of news and the circulation of literature, the instigation and management of spontaneous excursions of clamorous patriots to Canton, the exercise of bland persuasion by the banks, the gentle methods by which necessitous workmen were cajoled or coerced and mortgaged farmers convinced or compelled: these and a thousand similar things were the marks of a "business campaign" without an approach to a parallel in all our previous history, and destined to have but few successors if the republic is to endure. The popular imagination, quickly and powerfully impressed with the unique personality that seemed to be responsible for these phenomena, has epitomized them in a name fated to a melancholy immortality. Let me be the first to write it as a common noun: hannaism.

And so hannaism was at stake in the Ohio senatorial election. It is not yet time nor is this the place to write the full history of that election. With a Republican majority in the legislature of 15 on joint ballot, Mr. Hanna was chosen by a vote of 73, exactly a majority of the membership of 145. A loss of one vote would have beaten him. This narrow escape was due to a revolt among the Republicans against hannaism, and the election has resulted in fastening upon that party for seven long years more the increasing burden of that terrible incubus. In the absence of the power to choose a member of the Senate whose vote and influence would have been against the present policies of the Republican party, it is tantamount to a victory for their opponents to be able to point to the new Senator from Ohio as "a terrible example" and evolution of those policies in operation.

That no fitting circumstance might be wanting to the ceremonial of so ominous an installation, fate ordained that it should be preceded by an infamy and followed by a sacrilege. During the session of the House on the day of, and just before, the meeting of the joint assembly to ballot for Senator, a member of the House of Representatives arose in his place, and, referring to well-known and circumstantial charges of bribery in the interest of Mr. Hanna's candidacy, charges made by the member himself, demanded that those accusations be investigated before proceeding to the election of a Senator. Said he, in part:

Mr. Speaker—I rise to a question of privilege, a question both affecting my character as a legislator, and related to the proper performance by this body of its duty in the election of a United States Senator.

I am aware, sir, that the House yesterday refused to pass a resolution to suspend the rules and proceed to investigate certain charges preferred by myself, against a leading candidate for this great office. But, sir, I made those charges upon my honor as a man, and in response to my duty as a representative. If they are false I ought to be expelled from this body. If they are true, that candidate ought to withdraw from this contest. Either I am not fit to be a member of this House, or he is not fit to be a Senator of the United States. He must himself admit this. He, as well as I, ought to demand a vindication. How can he refuse to submit himself to the same test as I invoke? One of us is guilty; which is it? For my own honor and reputation, I demand that you ascertain and declare the truth. Why does not he also demand it?

He then offered a resolution of investigation. What en-

sued is told in the following extract from the report of the proceedings in a Columbus gold-standard newspaper. Note the unconscious humor of the sentence I have italicized:

> On a motion to suspend the rules for immediate consideration of the resolution, the vote stood 52 ayes, 56 nays. On the motion being declared lost there were cheers on the Republican side and in the galleries. The vote was precisely the same as all the votes yesterday and the two ballots for the short and long terms for Senator. There are 109 members of the House. *The 56 Hanna men always voted solidly.*

This was the infamy.

Note now the sacrilege. When the bribery charges had been contemptuously brushed away and the destined goal was scantily won, the beneficiary of the event sent the following telegram:

> Columbus, Ohio, Jan. 12.
>
> Hon. William McKinley, President, Washington.
>
> God reigns, and the Republican party still lives. M. A. Hanna.

How a man who had just passed through the sort of campaign by which he had been successful, pursued by memories of locked-in and guarded legislators and their harried and persecuted wives, of spies and informers, of devious and shadowy proceedings that were so soon to shrink behind the counselled silence* of unwilling witnesses in a bribery investigation, could affect to think Deity chargeable with any part of the responsibility, or that his election tended to establish the fact, doubtful, supposedly, till then, of the existence of the Almighty, is a question I leave to casuists and philosophers. It is beyond me. One can, however, understand how the Senator, after so long having his vanity fed by the sycophants who do his bidding and accept his bounty, and who constantly ascribe to him the entire vitality of the Republican organization, should have reached a condition where the distinction between himself and the party was not quite clear, and in which his own election would seem like a demonstration that the party was not dead.

But even this is not the measure of the Senator's egotism. His ineffable presumption allowed him to recall, and by a petty paraphrase to subject to his own ignoble use, that mag-

*"By advice of counsel" representing Mr. Hanna, a large number of witnesses summoned by the Ohio Senate investigating committee refused to answer any questions.

nificent burst of inspired oratory in which Garfield, who could sometimes storm the very heights of eloquence, calmed and subdued the angry mob which, in the surprise and horror following the announcement of President Lincoln's assassination, was about to attack and destroy the office of one of the great newspapers in New York:

"Fellow citizens," cried he who was destined to follow the great martyr in both his high office and his martyrdom, "clouds and darkness are round about Him! His pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds of the skies! Justice and judgment are the establishment of His throne! Mercy and truth shall go before His face! Fellow citizens! God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives!"

He who, with impious hand, would have torn this resplendent jewel from the crown of Lincoln and set it jauntily among his own blurred and barren trophies, is a fit typification of that decadence which has changed the Republicanism of 1860 into the Republicanism of 1898. Such a demonstration is itself a victory. For who, ennobled by the memory of Lincoln, will long consent to wear the servile livery of Hanna?

STUDIES ON THE MONEY QUESTION:

I. CURRENCY REFORM.

BY ANTHONY W. DIMOCK.

ACCORDING to Carlyle, America is where they undertake to amend fate and avert doomsday by act of Congress; and an American authority writes:

> The history of our national economic and financial policy since the Civil War is an almost unbroken record of fatuous ignorance, empirical experimentation, and insolent disregard of the best established inductions of science.

Both the legislative and executive branches of the government have had object-lessons strikingly illustrative of some of the simpler laws of finance relating to gold and currency. On June 20, 1864, Congress passed a bill restricting transactions in gold, intending to reduce the premium thereon by legislative enactment. Eleven days later, after an advance in the premium of about one hundred per cent, Congress in hot haste repealed the absurd law, and the premium fell sixty-five per cent in a single day. A few years later the Treasury Department undertook to enforce its decree that the premium on gold should not advance beyond thirty-one per cent, and Secretary McCulloch instructed his agent on the gold exchange to sell the Treasury dry at that price. Well, he did it, and the Treasury, having lost thereby nearly all its gold, some $40,000,000, in one day, surrendered, and the premium on gold advanced to sixty-nine per cent.

In February, and again in November, 1894, the government sold $50,000,000 of bonds to the people at about 117, for the purpose of maintaining gold payments. In February, 1895, the market price remaining unchanged, a hypnotized President sold $62,000,000 of the same class of bonds to a syndicate at 104½. It is true that under the contract about sixty tons of gold were to be shipped across the Atlantic, simply to be sent back later, in accordance with Gresham's law, which is as unyielding in finance as are the laws of Kepler in

physics. A proposition to bring sixty tons of water from the English Channel to add to the depth of New York harbor would have been of equal merit. In December, 1895, it was proposed to sell $200,000,000 of bonds for $30,000,000 less than their market value, to prevent depletion of the gold reserve through redemption of greenbacks. It was provided, however, that greenbacks must be converted into gold before they would be available for the purchase of the bonds. The result was business chaos, the financial paradox of gold flowing across the ocean both ways at once, and the monetary solecism of greenbacks at par in gold at the Treasury for payments abroad, and at one and one-half per cent discount for payments to the government. There was, of course, a run upon the Treasury, from which gold was drawn that it might be twice shipped across the Atlantic, and thereby qualified to return to the Treasury whence it came.

In the popular thought the mystery of a great Taboo has always spread over the subject of finance, and the hallucination was nearly universal that the credit of the government was at the mercy of a blind pool syndicate. Happily the appeals of a few journals and men who had retained their reason resulted on Jan. 6, 1896, in the reluctant offer by the government to the people of bonds under ill-advised conditions, which involved discredit of the greenbacks, and refusal to recognize a demand obligation of the Treasury as equivalent to gold until the gold it represented had been twice passed across the Treasury counter. Swift attributed no more grotesque conceptions to the philosophers of Laputa. Press, people, and government officials, hypnotized by the syndicate, gloomily predicted the failure which did not occur.

A sound currency is the highest evolutionary product of the commercial world. It may be of gold, or of silver, never of paper, for, as Mr. Ingersoll has wittily informed us, it takes a dollar's worth of paper to make a paper dollar. The gold standard implies a standard of actual gold, or of notes representing gold specifically held for their redemption. It does not contemplate an icing of gold upon a lake of paper, for the commercial community to skate upon. There should not be two dollars in certificates representing one dollar in gold,

any more than there should be two title deeds to one house. Debasing the money standard has been indulged in by every important nation, with consequences never measurable by the mere sum of which the people have been directly defrauded. Human ingenuity never devised a method of accomplishing this iniquity more effectually than by the issue of a fiat currency, such as doubled the cost of our civil war, and caused every financial panic from which we have since suffered.

The law of currency is codified simplicity, should be learned with the multiplication table, and ignorance regarding it should be eradicated with the maternal slipper. The children of Europe are instructed in respect to it, and enlightened European governments obey it. The Congress of the United States enjoys the distinction among enlightened assemblages, of complete and complacent practical ignorance of the subject.

There is no occasion to waste time on currency commissions. The Bank of England has been sitting as a practical commission of that sort for some generations, and its notes are almost the ideal currency of the world. Aside from an ancient issue of £15,000,000, every such note had actual coin behind it, of which at least eighty per cent is gold.

A gold currency possesses the essential and ideal quality of fluidity, the precise antithesis of the delusive dogma of elasticity. An elastic currency is a paradox. It is an unknown quantity, a measure which doesn't measure, an organizer of alternate boom and collapse, and a breeder of panics. It cannot be uniform, and the very phrase is a device of the devil. A currency should be *fluid, non elastic.* It should flow where required, but it should neither expand nor contract, nor should its dimensions fluctuate. A false measure is an abomination to the Lord, but it is worshipped by about a million parrots in this country, who are shouting for an elastic currency, which is inherently, necessarily, and eternally, a false measure.

President McKinley, who was chosen to maintain the gold standard, promised both before and after election to maintain such standard and reform the currency, without diminishing the circulating medium or imposing the necessity of main-

taining so large a reserve. The Almighty could not accomplish this—without suspending his own laws of financial gravitation.

Congress is flooded with crude suggestions of complicated currency systems. One Congressman, type of many, has introduced a bill of 6,000 words, intricate beyond comprehension, complicated by a commentary of 60,000 words, the purpose of which seems to be the creation of a financial barometer, which shall rise and fall in response to the demands of its patrons, but in glorious independence of the weather.

The Secretary of the Treasury proposes to cancel the greenbacks, issue in their place National-Bank notes, up to a possible one and a-half billion dollars, and thereby provide a uniform and elastic currency. A National-Bank president is *ex officio* incapable of comprehending any other province of a national currency than to serve as a National-Bank perquisite.

Issuing government notes was never a proper function of National Banks, and there is no popular modern delusion more preposterous than that it is good banking, good policy, or good sense, for the government to issue its interest-bearing bonds to the banks, and receive in return its own non-interest-bearing notes, thus taxing the people to pay the National Banks for a harmful endorsement of the paper of the government which created them. No sophistry can conceal the fact that the whole transaction is simply a clumsy device to donate unearned money to favored institutions. The original issue was monumental folly, and without support from any sound principle of economic or financial science. The practical province of these National-Bank tokens is to drive gold from the Treasury and the country. The people are then taxed to bring it back. The Treasury is converted into a toboggan slide, with the golden classes perpetually riding to the bottom, and the toiling masses eternally hauling them back.

For half-a-dozen years the government banks of Europe have added an annual average of $100,000,000 in gold to their reserves. During this period the U. S. Treasury and the New York banks have reduced their reserves at about one-fifth of this rate, until now the percentage of the gold reserves of these foreign banks is to ours as five to one.

While other enlightened nations are working for a gold standard, and the general tendency is toward the yellow metal for the white races, and the white metal for the yellow races, our own statesmen are exploiting Keeley-motor systems of finance, and furrowing their brains in the attempt to evolve an automatic system of currency expansion, which would inevitably destroy nature's cure for financial fever, and substitute chronic ruin for sporadic crises.

One Republican Senator recently served notice on his party that cancellation of greenbacks would not be permitted, and that its attempt would result in the establishment of the silver 16 to 1 standard. Another Senator, of much influence in the West, will abandon the administration and its party when they drop bimetallism. Congressional financial blunders bankrupt the imagination, but the apotheosis of Washington political principle was reached by Cuney in his immortal utterance, "I'm for sound money if I'm treated right."

It is immaterial whether it is ignorance or indifference which ignores the experience of nations and defies the known laws of finance, to tamper with the measure of value by seeking to establish a currency upon the oldest and deadliest of financial fallacies. An increased issue of currency does not supply the demand therefor. Expansion of the volume of currency creates a period of rising prices which makes money scarce. The result is boom followed by collapse.

It has been said of a gold monometallic currency that it is the gospel according to Shylock. Then so-called bimetallism must be the multiplication table tempered with mercy. Of course there is no such thing as bimetallic currency. The ultimate measure of value of a currency is the thing of lowest cost in which it is redeemable. If the commercial value of gold and silver were exactly as 16 to 1 the two metals might circulate concurrently, and there would be the appearance of two standards. A boy exactly three feet high could be used as a yard stick, and there would be the appearance of a double standard of measurement for a time. After the boy had grown an inch or two, all goods would be delivered in accordance with the standard representing the least value, and the

stick would drive out the boy. The dollar that represents the least value is the dollar that circulates.

The very stars in their courses are fighting for this nation. The forces of nature have worked and withheld in its interest. A great wheat crop, coinciding with a phenomenal demand, has given the United States a credit balance, which properly utilized would have enabled us to establish an ideal currency, and advanced us a long step toward that commercial supremacy which our natural advantages make possible to us. When the American people let their hearts and their intellects expand sufficiently to decree that there shall be a gold dollar behind every dollar of greenbacks issued, that there shall be no other standard, and that the ports of the United States shall be free forever to the people and products of the earth, then may New York become the clearing-house of the world, and the greenback its international currency.

The consensus of expert opinion in those supreme schools of practical finance, the monetary departments of the enlightened nations of Europe, finds working expression in the incessant activity and intense earnestness with which those nations are seeking to establish, each for itself, the ideal standard of gold, and gold alone, with paper relegated to its representative province. If the evolution of the experience of other nations is not convincing, there remains our own recent history, which, despite that immunity from consequences which is "the glorious privilege of youth," is yet a record of recurring panic, directly due to the financial solecisms of our currency issues. Comparative financial peace and prosperity will rest upon the nation when its demoralizing demand obligations have been cancelled.

The path to a sound currency is as straight and narrow as that which leads to life, but this administration is extremely unlikely to walk therein. The people, at the polls, charged Congress with the duty of reforming the currency, which involves the cancellation of fiat demand-obligations. The administration, and the dominant party in Congress, recognize the duty with the voice of Jacob, and execute it by the hand of Esau.

The other great nations of the earth are fighting for gold to

take up their paper tokens. This nation alone is struggling to keep all its paper kites in the air. The paper policy of the administration is devilishly devised to drive from our shores our gold, which must then be brought back by means of organized panics. It is forcing the nation to perform the task of Sisyphus. The gold standard is doomed. The masses are fighting it in their ignorance, the National Banks in their selfishness, and the government in its indifference. This nation must soon decide between the stability of a silver standard, and the chaos of fiat paper-tokens.

The statesman who comprehends the crisis and presents with clearness a plan for an honest standard of silver, or silver and gold alternatively, even at the ratio of 16 to 1, and who does not seek to use silver simply as a means of further diluting our present conglomerate currency, will be elected President of the United States in 1900, or, what is better, will deserve to be elected.

Vice-President Hobart stated that the silver basis would wipe out eight billion dollars' worth of property at a blow, by reducing the holdings of banks and other corporations from $16,000,000,000 to $8,000,000,000. The logic of this statement would seem to be that doubling the number of grains in the dollar would create $16,000,000,000 of property, by increasing the holdings of these institutions from $16,000,000,000 to $32,000,000,000.

Political parrots assume that with free coinage of silver the value of the dollar would drop to about fifty cents in gold, and remain there, and that all gold would leave the country, while silver would flow in to take its place.

Let this be assumed. $600,000,000 of gold would leave the country, in exchange for $1,200,000,000 of silver, which would just fill its place. Then $2,200,000,000 of silver would be required to take the place of the $1,100,000,000 of alleged gold currency now afloat. This would take $3,400,000,000 of silver, or just about all the silver of the globe. $3,400,000,000 is more than the production of gold in the world in the last twenty-five years, or in the fifty years preceding. Much of the current value of both gold and silver is due to the demand for them for currency. If therefore

one of the greatest of nations transfers its demand from gold to silver, if it forces upon the other nations $600,000,000 of gold, and takes from them $3,400,000,000 of silver less the amount in its own Treasury, thereby reducing the demand for gold 16 per cent, and adding 100 per cent to the demand for silver, what then throughout the world will be the relative value of gold and silver? It is argued that as formerly a demand for two millions a month did not materially advance the price, therefore the immediate demand for 1,700 times that amount would not affect the price. The position is untenable. Consider the forces which free silver-coinage in the United States would set in motion to preserve the parity. It would add forty per cent to the present gold holdings of all the European banks. It would create an immediate demand, upon a 16 to 1 valuation, for three times the entire silver holdings of all the banks of Europe combined.

If the United States should adopt the silver standard, and abolish all paper token-currency except silver or gold certificates, it would possess a better currency than it has to-day, one less provocative of panics, and quite possibly possessing equal purchasing power. This course would utilize legitimately the great store of silver in the Treasury, which to-day represents a heavy loss.

That a gold standard benefits the capitalist at the expense of the laborer, and favors the East to the injury of the West, is a belief too current to be ignored. The injustice exists, but the gold standard has nothing to do with it. Goldwin Smith wrote, "The East has robbed the West with its tariff. The West is now going to rob the East by repudiation." People who are robbed by law often keep a debit-and-credit account with society.

The great productive interests of the United States are grain and cotton, the producers of which are taxed as never before were people taxed since the Egyptians despoiled the Israelites, and thereby incurred a debt which the world has since vainly struggled to liquidate. The cost of everything that enters the farmer's field or house is increased, while the market for the product of his toil is limited, and access thereto made more costly, through the ingenious infamy of a system

which would have put Barabbas to shame. A tariff-protected trust taxes transportation, while coal-miners starve, and farmers burn corn.

The markets of the world fix the price of its grain, and in them the farmer competes with the labor of the world; yet when he seeks to bring home the clothing, tools, and provisions for which he has exchanged his product, his messenger is intercepted by a pack of government tariff wolves, which eats half his provisions, steals half his tools, and destroys half his clothing.

The standard of value is simply a matter of justice as to the past and convenience as to the future, while the issues of the tariff are of occupation and livelihood. By the establishment of artificial conditions, it arbitrarily determines whether a man shall drive a mule on a farm, or handle dynamite in a mine. It puts him in the treadmill of unproductive toil, limits the development of his ingenuity, and finally robs him of the product of his labor, by forbidding his expenditure of its proceeds, save within arbitrary and oppressive limits.

To translate dollars into pounds, or commercially convert silver into gold, costs a small fraction of one per cent. To exchange wheat for foreign products costs, under the tariff, often 100 per cent, sometimes 600 per cent. If the laborer wishes one cheap foreign button, he must buy six, and leave five at the Custom House as tribute.

Commerce is civilization, and is an extension of that division of labor which evolves a scientist from a savage, or a Congressman from a cave-dweller. Scientific thought rules the world. The modern steamship is manœuvred by the spectacled student, while the ancient mariner shovels coal. Yet, with the logic of lunacy, administration organs clamor for a Chinese wall of protection against the world, while proclaiming that we cannot afford a standard of value which shall create friction in our commercial relations with other nations. They pronounce the failure of reciprocity (which is free trade) a calamity, while with unconscious satire the President himself declares in his message to Congress that duties should be so imposed as to relieve and encourage agriculture.

One of the gems of economic truth endorsed by the Repub-

lican party during the late campaign, was the statement that "Government cannot enrich one man without despoiling another." But the protective tariff, which the father of lies invented, and which protects a man from getting the value of his money or his work, has enriched a hundred people by $5,000,000 each, and despoiled 5,000,000 families of $100 each, has given us infamous pension laws, river and harbor iniquities, senators from Havemeyer, government by trusts, elections by syndicates, and made of Congress a clearing-house for boodle.

Since the gold standard is imperilled, if not doomed, by the people, since the chaos of paper tokens threatens, let us pluck the flower safety from the nettle danger, put ourselves squarely upon a basis of silver, or silver and gold alternatively, sell the few bonds necessary to put gold or silver behind every outstanding greenback and Treasury note, call on the National Banks to substitute notes or coin for the bonds which secure their issues, throw open our ports to the world, and fight for its trade. There is nothing revolutionary in this suggestion. It is a logical deduction from the plainest principles of political and financial economy, considered with reference to the prejudices, tendencies, and convictions of the people.

Wily diplomatists of Europe will no longer dangle a bogy bimetallism for our immature commissioners to jump at. They will be facing a situation replete with interesting possibilities to their own people. The battle of the standards will be a merry and a manly one, with the issues by no means certain, but with the coming commercial supremacy of the United States never in doubt.

II. NOTES ON THE REFORM OF THE CURRENCY.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

THE question of reforming the currency is perhaps the most important subject now before the American public. The decision of this question touches profoundly every interest in the industrial, commercial, and social life of the American people. This question may be decided in a manward or a moneyward way: that is, it may be so decided as to conduce powerfully to the welfare of the people, or so decided as to injure and degrade the people in order that the money power may flourish over them.

We should consider this great subject calmly and dispassionately from every point of view. Men in different stations, connected with different interests and holding diverse opinions, should set forth in a rational and logical way their respective views as to what should be done to secure for the people of the United States an honest and adequate circulating medium, and to make that medium acceptable to all classes and for all purposes of commercial exchange.

It is for this reason that I have willingly admitted to the pages of THE ARENA the able and highly instructive exposition of the subject by Mr. Anthony W. Dimock. Mr. Dimock's life has been passed in the great money centre of our country. He has acquired the knowledge and discipline which come to men of large talents in that gigantic arena of conflict, the stock exchange of New York. There for years he has heard the high winds blow and the storms of contention roar. He has heard the avalanche and the thunder. He has seen the mountains rush down into the sea. He has witnessed the wreck of a thousand fortunes—the cataclysm of banks, the conflagration of stocks, the bursting of bubbles, the upheaval and the swallowing of shares, the engulfing of railways, the breaking of corners, and all the indescribable phenomena of that maelstrom of whirling hope and despair. He has stood in the very throat of it and seen the swallowing up of millions, until the spectacle has become as familiar to his eyes as the sunrise to a farmer.

This manner of life has given Mr. Dimock the information and the discernment requisite for the discussion of the great subject presented in his paper. He brings to his task undoubted ability. His discussion of the subject is fearless, and, we believe, honest. In this respect it differs by a whole horizon from the paid, casuistical stuff that generally issues from Wall Street. His article is a valuable contribution to the literature of this immense theme. It is because we believe it to be an honest expression of an able and experienced man that we have opened the columns of the Magazine of the People to admit it.

For what is the duty of such a magazine as THE ARENA? This magazine has for its *raison d'être* the betterment of conditions in American society. Its motive is easily understood. We are not in love with the existing order in society and state. On the contrary, we believe that the existing order should be reformed. We want to see a new order instituted having for its foundation principle the democracy of man.

To this end it is the purpose of the magazine to discover and disseminate the truth. We have no other design. It is because of the cherishing of ulterior designs that the journalism of the United States has justly fallen under almost universal distrust. We do not want the distrust to become universal, or to be justified by the facts.

Acting from these fundamental principles, how shall the editorial management of a magazine be conducted in the interest of the people? Of class journalism we have had enough and to spare. Class journalism has had and still has the American public in its clutches. The duty of an editor in the conduct of so great and responsible an engine as a magazine is not always and easily discoverable. Our purpose here is to do right—but always to promote the people's cause. We want, moreover, to mix an ethical sweetness with the editorial bitter draught, to the end that the people taking our cup shall not drink death.

Shall we then presume to say with certainty what shall and what shall not be admitted into the Magazine of the People? This we can say with certainty, that nothing shall be admitted which is *purposely* and *manifestly* false. The coming of in-

terested productions, conceived in the very spirit of untruth, is as a river that flows always; but there are many other productions which are not false, but only erroneous. There are many which are true in their spirit and general intent, but are incidentally erroneous in certain parts. Very few are altogether true. A magazine made up of articles wholly true would no doubt be too much for this world. Like oxygen, it would be too rich for the race in its present physiological and ethical state of being.

Under these conditions, then, we publish Mr. Dimock's article. There are only a few points in the contribution to which I feel it my duty to take exceptions. In the first place Mr. Dimock seems to believe that the monetary system of the United States and the world may be made to rest on a unit of gold. According to our opinion this can only be done by reducing the producers of the world to a condition of industrial slavery. For what have we witnessed since the scheme was put in operation to place the exchanges of the world on a basis of gold only? We have witnessed a constant rise in the price of that metal, and a constant decline in the prices of all things else. The decline in the prices of products has been neither more nor less than the index of the ever-advancing price of gold. To make the prices of all the products of human industry to be dependent on one thing, and to place that one thing under conditions in which its relative value must constantly increase at the expense of all besides, is to rob industry of its reward and to reduce the laborer to poverty and vassalage.

Aye, more. To use *any* metal, or any *two* metals, in this office of fundamental money—these metals being commodities of the world's market and subject to the forces that prevail in that arena—is to bring *finally* the same result. The *ultimate* solution of the money question can never, according to our opinion, be reached until the quantitative theory shall prevail to the extent of producing a medium of exchange which is based upon *the average of all values*, determined by an index and expressed in a counter which shall be supported simply by the power of the law and the sovereignty of the nation. Before this can be done civilization will no doubt have

to improve. A new political code will have to supervene. The prevailing spirit of *mala fides* will have to be exterminated from nations and men.

I feel sure that Mr. Dimock, inclining to a single basis of gold for the currency which he proposes, has not really studied the inadequacy of such a foundation for the exchanging medium of the world. To my mind it appears preposterous to suppose that such an enormous fact as the commerce of the world can be made to rest upon three hundred and ninety-three cubic yards of gold! That, according to the best calculations, is the so-called "visible supply" of the yellow metal. If this bulk should be cast into pellets of the size of small hazelnuts, there would not be one pellet apiece for the sons of men—to say nothing about the daughters of women. It is literally true that if all the gold existing should be made into pills, the workingmen of the world could swallow it all before breakfast, and not six hundred of them would ever know the difference!

It is in vain that the *Bankers' Magazine* and all the multitudinous offspring of that prolific mother of lies should shout about "the increasing supply of gold," "the deluge of gold," "the new gold fields," etc. The simple fact remains that civilization is constantly encroaching upon the supply of the precious metals, insomuch that it is doubtful whether the gold *coin* of the world is at the present time actually increasing at all. The amount of gold withdrawn each year from coinage and from the bullion supply is so great that it is doubtful whether the coin supply is increasing or can increase under existing conditions.

Meanwhile the volume of products is multiplying year by year, and the quickened methods of commerce have become so intense as to require a medium ten times or a hundred times as plentiful as that which sufficed in the seventeenth or even the eighteenth century. Note well to what an extent the other apparatus of exchange has been multiplied. Suppose that the present enormous volume of production should be put back upon the means of conveyance which were in existence before the invention of steam navigation and the construction of railways. What an infinite stoppage and paralysis there

would be throughout the world! And yet such stoppage and paralysis could hardly be worse than that which will *ultimately* result from the attempt to transact the business of the world on a foundation composed of three hundred and ninety-three cubic yards of gold.

If by an "elastic currency" Mr. Dimock means a currency that can be expanded to infinity by the banks and then contracted to zero by them at their will, then we fully agree with him that an elastic currency is a mockery and a curse. But if we are to understand by an elastic currency, a currency that will *expand* proportionally to the demands of civilization for a medium of exchange, then an elastic currency would prove the greatest blessing of the whole industrial world. We must have, and the civilized life will demand, a circulating medium that shall never contract at all—this for the simple reason that the human race does not contract, but constantly expands. A corresponding increase of money is as much a necessity as is a correlative supply of food. It is as absurd to suppose that the old money and money system of, say, the middle of the nineteenth century will suffice for the new race of men who flourish at the close of the century, as to suppose that the shoes worn by General Scott's army in Mexico will supply the standing armies of Europe. If Mr. Dimock will note thoughtfully what we here present, he will see the inadequacy of the single basis of gold in upholding the transactions of the producing and exchanging world. In that event he will be obliged to reconsider his confident assertions in the first part of his contribution.

After we pass the first six pages of Mr. Dimock's article we fall into a current upon which we may embark with him in a less discordant frame of mind. The excoriation which he gives the government of the United States and the bond syndicate of 1894 is as well deserved as it is irrefutable and caustic. His description of the manner in which the Cleveland administration went into partnership with the gold gamblers, and robbed the American people of multiplied millions of dollars, is as well and faithfully drawn as if we had done the work ourselves! In like manner his treatment of the national banking system is about as good a review of that preposterous

and impossible institution as we have anywhere seen—except always that nobody can do the subject justice. In this part of Mr. Dimock's paper there is much to be commended. But I pass to consider the writer's criticism of bimetallism as a system, and of the bimetallic standard as a fact.

To this part of the article I answer that bimetallism is the option of the debtor to pay in either of two legal units according to his pleasure, his convenience, and the plentifulness of the given kind. It may be that such a monetary system will, as Mr. Dimock intimates, stand first on one foot and then on the other. That is what a man does when he walks! A one-legged man is neither graceful nor efficient. Suppose that there *are* two legs and two feet. Suppose the industrial body *does* rest first on one foot and then on the other. What of it? That is the way to walk. And as to names and phraseology we shall not quarrel with Mr. Dimock. If he prefers to designate the double system as an *alternating* standard instead of a *bimetallic* standard, all well and good. Let it be so. We will concede to him the nomenclature if he will concede to us the fact. But be assured we will have the fact. The substance of the thing *we will have;* and no power on earth shall prevent us. We intend, in a word, to restore silver to its old-time standard monetary uses without abridgment or restriction, and on a perfect equality with gold, and we will do this in spite of the world, the flesh, and the devil.

But if Mr. Dimock cannot accept the name or the theory of a bimetallic standard, he makes amends for this failure to embrace what we think is the true theory by a splendid demonstration of what will come when we have the free coinage of silver. He shows the inevitable result. No one has done this in a better way. We ask our readers to peruse with great care the four paragraphs beginning on page 319 with the words, "The statesman who comprehends," etc.

These paragraphs we fling down as a challenge at the feet of the opponents of free coinage. We dare them to take it up. We dare them to deny. They shall either accept this challenge which Mr. Dimock, himself in the better sense a representative of the money power, makes, or we will taunt them into silence under the shadow of their own cowardice. Mr.

Dimock proves by right reason and the citation of incontrovertible fact the very thing for which all sensible bimetallists have for years contended, and that is, that with the free coinage of silver and the consequent increased demand therefor and the limitation of the supply, and the necessarily decreased demand for gold, the price of the first would inevitably rise and the price of the second inevitably fall, until a parity of values at the statutory ratio would inevitably ensue. Than this there is nothing more certain in the realm of sound reason and demonstration. Mr. Dimock proves it beyond the possibility of controversy. His proof of this fundamental contention of the bimetallists is so conclusive and overwhelming that those features of his contribution which we think we have shown to be erroneous may well be passed by in the light of the great service which he has performed in the better parts of his article.

A SINGLE STANDARD FOR THE WORLD.

BY FRANCIS E. WOODRUFF.

FOR more than a quarter of a century it has been the duty of the writer, as a Commissioner of Customs, to watch and report on the course of trade at one or other of the treaty ports of China; and one result of the labor and experience has been amazement that men in general can be so unmindful of the importance to trade, and therefore to all mankind, of a stable standard, or measure, of value. In the domestic trade of China, for example, the only standard coin are the so-called copper or brass "cash." These, becoming scarce through insufficient minting during and after the close of the Taiping rebellion, were supplemented in the circulation by inferior cash made by surreptitiously melting standard cash and recasting them into two or more smaller ones; and these again were supplemented by still worse spurious cash. Naturally, under economic laws these "cheaper" cash tended to drive the "dearer" cash out of circulation, to the further and fluctuating increase through scarcity of the value of the remaining standard cash in exchange with other commodities, including silver. This is used in larger transactions, but passes almost exclusively by the weight and purity of the ingots or coined dollars (to a limited extent) circulated. The weight of the unit (the "tael," or ounce), the money balances used by buyer and seller, the degree of purity required in trade, and the accuracy of the crude assays all vary between provinces, even between districts and towns. In addition, the fluctuating fall from monetary causes in the value of silver and the rise from trade causes in the value of copper have accentuated the relative variations between the "cash" and silver until now the delay, waste, and serious losses incurred in making exchanges, and the consequent suffering of the people, are lamentable. The government's efforts to remedy the evil have failed not only because of its own and other governments' shortcomings, but also very largely because of

the powerful opposition of the Chinese bankers and other experts in money, who alone profit, at the expense of the people, by this instability of China's measure of value.

Coming now to its foreign trade, in the early days of the writer's service silver alone or coupled with gold was used as standard money by all the world except England and Portugal, and the sufficiently stable market ratio of the two metals served as a joint and single measure for the world of commerce. There were of course fluctuations in exchange from trade causes, but "exchange" was not a material factor in commercial transactions. After 1870 the Western nations began changing from the joint to the gold measure, until now perhaps one-third of mankind has thrown the whole burden on gold alone, while only two-thirds still use silver as standard money, and its free-coinage demand has been suspended by many of them. "Exchange" has become the deadly foe of the commerce between the East and the West, and the instability of the measure in the domestic trade of China has been increased. There is evidence, moreover, of increased instability of the gold measure in Western countries that has done serious injury to their agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests.

During all these years it has been the writer's duty to watch this growing instability of the world's measure of value, search for its causes, and note its effects. The evil has been brought the nearer home to him because among the merchants on whom the blow has fallen are many friends, and because it has caused heavy losses for the members of the service to which he, until very recently, belonged. Feeling keenly for the suffering that seems to him needlessly inflicted on mankind, he gives in this paper some result of his experience and labor, in the hope that it may help.

To make clear the causes of the present condition of the world's measures of value, it is necessary to first briefly review the past, and the late General Walker's "International Bimetallism" (1896) has been taken as the guide, not only because it is exceptionally lucid, but also because it is easily accessible to all for reference. In the early centuries of our

era the mining of gold and silver practically ceased, and the existing stock was in time reduced to a small fraction of its former mass. By the thirteenth century some small additions had been made, but when America was discovered the entire stock in Europe was, it is estimated, only $193,000,000, though in Asia there is supposed to have been a larger supply.

As the figures for 1492 are not only insignificant, but are also less trustworthy than those that follow, the estimated production from that date to 1600 is taken as the world's existing stock in the latter year for use in the following comparative statement (in fine ounces: 000,000's omitted) of the increased stocks on the succeeding dates named:

Year	1600	1700	1800	1850	1875	1895
Gold	24	53	115	153	306	424
Silver	727	1,924	3,757	4,810	5,819	8,007

It will be observed that, comparing 1895 with 1600, the stock of gold was seventeen, and the stock of silver eleven, times greater. These figures and those from which the following tables have been calculated, are practically all, though not all at first-hand, taken from the publications of the "Royal Commission" and the United States Mint, and are the most accurate obtainable; but where "estimate" is a factor, close deductions drawn as though such statistics are of mathematical exactness may be very mischievous. If, though, only broad results are sought, they can be made useful; and from the figures above it is safe to say that the stocks have increased enormously, and that gold has increased somewhat more rapidly than silver, which, however, had increased more rapidly than gold between 1492 and 1600.

Even before the discovery of America, however, the small additions to the stock from other sources had in the thirteenth century been sufficient to bring about a renewal in Europe of the coinage of gold; and so began the modern question of the ratio. For some hundreds of years it was complicated and obscured by other currency troubles, such as an insufficient supply (at the first) of the money metals; a prevalent belief that a nation's gold and silver money was its only true wealth and should be obtained by hook or by crook from other

nations; government false rating and debasement, private sweating and counterfeiting, of coin; and the failure to issue fractional coins as tokens only. Except the latter, which has since been put right, all those defects had been fairly remedied by the end of the eighteenth century, and the ratio was the one important question left.

The world regarding the coin, instead of the value of the coin, as the point at issue, could not understand why sometimes the gold and sometimes the silver coin would "disappear" from the circulation of a country. In 1717 Sir Isaac Newton had pointed out, in effect, that the "disappearance" was due to the coin being taken from a country where they were rated less in the legal ratio to a country where they were rated more, so would exchange at a profit—gold, for example, taken from a country with a legal ratio making it equal to only $15\frac{1}{2}$ of silver to a country where the ratio made it equal to 16 of silver, made a profit of $0\frac{1}{2}$ silver, less cost of sending—and that the remedy was to have the same legal ratio as the other countries. The good advice, however, was forgotten, and a theory was started that the "disappearance" was because the "cheaper" must always "drive out" the "dearer" money (which is true), so that it is impossible for a country to keep coin of both metals in concurrent circulation (which is not true; because with an uniform ratio internationally it is obvious that there cannot be either "cheaper" or "dearer" coin internationally in the sense in which the words were used).

In 1816, when under the stress of the Napoleonic wars just ended England was still using the inconvertible paper money it had used for years, and it became necessary to prepare for a resumption of specie payments, this theory was brought to the front, and the leaders of England, without any popular demand for a change in the standard, and ignoring Sir Isaac Newton's uniform ratio (perhaps because international agreement was less frequent and friendly then than now), adopted the theory as the law by making gold the sole money of full value, and changing silver from standard to subsidiary money. It doubtless seemed to the leaders that if there were no longer two standard metals in the country, it was impossi-

ble that there should be "cheaper" coin to "drive out" the "dearer," so England could always keep her gold; but those wiser men than Sir Isaac Newton had not considered that the money metals circulate internationally, and before the end of the century authorities like Mr. Bagehot and Mr. Goschen had become very anxious lest the demand of foreign nations should "drive out" their one standard metal until the gold reserve fell below the danger minimum and panic ensued.

Not only did England partly fail to remedy the defect it aimed at, but in altering its own, and consequently the world's, relative demand for silver and gold it initiated a new currency trouble, because it set an example to the other nations of "monkeying" with the world's measure of value. Happily the example was not followed until France, which in 1803 had passed a law for the free coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 15½ to 1, approximately the market ratio, had been given opportunity to show the world what one nation's balance-wheel could do for the stability of the measure of value. The United States also gave the world an object-lesson in showing how by in 1792 undervaluing gold in its legal ratio it could attract silver to its currency, and by undervaluing silver in 1834 it could attract gold; but if it had in 1792 adopted the ratio of France (then 15½ to 1), and had kept to it, the lesson might have been more valuable.

In the fifties came the "Gold Panic." Within ten or twelve years it is estimated that the stock of gold in the hands of civilized man literally doubled and it was feared that its value would fall to a level which would mean universal bankruptcy. Holland, Portugal, Belgium, Russia, Germany, and Austria took limited or temporary action against gold and in favor of silver; but France, England, the United States, and other nations stood firm. For obvious reasons these changes in monetary demand must be regarded as rather significant of the dread inspired by the flood of gold than important in themselves.

In 1865-7 the Latin Union was formed. In the latter year a conference at Paris, in order to make world-wide unification of coinage practicable, recommended monometallism, and that the one metal be gold, as a metal that from the recent

experience was likely to become highly and permanently abundant. In 1871, after the war with France, the new Empire of Germany, in unifying the coinage of its previously divided states, with the example of England and the recommendation of the Paris Conference to influence its opinion, adopted the gold standard, and put the decision in force under an act of July, 1873. In 1873-4 the United States (then on a paper basis) demonetized silver; and in 1873-6 the Latin Union first limited, then discontinued, the free coinage of silver (alas! the balance wheel was gone!). Meanwhile, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark had adopted the gold standard; Holland had prohibited the coinage of silver; and Russia had suspended it, except for "trade" coin. Since then some other nations, Japan the latest, have one by one demonetized silver in favor of gold. In 1878 the United States nominally remonetized silver, but did not grant free coinage; and in the same year and 1890 passed unsuccessful laws for its limited coinage by the government, which in 1893 it rescinded. In 1879 it had resumed specie payments. In 1893 India suspended silver coinage.

The period since 1870 has thus evidently been one of enormous changes in monetary demand. From 1876 to 1895 the production of gold was again unusually large, while that of silver, which had been moderate in the period 1850 to 1875, also became unusual, but proportionately to the respective stocks not to the same extent as gold.

It is time now to try to find out something about the stability of the world's measure of value during the centuries that have been briefly reviewed. Considered relatively to commodities, the measure since the thirteenth century has lost heavily in purchasing power, as would be expected from the enormously increased stocks of the metals, against which, however, must be set an enormously increased demand for money from the growth of commerce. Regarding the degree of stability indicated by the fluctuations in value of the metals relatively with each other, the average market ratio for the period 1501-20, Dr. Soetbeer tells us, was 10.75 to 1. It moved gradually until in 1601-20 it was 12.25; quickly to

14.00 in 1621-40; gradually through 14.00 and 15.00 to 15.56 in 1801-20, when England resumed specie payments after adopting the gold standard; gradually again from 15.77 in 1821-40 to 15.48 in 1861-70, and 15.98 in 1871-75; and after the great change in monetary demand, rapidly to 27.08 in 1891-5.

In so far as supply goes, the more rapid increase in the supply of gold should, instead of making it gain purchasing power, have made it lose purchasing power relatively with silver; but this, as it would then buy less silver, would have made the figures of the ratio less, 12, for example, in place of 14; but instead they have become more, 16, for example, instead of 14; so some other force must have overcome the effect of supply on their value relatively with each other. The comparatively small but sudden change in the seventeenth century, from 12.25 to 14.00, at a time when stocks were limited in amount, and a variation in relative supply (the production of silver was relatively excessive) might be expected to have a greater effect than with the very much larger stocks of the present day, was attributed by Dr. Soetbeer, in the "Materials," largely to an increased demand for gold for purposes of war and trade; and a relatively greater increase during the succeeding centuries of international and other forms of the more wholesale commerce of the world (for which gold money is the most convenient) than of the smaller but more numerous exchanges (for which silver money is most convenient) may have increased the demand for and consequently the value of gold more than the demand for and value of silver.

The inconsiderable effect of England's solitary defection from the world's camp was apparently due to the fact that the monetary demand for both silver and gold of the rest of the world between 1816 and 1870 was sufficient to keep the market ratio up to about the same level as before 1816, which was so nearly France's legal ratio that its balance-wheel was powerful enough to carry off the fluctuations caused by England's changed demand and by the abnormal gold supply after 1850, and so kept the world's measure of value sufficiently stable for the needs of commerce. But when to England's changed demand was added the changed demand of other na-

tions, the market ratio soon began to be so much changed that France and the Latin Union felt unable to longer continue their good work. But, whatever the cause of the changes in the ratio from 1501 may have been, they were sufficiently gradual until 1870 not to hamper trade, for while there were very many bitter complaints over the difficulties with coin, none were heard of regarding fluctuations in the relative value of silver and gold, that is, regarding the stability of the world's joint-measure of value, until after the great change in monetary demand at the latter date; but since then the air has been full of them.

Evidently, then, the period from, say, 1850 to 1895, a period of extraordinary fluctuations in both monetary supply and monetary demand, will repay a closer study, for which fortunately there are materials. And, first, of the stability of the measure relatively to commodities something can be learned from Mr. Sauerbeck's index number of gold prices from 1846, and Mr. Atkinson's (see *Yale Review*, May, 1897) index numbers of silver prices, which go back only to 1861. The averages for each five years are given herewith, and the approximate date when the great change in monetary demand became operative through the joining of other nations with England is marked between 1875 and 1876 as a natural dividing line between the first and second parts of the period under review; production having been excessive in both, but the great changes in monetary demand only from 1871-75.

Period	1846-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-90	91-95
Gold Prices	82.6	90.2	98	101.6	99	103.6	89.4	79.8	70.2	66.4
Silver Prices				106	123	106	129	109	118	133

To treat of gold prices first, it will be seen that up to the changes in demand they rose. In the opinion of Jevons and others a great part at least of the rise was due to the loss of purchasing power of the then joint-measure caused by the abnormal increase in the supply of gold after 1850. The rise would have been greater but for two causes: the first was, that commodities were also losing purchasing power through the cheapening of the cost of production by improved methods. An illustration may make more clear the effect of this on

prices. Suppose the value, the purchasing power, of both measure and commodity each to have been 18 in 1850, so that the price would have been 1, and that by 1875 the measure had lost $\frac{1}{3}$ purchasing power, so that it would then take 24-measure to buy 18-commodity, but that the commodity had lost $\frac{1}{6}$ purchasing power, so that it would take 21-commodity to equal the 18-measure of 1850 or the 24-measure of 1875, then in 1875 the price would have been $\frac{24}{21}$, or $1\frac{3}{21}$, instead of 1, as in 1850; but if the commodity had not lost $\frac{1}{6}$ purchasing power it would have been $\frac{24}{18}$, or $1\frac{7}{21}$. The price lists and index numbers of that day, therefore, do not show the full effect of the unusual increase in the supply of gold.

Man cannot control the supply of the money metals or the cost of commodities sufficiently to prevent such fluctuations in prices, but so far as the fluctuations are due to instability of the measure he can lessen them, and he did so up to the great change in demand. For in the opinion of eminent economists the second cause why prices did not go higher was that gold was linked, by a market ratio sufficiently unvarying for commercial purposes, to silver, which had not shared in the unusually excessive supply. This may be illustrated by dividing the stocks of silver from 1850 to 1875 by $15\frac{1}{2}$, the approximate ratio, to put them on a like footing as to value with the gold stocks, so that when added to the gold stocks the volume in ounces of purchasing power of the joint measure at the dates named would be approximately shown. To make comparison more easy, the volume in 1850 is taken as 100, and the volume at the following dates is rated to it in hundredths. The similar figures are carried on after 1875, still at $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, to illustrate what would no doubt have happened if the link in the joint measure had not been broken by the change in monetary demand. The estimated weights of gold and silver stocks are also shown in full, and separately:

Year	1865	1875	1885	1895
Gold Stock (weight)	162	200	234	278
Silver Stock (weight)	110	121	139	166
Joint Measure (value)	125	142	165	196

It will be seen that the number of hundredths of increase from 1851 to 1875 inclusive was for gold stock 100, for the silver stock 21, and consequently for the joint measure only 42 instead of 100; from 1876 to 1895 the increase was for gold 78, for silver 45, and but for the change of monetary demand it would have been for the joint measure only 54 instead of 78. This seems to clearly indicate a greater stability for the joint measure, and that this did help to keep gold prices from going higher in the first half of the period.

Coming now to the second half, we find the gold prices that had been rising till 1875 making a sudden "'bout face" and beginning a fall that has been continuous till now (1896). The late Mr. Ernest Seyd, in his famous prophecy, made in 1871, that a general decline of prosperity all over the world would be a consequence of the gold valuation by other states besides England, predicted that "the economical authorities will refuse to listen to the cause [the destruction of the monetary equilibrium] here foreshadowed; every possible attempt will be made to prove that the decline of commerce is due to all sorts of causes." The prophecy is fulfilled when economists whom we all respect for their good work in other directions try to prove by statistics that the depressing fall in gold prices has been wholly due to the beneficial cheapening of the cost of commodities, although it stands to reason that, as the cheapening through improved methods began well back in the century, if it had been the sole cause of the fall it must also have caused prices to fall between 1850 and 1875; but instead of falling they rose!

That prices should rise in that period notwithstanding the cheapening of commodities would naturally be expected from the enormously increased supply of the money metals; but a continuance of the then rising gold prices after 1875 would also be naturally expected because of the further enormous increase in the supply of gold, which, increasing 100 per cent in the twenty-five years between 1850 and 1875, in the twenty years 1876 to 1895 increased 78 per cent, or at the rate of 97.5 per cent for twenty-five years. Further, the effect was increased by a marked cheapening after 1875 of

the cost of production of the money metals through wonderfully improved processes, and by improved communications with the mines; the combined causes tending to greatly lessen the value of standard gold coin and consequently to greatly raise the prices measured in them. That instead of this rise there should have been a sudden and great fall in gold prices clearly indicates that there must have been a sudden and great force that has more than overcome the effect from supply, and joined the cheapening of commodities in compelling the "'bout face." The great and sudden change in monetary demand is at least under grave suspicion!

Turning now to silver prices it should first be said that because the price lists and other sources of information are less complete and trustworthy, silver index numbers cannot with most painstaking effort be made even so nearly approximate to the truth as gold index numbers. Taking them for what they are worth, silver prices, silver then being linked to gold, seem, like gold prices, to have risen until 1875. In 1876-85, after there had been time for the change in monetary demand to make itself felt in India, they seem to have fallen. That, in face of the lowering of purchasing power (through improved communications, and through competition) of some of India's staple commodities, the prices have since risen is presumably evidence that the silver measure has lost purchasing power. This was long doubted. In the Herschell Report (May, 1893), regarding the proposed suspension (June, 1893) of silver coinage, however, Section 31 states that,

> Down to a comparatively late date it was generally believed that notwithstanding a fall in the gold value of silver, prices in India had been practically unaltered; but the evidence before us points to the conclusion that during recent years the silver price of Indian produce has risen. If, as experience shows, wages respond more slowly to the alteration in the value of the standard, this rise in the price of produce must have been prejudicial to the wage-earning class.

After an inquiry in a city in China in 1892, but with scanty sources of information, the writer felt no doubt that silver had lost purchasing power locally, although not to a very considerable extent; at present, however, its fluctuations in value cause serious trouble throughout China. Both the gold

and the silver measure have thus lost stability relatively to commodities since they ceased to be the world's joint-measure.

To show the degree of stability of the world's measure as indicated by the fluctuations in the relative value of silver and gold between 1851 and 1895, the ratio of France, 15½ to 1 (the average ratio for the period 1801 to 1850 was 15.70 to 1), has been taken as par, and the average for each succeeding period named has been rated to it in hundredths. For convenience of reference the figures for gold and silver stocks at the end of the years 1865, 1875, 1885, and 1895 are repeated.

Period	1851-65	1866-75	1876-85	1886-95
The Ratio (value)	98	100.5	116	152.5
Gold Stock (weight)	162	200	234	278
Silver Stock (weight)	110	121	139	166

It is seen that, while the average ratio varied only two hundredths from par up to 1875, it varied fifty-two hundredths in the period 1876-95. It is contended by monometallists that the increasing of the demand for gold through the addition to it of the free-coinage demand previously given to but now taken away from silver, has been offset by a lessening of demand through a larger use of banknotes and other credit moneys; but credit moneys increase as well as lessen demand and value, and it is doubtful whether the net result is not on the side of increase. Even, however, if these substitutes do tend to lessen demand, there was no sudden and enormous increase in their use between 1870 and 1878 to correspondingly lessen the sudden and enormous increase during that period in the demand for gold.

Still, contending that there has been no increase of demand, monometallists allege that the great relative fluctuations in the second period have been due to two causes. The first is that the cheapening of the cost of production has been much greater for silver than for gold. The information on the subject is unfortunately very scanty, but so far as the writer can after many inquiries ascertain, the cheapening through improved processes has been about the same for both metals,

so could not have materially affected their relative value; and as freight charges are usually reckoned on the value of the treasure carried, improved communication with the mines could have had no effect whatever on their relative value. The second alleged cause is a relatively increased supply of silver; but between 1850 and 1895 the stock of gold increased 178 per cent, and that of silver only 66 per cent; so, if supply were the cause, the figures of the ratio must have been diminished, not increased. (It is to be greatly regretted that eminent economists and reputable journals give their readers the impression that silver has increased more than gold, when the reverse is true.) Moreover, when in the twenty-five years, 1851 to 1875, the supply of gold increased 100 against silver's 21, say five to one, yet could not move the ratio more than two, it is inconceivable that a fluctuation in the twenty years, 1876 to 1895, of 78 gold to 45 silver, say only two to one, could move the ratio fifty-two, and in the wrong direction! Of course these figures are only approximate, but the difference between two and fifty-two is so great that there can be no doubt they give a truthful impression. Again there must be some other cause than supply.

Before deciding what that cause has been it is necessary to inquire into the characteristics of the economic forces known as demand and supply. Demand and supply are the same in kind for all commodities, including gold and silver; but differ in degree. The supply of wheat, for example, is the surplus from a few past years added to the current year's production; the supply of gold or silver is the total available stock that has been accumulating for centuries notwithstanding wear and tear. The unusually large accretions of gold and silver in 1895 were only a little over two per cent each of the stocks existing at the end of 1894. The annual average during the forty-five years (1851-95) of extraordinary production was only some four per cent for gold and one and one-half per cent for silver, of the stocks of 1850. It is plain that the annual accretion to the wheat supply must affect its value more than a corresponding accretion to the gold or silver supply.

Again, the demand for food and clothing is satisfied when mankind is clothed and fed; but men are always ready for more money, so that the monetary demand is in a sense unlimited; and the mints coin all the standard metal that comes. Moreover, where there are legal-tender laws the monetary demand for standard coin is a monopoly demand; nothing else can be used as legal tender. For these two reasons the monetary demand for standard coin is infinitely the strongest of commercial demands.

When there is a double legal tender there are two of these mighty forces, interfered with only by comparatively trifling annual increases of supply, bearing up the values of the two metals. If the demand increases more than supply, the values must increase; if the demand decreases more than supply, the values must decrease. If the current demand favors one of the metals, it therefore pushes the value of the favored metal above the legal ratio, and that metal becomes the "dearer"; the "dearer" is then less favored in making payments, and demand favors the "cheaper" until this in turn becomes the "dearer"; and so the values of the gold and silver standard coin, using the top of the legal ratio as a fulcrum, keep on seesawing within such narrow limits that the seesaw, which is another name for the market ratio, or the joint measure of value, is continuously sufficiently stable for commercial purposes. Even with the differing legal ratios of the past that caused the coin to "disappear," so overpowering was the force of monetary demand that, as Mr. Rothwell tells us, although from 1680 to 1700 the gold and silver stocks by weight were in nearly the same proportion as in 1892, the value was 15 to 1 during the former, 23.73 to 1 at the latter period; from 1700 to 1870 the value ratio (annual averages) varied only between $14\frac{1}{4}$ and $16\frac{1}{4}$ to 1, while the production-ratio varied between four and fifty of silver to one of gold. Between 1876 and 1895, deprived of the double legal-tender demand, the value ratio fluctuated between 17.22 and 32.50 to 1, and it has since been 40 to 1!

As Sir Isaac Newton told us, the eighteenth-century calamity of the "disappearance" of coin can be converted into a beneficent force to keep the joint measure stable by the simple

device of making the legal ratio exactly the same in all countries. The coin made "dearer" or "cheaper" by the legal ratio would do all their seesawing at home, as nothing would be gained, but instead expense incurred, by going abroad; and even the beneficial but expensive movements of treasure from one country to another to maintain a general level of prices would probably be less frequently needed with world-wide uniformity in monetary demand. To make gold and silver stable relatively to commodities in general is impossible; to make the two money metals stable with each other, and so make a joint measure practicable, is easy.

What has happened since 1870 is that an enormous and sudden then fluctuating change in the strongest of all commercial demands, the monetary demand, has necessarily been followed by an enormous and sudden then fluctuating change in the values of gold and silver. It follows that when the nations again provide the former relative demand, the former relative value and the former relative stability will also be restored.

There is a difference in the instability before and after 1870. Before, man lessened it, but it was in great part unavoidable; after, it has been in great part caused by and is in great part preventable by man. At present the world, instead of having the most stable attainable measure of value, has something more like the most unstable attainable measures of value; and has to hobble to market on two fluctuating legs instead of walking lightly along on stable limbs that move in unison.

In plain language, the world's measure of value has been split into two parts, fluctuating relatively with each other, and each fluctuating more relatively with other commodities than the linked two did prior to 1870, when a more stable monetary demand made them practically a joint and single measure. In the order of things there cannot permanently be two measures for one world. As Sir David Barbour wrote long ago, the present condition is one of unstable equilibrium; the world has no halting-place between a new universal monometallism and the old universal joint-measure. Since he

wrote, his opinion has been justified by the changing of nation after nation to the gold standard. Silver has been so discredited by government action that it may be put out of consideration as the one metal; the choice is between universal gold monometallism and the former universal bimetallism, but at an international ratio of 15½ of silver to 1 of gold. Which would be the better for the world?

It is doubtful whether the former is even practicable. As General Walker tells us:

> Universal monometallism is the new and untried thing. . . . The twenty-three years during which it has been trying to make its way into the light have been years of unparalleled commercial disaster and disturbance; and at the end of that painful period, leading gold monometallists, like Sir Robert Giffen, declare that the system cannot possibly be extended to India and the further East; or like Soetbeer and Lexis of Germany, declare that it has already gone too far in Europe, and that a portion of the ground must be retraced.

If this be true, from the point of view of the measure of value, it is a fatal objection to gold monometallism; because, the money metals circulating internationally, the demand for them must be uniformly treated internationally to attain stability for the measure.

Even if it is practicable, the end can only be reached after great and prolonged suffering. The stock of gold was only one-third greater in 1895 than it was in 1870, but the monetary demand had increased very many times. In 1870 there were perhaps 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 of people who used gold alone as standard money; already there are hundreds of millions who have discarded silver as standard money and thrown the whole burden on gold. Even at the present rate of increase it would be very many decades before the value of the mass of gold alone would, relatively to commodities, be lowered to the level of the value of the linked masses of gold and silver relatively with commodities in 1870, and meanwhile the volume of exchanges has increased; and every time another nation changed to gold there would be an increase of demand and a further tendency to the continuance of falling prices. Monometallists sometimes tell us, it is true, that the world is prosperous and happy during this change from a joint to a gold standard; and while on the one hand

we should not be misled, as they may be, by a growth in volume due to the growth of the world, or by temporary activity in trying to make up for a miscalculation of mankind's indispensable needs the more easily made when enterprise has been checked and business is from hand to mouth, or by exports that mean a loss of confidence leading to withdrawal of investments, or by transient "booms" from increased import duties, or by good crops here, famine there, or the like; on the other hand we should remember that many of the misfortunes for commerce lamented in the trade journals are due to causes other than the present exceptional instability of the measure. It stands to reason, though, that the very serious defect in the measure must be doing very serious harm; and many believe that because of it agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial enterprises are more uncertain of success, and, if successful, on the average less profitable, than before the great change of demand. Their opinion is shared by eminent authorities. Mr. Balfour has said, to again quote from General Walker's book:

> A slow appreciation of the standard of value is probably the most deadening and benumbing influence that can touch the springs of enterprise in a nation.

Prof. Walras has said:

> A permanent condition of falling prices would give us a permanent state of industrial crisis.

Sir Robert Giffen has said:

> An appreciation of the money forced on by a government is simply a measure for disabling the productive powers of the people and making them poorer than they otherwise would be.

Suppose, however, that the world had persevered through many more years of suffering and had reached the end; still, the single gold standard it had thus attained would be greatly inferior in stability to the joint measure it could have to-morrow with the minimum disturbance to commerce from the unavoidable change to a stable monetary equilibrium. Can it be doubted that universal monometallism would mean foolish waste?

In face of the favorable opinions of so many eminent economists, monometallist as well as bimetallist, no one should doubt that once there was an agreement between a sufficient

number of nations, international bimetallism would "work," and from our experience of the effect of the great rise in the value of silver in 1890 it may be hoped that it would "come in" without any perceptible shock to business; many, however, do not believe that an agreement can be made. As a matter of fact, though, a sufficient number of nations would at once enter into the agreement if England would, and England would if the capitalists and bankers of the City of London would. Truth and right—and they are manifestly on the side of the joint standard—are likely to prevail in time even with the City, but the world is not bound to wait for it; only it must be remembered that the mass of the money metals has so largely increased since France was balance-wheel that the greatest of nations can no longer safely try to cope with the task alone. If a sufficient number try, the object-lesson will quickly bring the rest of the world into the circle.

One of the objections of the English monometallists to joining in an agreement is that it would be unfair to ask the "great creditor nation" to accept repayment of debts in money of less value than gold is at present. The interference by legal-tender laws with the money metals, although it changes and may increase the value of the standard, is justified when it does enough more good than harm, but is not justified when it does more harm than good. The action of England in 1816 in itself apparently did no harm except in setting a bad example. The following of that example, voluntarily by some, under the compulsion of the change by other governments, has undoubtedly done the world an unnecessary injury. The other nations are willing to remedy that wrong, and England ought to be even if it loses the enhanced value of the gold caused by its and their action.

Another reason for refusal is that the English currency system is satisfactory to them and they do not want to change it because other nations are in trouble. In this they are again wiser men than the Sir Isaac Newtons of their day, who have told them that their system has a very weak point in that it trusts to one standard metal, and leaves that at the mercy of the demand of the world on the reserve of the Bank of England. Mr. Bagehot's "Lombard Street," for example, is suffi-

ciently explicit; and in 1890 or 1891, when the London *Economist* was uttering one long wail of anxiety, Mr. Goschen, at Leeds, said, in brief:

> Anyone with Bank of England notes could . . . demand sovereigns for them, and unless we had bimetallism, . . . London would remain the centre to which people would come for gold, and no premium could stop its export.

The Bank's reserve was saved from falling below the danger minimum by our folly in passing the Bland and Sherman acts; but the United States may not always be foolish in currency matters, and there can be no reasonable doubt that England's currency system would be greatly strengthened in its weakest point by international bimetallism. In addition, England, like other gold-using countries, is suffering from the present exceptional instability, although unrecognized, still felt, of the gold measure; while hundreds of millions of British subjects are similarly suffering under the silver as well as under the gold standard!

No doubt with the joint standard silver would be increased and gold diminished in value until they met at $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. People living on fixed incomes and unable to make reinvestments would suffer from the loss of the unearned increment through the increased value of gold they have been enjoying these twenty years; but there would be compensation for workers in increased activity and prosperity of trade, and especially for the gold capitalist. "Stagnation" would be at an end, and just as now the diminished earnings of their capital take from the profit of the increased value of their gold, so then the increased earnings would be set off against the decreased value. Their capital itself, also, would be made more secure. The long continuance of falling prices has undoubtedly had a weakening effect, and competent authorities fear that the commercial fabric in England as well as in other countries is no longer strong enough to withstand rough usage; and the falling prices are likely to lead to crises where debtors will become bankrupt and capital be lost.

Some of the debtors, however, may be unwilling to become bankrupt through "an appreciation of the money forced on by a government," and may make hopeless attempts to re-

habilitate the joint measure. It is not wise to blink the danger that if this cannot be done through an international agreement, there may within a few years be a majority of the voters of the United States in favor of free coinage of silver by the United States alone. One has but to travel in the West to feel that the danger is real; the shoe keeps on pinching. If an act were passed for such free coinage, though success would perhaps be theoretically possible, practically it is reasonably certain that under economic laws the standard would change more or less rapidly from the gold to a silver valuation, somewhat higher than at present, owing to our increasing of the demand; but it is reasonably certain also from our experience that the attempt could never go further than the silver party's obtaining control of the executive and legislative branches of the national government. This would be a signal for both home and foreign creditors to hurry their capital out of the country, and the frightfulness of the panic would rouse the majority, including many of the silver party, and put a stop to any attempt at legislation; but not until after much mischief had been done. An article in the July number of the *North American Review* estimates that Europe holds $5,000,000,000 of American securities; the holders could lose a great deal in forced sales and still do better than by leaving them to go to a silver valuation or to be lost altogether in the panic. The suffering caused by the panic would probably be worst in the United States, but it would be very serious all over the commercial world, and not least serious in England.

This is perhaps the gravest, but it is only one of the impending dangers. The breaking of the par of exchange, for example, has narrowed the field for gold capital, and competition has led to hazardous investments; India's sufferings through having to pay double on the gold debt, and losing half on its savings, may become acute; war, famine, and pestilence may come. The world has to be always confronting similar impending dangers, but at present, because of its defective measure of value, it is in an unusually insecure position on a path that leads to ruin; and it seems only the part of prudence to seek a safer place. Happily, however, world-wide catastrophes often take a long time in coming; but a reason why

England especially should promptly try to get out of danger while yet there is time, is given in Mr. Seyd's prophecy of 1871:

> The great danger of the time will then be that among all this confusion and strife [over the cause of the depression of commerce] England's supremacy in commerce and manufactures may go backwards to an extent which cannot be redressed when the real cause becomes recognized and the natural remedy [for the destruction of the monetary equilibrium hitherto existing] is applied.

In the growth of manufactures in silver-using countries is there a sign of the beginning of the end of the supremacy?

Morally, the whole world is responsible for the accomplishing of the needed change to a monetary equilibrium, but France and the Latin Union have already done noble service for the world's measure, and have a right to expect others to bear the brunt of the work; all that they do to help, though, will help themselves. The great nations, England first, Germany second, and the United States third, joined in mangling the world's measure of value, and ought to be the first to join in putting it together again; their aiding to give a single standard to the world once more cannot but add greatly to the happiness and prosperity of their own nations, and of all mankind. The writer respectfully ventures to say to these great nations, and to the world, do be sensible!

COMMISSIONER HARRIS'S "STATISTICS AND SOCIALISM."

BY GEORGE WILSON.

TO understand the question of socialism one ought to know the history of our fathers the pastoral Aryans of the steppes of Russia. To understand that he should know the habitat, an excellent idea of which can be had from Leroy-Beaulieu's article in the August 15th, 1873, number of the *Revue Des Deux Mondes* on "Russia and the Russians of the Steppes." There our fathers lived in the stage that precedes the first step in evolution, "an incoherent homogeneity." They raised and milked and worked cattle, but had not tamed or ridden the horse, mainly perhaps because they were so large and the horses were so small. They hunted the horse as game and ate him. There was room enough for all, all were Goths (from a root that means shepherds), and they were in the patriarchal state. Into their ideal life came, as a fly into the precious ointment of the apothecary, the small, fierce Mongols from the east, who had tamed "the swift one," as the horse is called in Sanskrit, and who used bows as weapons. Kalmuk is probably from the Sanskrit *karmuka*, a bow. Family by family they could beat the Aryans backward towards the west, and when there was no other west than the sea the Aryans took the first step in socialism for protection against the Mongols. The Turanian Comanche raiding the herds of the yellow-haired Texan was nearly a repetition of the state of affairs on the steppes millenniums ago. Forced to live closer together for protection, we find our fathers having for each family a *tun*, or "home-field," and all the rest was "commons."

The children of our Aryan brothers who stayed behind when ours came to Northumbria and thence to America, are the white people of Russia, the finest race in the world; and they are about ending the long struggle between our race and

the Turanian as they place one hand on China and the other on Turkey.

Huxley says that there were four prehistoric races in Europe: in the north and east the tall, blond long-heads and tall, blond broad-heads; in the south and west the short, brunet long-heads and short, brunet broad-heads. Both of these latter were town-people, probably lake- and river-dwellers. With their descendants it is likely the town-making Phœnicians (miscalled Semites, from their likeness to their half-breed Jewish descendants) blended. These fair and light stocks are the progenitors of the socialistic and the individualistic types among us to-day. The Northmen are in Virginia and the South, where country life is better liked and townmaking is not as great a success as in the North. In New England it was the "town-meeting" that grappled with the problems of the Revolution. In Virginia the "County Committee" was the instrument of the people of a county that had scarce a town in it. Thus the struggle that socialism and individualism are making to-day is ethnic, and whoever does not see this will never understand the questions involved, and hence will never reach the solution.

The real problem is the setting of bounds to human selfishness, to what Dr. Movers says destroyed the Phœnicians: *Habsucht*, literally the seeking to have. And many of the proposed plans seem to me like changing the shape of the bucket hoping thereby to draw sweet water out of a hitherto bitter fountain.

There is something charmingly fresh and innocent in the article by Dr. Harris in the *Forum* for October last, in the fact that he is practising socialism of an advanced type and seems not to know it. As Lee politely said of one of his antagonists who had dreadfully blundered, it can be said of Dr. Harris: "He seems not to be aware of his situation." Adam Smith pointed out that the mint and post office are in their nature not public affairs. Herbert Spencer disapproves of government mints. But though they are advanced steps in socialism—the first and an absolutely necessary one being the army—they are in our Constitution. We shall never

now go back from them. But a national bureau of education is an extra-constitutional arrangement. It is a step much farther in socialism than the makers of the Constitution ever thought of. Congress and the Supreme Court have a fashion of adding to the Constitution from time to time as the case, in their opinion, requires. Coming from a practical socialist who is eating the bread of socialism, Mr. Harris's paper is especially curious reading. He might have made clear what he did not, but which the case of the Tartar forcing the Aryan out of the patriarchal into the social state teaches us, to wit: *The purpose of socialism is the protection of the natural rights of the individual.* That settles the scope of socialism. If the system of public schools and all that has grown up around it can be justified, it is on a ground not generally quoted in their defence, to wit, it is the best way to defend the right of every child to its inheritance in the sum of human knowledge as a help in making its struggle for existence. Whether it accomplishes the purpose or not I will not here discuss.

Dr. Harris makes an unfair statement in the following:

> In almost all cases the reformer confines his view to the weaklings of society, the paupers, criminals, and individuals who are least able to compete with their fellow men for a subsistence.

And he answers it himself when he quotes from Henry George that under the competitive system "the rich are growing richer and fewer, and the poor are growing poorer and more numerous." The people of the "slums of the East End of London and New York" to whom he refers are not the only ones or the most important ones to whom we who speak against corporate robbery of the majority point when we warn the worshippers of the religion of *Habsucht*,—a stronger word than selfishness,—and say that like oppression will at last bring like bloodshed, as in the past it has always done. I point him to the fact that the investigations after the Pittsburg riot brought out the fact that an enormously rich corporation had lowered the wages of its employees until the wives and daughters were forced into harlotry to eke out their existence; and when that point has been reached it would be no wonder that men burn and kill and spread death and ruin

among their oppressors,—if there be no other way of mending the case. Unfortunately, most unfortunately, the working men do not seem to value their most effective weapon, the ballot, and do not use it so as to make the knife and torch unnecessary. But they are not the "weaklings, paupers, or criminals." They are able and willing. It is because the Mongols of corporation have made life intolerable and are from year to year narrowing the horizon of all the industrious poor that the number is growing larger of those who want to take a socialistic step as a cure, as our fathers did millenniums ago in Russia.

But one of the very things that make me doubt the efficacy of such steps is that Dr. Harris is a part of the supposed advance in that way, a socialistic employee, paid by the people, and working against them for their incorporated oppressors! The Department of Agriculture is an example. It is the only department of the government that is not for public purposes. It alone is the department of a class. And that class never had a more bitter enemy, or the incorporated oppressors a more assiduous servant, than Cleveland's Secretary of Agriculture.

Again, he says:

> The disease is inequality of wealth in the community, caused primarily by thrifty habits in the remaining portion, and the effect extended by inheritance.

This is simply putting in grave language the lines from "Pinafore": "If you had all polished up the handle of the big front door, you might all have become rulers of the Queen's navee." Continuing he says: "There are industry, skill, frugality, and temperance opposed to idleness, lack of skill, wastefulness, intemperance." Among the conspirators exposed by Mr. Shuckers in his pamphlet, there was some skill certainly in creating a panic and in forcing issues of bonds to "protect the credit of the government," to get gold to keep up the reserve that the same conspirators were themselves running down; but there was a trifle of intemperance in the orgies that took place on the yacht of one of the chiefs of the conspiracy as he and others of them drank champagne over their success. And as even in such orgies a man can only get as

drunk as he can get, it bordered on that "wastefulness" which Dr. Harris finds exclusively among the poor.

That Dr. Harris misrepresents the socialists in saying "the new remedy proposes to abolish altogether the idea of thrift as a trait of character by removing all occasion for its exercise," any one can see by reading even a little about the Ruskin colony in Tennessee. In this Dr. Harris is simply an example of a familiar trait of human nature that expresses itself thus: "I have injured you; now I am going to blacken you so as to justify myself for injuring you. I will make people think that you deserve no better."

Dr. Harris, it seems, is in want of reliable statistics as a protection against the "hysterical" statistics of the socialists. Has he not legs? Has he not pen and ink, and, as Carlyle says, "fingers to write withal"? Why not start and make his own book of statistics? Right there he falls headlong into the pit of socialism; for the statistics that we gather in the census-taking, and the others that he wants, are paid for socialistically. I can take him to counties where he will not find one per thousand of the people who would willingly pay their share of the cost of census-taking and statistics-gathering. They do not care at all whether there are many people or few, and so of all the rest that is gathered. This innocent anti-socialist says:

> The statistical bureaus, State and National, should be more amply endowed than they have been, and more encouragement given to special investigations touching the great social question of the production and distribution of wealth.

I am not that much of a socialist. I would not tax the delver on the rocky fields of the Ozarks a penny to gather and publish the rate of wages paid by Lord Carnegie as he makes rotten plates for the British to pierce easily in our next war with Britain. Private enterprise in England and Germany publishes the best statistics that the world gets.

Dr. Harris "hath scarce wiped his lips" since he said that the governments, State and National, ought to take the taxes to pay for gathering statistics (wherewith he may confound the socialists) when he speaks of "any person socialistically inclined" and shows them how small is the per-capita earning.

But he does not show why, if the per-capita earning is small, a little over fifty cents, millions ought to be spared out of it so that my Lords of the Newport villa and the North Carolina Windsor Castle should be allowed to take a greater share out of it by watering stocks, cornering coal, and acting on their principle of "the public be damned; we will run the railroads."

A writer in the eminently respectable and conservative *Popular Science Monthly* spoke of "watering stocks and other forms of theft," not at all in a "hysterical" way, but just as a plain fact that is "as well known as Paul's" to every Londoner in Falstaff's day. In round figures the "item for transportation" amounts to five cents a day for each person in the Union. But were there no interest and dividends to pay on "theft," or water, it would not be a penny a day. And as this theft is only possible by the exercise of the power of eminent domain and the power of incorporation, it makes it the duty of the Federal government to stop the theft in the only way that it can be done—by taking the stolen property, the roads. When Lord Gould watered the De Castellane system some ten millions on the main line, he put his felonious hand into the pockets of every person who directly or indirectly uses the road. When Lord Vanderbilt waters the Marlborough system he robs everybody in the Union and a good many out of it.

And it is simply a question of how much "manhood, good manhood" is left in the living American Aryans, as to when the men who hold but do not own these highways will be treated as those who once held but did not own "niggers" were treated, as my ancestors did for over two centuries. Those who have bought the stocks and bonds are in exactly the place of those who bought "niggers." Jackson warned the people that the money oligarchy would dictate peace or war according to its interest and not according to the national interest or honor. That prophecy is fulfilled. What our national policy shall be is settled by what effect it will have on the price of these "niggers," fictitious stocks and fraudulent bonds whose proceeds never went into the roads that are saddled with the debts created by their issue. "Arbitration"

treaties are for the purpose of taking the settlement of questions about them out of the hands of our own courts and putting them in the hands of a king who is to all intents and purposes a vassal of England, with his Russian and Norwegian enemies hanging across his country like a pack, and enveloping him. I strongly suspect that the whole Venezuela scare was a part of Cleveland's favorite tactics, the "object-lesson" to force his and Salisbury's "arbitration" treaty on this country by showing how stocks would tumble if we ever had a war with England.

But this is "hysterical," or what Dr. Harris calls it. A farmer told me a long story of consigning his produce for thirty years to his friend, a certain St. Louis commission merchant, who at last inveigled him into buying wheat options, with the usual result to the farmer. He said that when he saw through it all he talked it over calmly and ended by saying equally calmly to the merchant, "Cra'g, you robbed me." The man who had his money said with equal calmness, as indeed he might, "Uncle Lewis, you're excited." This is the equivalent of the term of the defenders of those "thrifty" persons of Dr. Harris's paper—"hysterical."

Dr. Harris gives figures showing that the total value per year of mining products of all kinds in the Union is two and one-half cents per head of people. This, he fails to say, includes the silver which those on his side tell us has fallen in price from "overproduction." He says: "The study of statistics of national earnings is helpful to those who are disposed to think that an equal division would place the entire population in a condition of luxury." Here he grows "hysterical" himself. I have never heard any socialist say such a thing, except as the condition that he calls "luxury" is relative. Furthermore, in the above sentence he is urging the homœopathic cure of socialism, as he wants the statistics paid for socialistically, out of the State and National treasuries. The most important part of such statistics he ignores: that they should divide legitimate incomes from incomes on the kinds of property that are called "theft" in the *Popular Science Monthly*. And again, in giving the aggregate daily earnings per head as 30 cents in 1850, and 51 cents in 1890, he ought

to tell how much was taken out to pay interest on fictitious stocks and fraudulent bonds at each period. Dr. Harris seems not to have learned that socialism means coöperation and putting together, not division.

I am not what is known as a socialist, but if I were I should warmly thank Dr. Harris for proving that trusts, or, as he carefully calls them, "combinations," "reduce the cost of collection and distribution of goods." They do this and yet make millionaires out of those who form the combinations. That gives the socialist the chance to checkmate Dr. Harris and his combiners in one more move. Take the aggregate fortunes of the "combiners" from the cost of collection and distribution, and you have just what it would be if they did not get that profit, if it were done by their employees transformed into socialistic government employees. The reason that they make these fortunes rests solely on the fact that they control the modern highways. And the control of highways is exclusively a government function, because in their very nature highways are the property of everybody. Those who have laid the tracks and put on the rolling stock are only stewards, entitled only to a fair return on their actual investment. And they got it all back long ago. They have gone on "like little wanton boys that swim on bladders," or like my forefathers, who really thought they owned the "niggers" because they had paid their money for them. There have been many who gave their money, but who got no title to the article had and received in return. In view of the fact that highways are always the people's, it sounds very strange for Dr. Harris to tell us that a combination of railway lords makes the people pay two billions a year less in 1890 than it would have been in 1860. If freight is now one cent per ton per mile, it is at least four-fifths of a cent per ton per mile more than it ought to be to pay a fair income on the real investment exclusive of the "water." Dr. Harris says not a word to let us know that we are paying at least five times what we ought to pay, and that the process is "theft" according to the writer in the conservative *Popular Science Monthly.*

Take still another class of wealthy men who build an improved kind of dwelling house, or invest immense sums in business houses or public

works to light and heat a city or furnish it with pure water or any other hygienic appliances. This class saves a vast expense to the community as a whole, and takes to itself its proportion of the saving made, by way of profit on the investment.

Here again, against my will I am forced to concede to the socialists that the example of the city of Glasgow, for instance, shows that it can be done just as much more cheaply as the figures show when the profits of the "captains of industry" are left off. And I doubt if there was ever in the Union a single case of such public works furnished by the "captains of industry" that was not more or less mixed with fraud and overcharge far beyond legitimate profit. As to the sums that he says are invested in business houses, it may be said that it is true of most of them what Bacon said of the wealth of his day: "There be many ways of enriching, and most of them foul." The giving of the public credit gratis to national bankers and the lending of it by them to their friends "on the ground floor" has made many of the fortunes so invested. The taking from the people their natural right to use nature's money, silver, and the consequent fall in the prices of what they sell from the farm to pay their debts and the taxes for public improvements all belong in the problem.

Of a vast grant from Gov. Berkeley to one of my forbears in Virginia, Bishop Meade says, "Not one acre of which now belongs to any of his descendants." In good sooth he might have said that not one acre of it belonged to the original grantee, for it was not Berkeley's to give. Neither the earth nor its opportunities can be justly monopolized. But it belonged to him as much as any of the "immense sums" that Dr. Harris names belong to the men who have gained them by means of the same nature as those by which the old Virginia land grants were gained.

With great minuteness I showed in THE ARENA of December, 1894, in answering Mr. D. A. Wells, that the pay of men in subordinate positions under the *régime* of newly invented mechanical devices is far less than what is fair when we consider the value of the services performed; and that capital, even where the money invested had been honestly earned and was not "water" invested, gets an unfair share. Take,

for instance, an old-time teamster compared with a modern freight engineer hauling trainloads of enormously valuable goods, such as tea or silks, in the winter climate of North Dakota.

Perhaps the part of Dr. Harris's paper that is the most remarkable is this sentence:

> A second class of wealthy men limit their combinations to the stock market. They speculate in the stocks belonging to the substantial enterprises of the first class of wealthy men, namely those who make business combinations. Neither class can be said to make their money by "grinding the poor," for the first class have earned much more for society as a whole than they have accumulated as profits.

In the case of the Pennsylvania railroad making its stock a desirable "buy" on the stock market by putting down wages till the wives and daughters of employees were driven to prostitution, we have some statistics in that line that Dr. Harris might profitably study.

When a descendant of Jacob Goldstein, metamorphosed into Lord Jay Gould, bought the De Castellane system for four millions, there being two millions in the treasury, and put perhaps a million on it in betterments, and then watered it to thirteen millions of stock for the main line, I happened to be in New York, and as one living on the line of the road my opinion was asked by some speculators and investors as to the propriety of buying it at par. Wishing to tell them truly what they wanted to know, I stated the case and explained that it depended somewhat on whether there was enough of the blood of freemen among the people of the State to resist the robbery, and if there was not, then, whether it was within the power of those who submitted as slaves, to dig out of the earth enough to ship over it and make it pay ten times what any natural and reasonable growth of crops or live stock could possibly pay in the ordinary course of things.

To no battle can we more safely challenge the apologists of the holders of wealth wrongfully wrung from the community than the battle of statistics, except the battle of principles. First settle what the natural rights of the two parties to the battle are. It makes a great difference if we first settle that the earth, or even the part used as highways, does not belong to those who have grabbed it and think they own it, just as

my good father of ever cherished memory thought that he owned a mulatto woman, and so traded her for a pair of mules more tractable than she. But the millions in the North who sanctioned it were equally to blame with him.

But whether the raiding be done by the Mongol of the steppes or the Mongols of the corporation, there must not only be union among the sufferers if they would free themselves, but there ought to be severe punishment inflicted on the raiders. The severest punishment possible would be to strip them of what they hold but do not own, and force them to work or starve. But the carriage of persons and freight at cost—not cost including theft and interest on it—would make their punishment—the punishment of working for their living instead of stealing it—vastly easier than the tortures that they are now inflicting on millions who are trying to earn their living and to pay the dividends on the thefts of the Mongols of the corporations.

THE EPIC OPPORTUNITY.

BY WILLIAM BAYARD HALE, LL. D.

RESTLESS, eager, tense. Industrious, persevering. Keen of intellect, shrewd of judgment, quick to catch a cue. On the whole, honorable, and easily won to support of a good cause. Sympathetic with suffering, on the whole, also; though too lenient towards wrongdoing. And notably devoted to two ideals (imperfectly apprehended yet, and almost entirely unrealized): Justice and Liberty. Buoyant still with a youthful confidence, clung to through many a shock and chill. Cheerfully irreligious, retaining considerable deference to morality, but unimpressed by any perception of beauty or power in spiritual things.

Consumed by avarice—because accustomed to hear wealth talked of as the only legitimate object of human endeavor. Prone to reduce all life's enjoyments and graces to a utilitarian basis, and to state them in terms of dollars and cents. With parables about self-made men, and about the opportunities (which in fact exist no longer) afforded industrious boys to rise to wealth,—with education sought, and what passes for it administered, as a means of getting on,—grown vulgar and greedy.

Magnificent in material enterprise; astonishing the world with its palaces of trade, its bridges, railroads, gigantic engineering feats; garnishing life with a sumptuous luxury which the courts of Babylon and of Rome could not have conceived, and living it with a breathlessness of speed. Fertile in commercial and industrial, as in mechanical, ingenuity. Originating from day to day new schemes of financial operation of amazing magnitude,—to-day one firm buying a nation's whole issue of bonds; to-morrow, buying the imposts of another nation, and taking possession of its custom-houses; a single man or a partnership of two or three thinking nothing of undertaking to develop vast areas of country, or to obtain control of the world's supply of some natural product (like

kerosene or gold) or some artificial manufactured one (like sugar). Devising, with an ingenuity beyond praise, stupendous systems of production, transportation, and sale; systems of credit and exchange, and banking arrangements, which make the world to-day a world further removed from the one which our fathers knew than that was from the world of the Middle Ages.

Careless. Trusting, with boundless audacity, the continuance of the good luck of the past. Beholding, unawakened, the sinister change which has taken place in industry, commerce, and politics. Unalarmed by the achieved corruption of one Chamber of its Congress, and the suppression of the other; and witnessing without apprehension the progress of a constitutional revolution, by which, in defiance of the Bill of Rights, courts, usurping legislative functions, define lawful acts as crimes, and enjoin citizens from exercising the rights which the Constitution guarantees them. Careless, infatuated, blind.

All this, the nation which you and I are parts of, and love. Love: with all her greatness and her faults; with all her noble traits, and all her foolishness, her blindness, and her sins. Beloved America, child of the world's old age, she has come —clad in the splendor of her youth, magnificent in her colossal materialism; but unfurnished in the serious, nobler, and more necessary things—to the days when the burden of life must rest upon her, and her people arise and face the tremendous issues in whose midst nations meet their destiny. A people of great mental keenness, energetic, swift; undeniably a vulgar people, with sordid, mercenary, contemptible ways of living, but as undeniably brave, *capable* of great deeds of nobleness;—God has given us this great continent, and He has brought here upon it to its present stage, this vast society and life, intricate, complex, full of wrong and full of promise, and He has led us to this wonderful hour of crisis.

No man can describe this people or measure its characteristics, as no man (yet manifest among us) can interpret the significance or guess the end of the mighty movement which is passing before our eyes. That we are at this moment a fallen nation, an apostate people, enslaved by a gluttonous

materialism, and a disappointment to our God, an awakening conscience among us bears witness. On the other hand, there are not wanting evidences that we possess (the gift of Providence) traits which when aroused will restore us to our appointed place; nor altogether, evidences that there is arising in the heart of the people a yearning for better things, and emerging from within her an inarticulate resolution to be something besides commercial,—to be a servant of progress and honor. There have begun to be spoken, among a few, new words, symbols of a swift-gathering movement. There has begun to move before young men a new standard, a new ideal, white with a virgin beauty never before seen on earth, or sought by the sons of men. Suddenly there has been fashioned a new language, which talks of the unity (the essential, unescapable unity, in interests and destiny) of men, of the joy of sacrifice, of the vulgarity of success; which scorns the things men hitherto have striven for, despising all but honor and freedom and truth; which speaks of an aristocracy of simple men who work for love, but will not work for pay. There are beginning to be sung songs of plainness and contentment, and of an almost vagabond joy in nature (sign of reaction against old conventions concerning happiness).

One thing I do not discern, that must appear if this people is to rise to its destiny:—the man who shall lead us. Among the murmured songs and the whispered words, I hear no tones firm and authoritative and assuring. In the world there are more echoes than voices. The crisis upon our nation waits the coming of the man whose gaze shall sweep the past and apprehend the present as its fruit and evolution, appointed in its turn to pass into (he will see what) other forms: the man in whose heart shall dwell the vision of a world redeemed, and the divine passion to redeem it. We need, and must have, a Leader. There must arise a hero great enough, in this time of bewilderment and perplexity, to think the solving thought, to speak the master word, to point out and lead the way into the new time. The people are not without those among them who think, speak, and act bravely; desperate indeed would be the case were it so. But that commanding figure around whom can gather the good hearts of the land is not yet

revealed. The Olympian voice has not spoken. Saul has not stood forth in stature from his shoulders upward higher than any of the people, to be despised by the children of Belial, but to lead to splendid victory the band of men whose hearts God hath touched. All is ready for his appearing. The issues are inspiring. The opportunity is epic. A dimly-stirring new world-spirit demands and must have an incarnation, an expression and representative in one great human character.

He must, and therefore he will, appear. He will be conceived in the passion of contemporaneous events, and born of the sorrow and tragedy that walk the earth. His genesis will be in the cosmic movement that has produced this tumultuous hour. He will come responding to the multitudinous voices of holy causes clamoring for their champion. Out of the silence and out of the din there shall come trooping to his soul the consciousness of a divine call to be the saviour of the people.

He will be the apostle of simplicity. He will love the elemental things,—the sun and the winds and the stars, and truth and music and good wars. He will write a literature fit for a powerful race dwelling on a continent mighty in mountains and prairies and tremendous historic deeds. He will show how sweet and beautiful life may be; he will gather his joy out of the splendid sorrow of life and out of its tragic grandeur.

He will be a great, impatient soul, and unpractical—as divinely unpractical as Christ's cross. He will be a reverent soul; for he will worship when he stands before little children or any bared true spirit; before any exhibition of sacrifice or of willing vicarious suffering, of patriotism, or of love of youth and maiden, sacred things full of awe.

He will restate religion. He will reclaim the holy watchwords of our fathers, and make them stand again for verities to live and die for. He will teach us that prayer is not the mere begging of favors from a reluctant God, but the conversation of the human spirit with the great Universal Soul of which it is part. He will convince us of the reality and awfulness of a judgment which needs not to wait some far-off day for its pronouncement, but is daily and hourly going on. He

will give utterance, irresistibly impressive, to a new motive for morality,—one which will make insignificant and of dubious quality the old individualistic appeal. For this prophet will be the voice crying again in the wilderness that a new order of things is at hand, appealing to all in human nature that is great and simple and universal. He will call us to a repentance born not only of remembrance of the hurt which the individual sinner inflicts upon his fellows, but of the horror that a human sin cripples God,—that your sin and mine compromise God, embarrass, frustrate, and delay His plans. Not therefore my poor soul's salvation, but my neighbor, my nation, nay, God Himself and His universe, constitute the ultimate motive for moral living,—the larger, nobler, higher, may we not trust the more effective, motive of the evangel which the prophet of the new time must bring.

To be great is to voice the truth that is struggling, inarticulate, upon the lips of humanity. It is to personify and exhibit the instinct which is gathering in the great common human soul. It is to see clearly and firmly the path out along which the race now must move; to conceive it, not as an experiment to be undertaken, but as the one appointed evolution to be accomplished. To be a man who shall lead is to see the end and realization of the effort,—and talk with it across the centuries. To be a prophet is to commune with the souls in heaven of events unborn. To be a leader is, afterwards, to become a spirit, a thought, a conviction, a standard, to become a habit, among men.

I see in our land the beginnings of a great world-movement, which needs only the wisdom, confidence, and enthusiasm of a Leader to transform the face of the earth. This movement will be profoundly religious and Christian; it will be in some respects a return (progress is often a return to primitive truth) to primitive Christianity. It will stand in close connection with education, and especially with the progress of the fine arts and the diffusion of a sense of the beautiful. But it will be, first and immediately, social.

It is given sometimes to those who are a little aside from the busiest scenes to discover first the meaning and trend of passing affairs. It is perhaps the special privilege reserved

for those whom God keeps in obscure positions that their hearts may be open for the visitation of His Spirit, and their vision clear through long, lonely meditation, to see furthest into the significance of what happens around them.

The swift march of events within the past few months impresses me with the conviction that a Day of the Lord is at hand. My nation is not to longer sleep amid the thunders of the gathering woe. The patient faithful have not to much longer wait the appearing of some figure set apart by Almighty God to point out the path to earth's impatient peoples, and to lead the brave and true into it.

Such things as are now weekly being enacted cannot come to pass and all go on unchanged. For example: In a country dedicated in its baptismal vows to the proposition that all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights; a land, solemnly, vitally, by its Constitution, bound to defend its citizens in the exercise of free speech and liberty peaceably to assemble, it cannot come to pass that courts, by injunction issuing as proclamations, annul these rights, or that law-officers, true to the logic of the new jurisprudence, fire upon men assembled without arms for a lawful purpose, against whom no charge of violence or law-breaking, done or intended, is or can be made, and shoot them down to death upon the public highway; this cannot have happened and all go on as before.

It is deeds such as these, moving the hearts of men as treetops are moved before the wind, that are conspiring to conceive and bring to birth the prophet and leader. A little longer we shall go to and fro looking into every face for our hero, and one day he will be here, in his confidence and dauntlessness and power. He will sweep the scene—life, philosophy, religion, society,—and master it in his thought, and then he will speak his great word, and we shall gather around him. The fire will fly from heart to heart; in widening circles will be revealed to the sons of the republic (worthier object than gain or fame) the ideal of social sacrifice, captivating the imagination with its alluring beauty.

And the past shall be suddenly far away, and the human destiny suddenly glorious and golden.

PINGREE POTATO CULTURE AND ITS EFFECTS ON BUSINESS.

BY CHARLES A. ROBINSON,
President of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association.

IT IS pleasing to note the interest the kind-hearted women of the country are taking in the welfare of the poor. There is an old saw which says, "What can't be cured must be endured," and this is the sentiment which seems to inspire our noble women who are devoting so much time to the welfare of others.

The alarming increase of poverty in the United States during the past few years has led many inquiring minds to begin an investigation of the cause of so much distress, while others are busy relieving it. The Prohibitionists thought they had discovered the cause of all poverty when they asserted that to banish intoxicating liquors from the face of the earth was to banish poverty from the home. To prove their assertions to the world they established the little city of Harriman, Tenn., only to see their idol fall to the ground; for, among the 3,000 total abstainers living there, is heard as much complaint about hard times as anywhere else, only the cause is now declared to be "too little money" instead of "too much whiskey."

Another class of people charge poverty to extravagance, yet when they enter the homes of the poor, they find the greatest self-denial, the plainest kind of furniture, food, and clothing.

If anyone suggests that there might be found food for reflection in the immense fortunes that have been amassed by a few during the last decade, he is at once charged with making an attack on the rights of private property and branded as an anarchist; and the first person that is ready to crucify him is some debased creature that crawls out of the dirtiest shanty in the district.

Meanwhile, the Associated Charities move on with their noble work of treating the symptoms, without knowing the cause.

Not long ago the eye of the public almsgiver was turned toward Detroit, Mich., and saw the solution of the problem of feeding the poor in Pingreeism. Pingreeism got its name from the then Mayor Pingree, who was the first to induce owners of vacant lots to allow the poverty-stricken people of the city to raise potatoes on their lots to keep from starving. When the mayor proposed this he did it as a temporary expedient. His desire was to assist the poor to support themselves until such time as they could secure employment in the various occupations for which they had spent years in preparing themselves.

But the happy time did not come. The scarcity of money, the legitimate child of the gold standard, emptied the pockets of the consumers and shut up the factories, and the army of unemployed in every city has increased to such enormous proportions, that the charity associations find it utterly impossible to keep hunger and cold from the homes of the poor in almost every city in the nation. In their despair they turned to the ruling powers in these cities and induced them to furnish the seed potatoes, and the speculator to donate the use of the land whereon these mendicants could work to keep the wolf from the door. To every thoughtful person the reason these people turned to the soil is clear. It was because they could not find employment in their chosen occupations.

Long ago, before plutocracy had begun to teach the blessings of the British money-system, it was the proud boast of every mother in the towns and cities of the land, that when her son grew up and learned a trade he would be safe and secure from want or harm as long as he was able to work. So deeply was this sentiment impressed upon the minds of parents that they frequently placed their sons, at an early age, with men engaged in different occupations, in order that the boys might become qualified to perform perfectly whatever came to hand in that line. Years were spent by the boys as apprentices, in other words, as students in industrial schools, for the express purpose of training them to become master workmen in their chosen professions or trades. It was believed then that, to become the most useful to society, a man must choose one occupation and give his entire time, talent,

and education to it; and it was never thought for a moment that he would ever be compelled to abandon the trade or profession for which he had spent years of the best part of his life in preparing himself.

The boy who took service with a cabinet-maker was told by all who knew him, that when he had completed such term of service he would be secure for life, for the time never would come when people would not use furniture. This argument seemed conclusive, and he entered upon his life work with high hopes and noble aspirations, only to find that, after years of service in one line of industry, during which time he has become an expert furniture-maker, he is compelled, by force of circumstances over which he thinks he has no control, to turn to that original source of life, the soil, for the food that is necessary to keep him alive.

During the years in which he has found employment at the lathe, in the office, or behind the wagon, he has been one of the very best consumers of the products of the farm. He has been a proud, independent, useful man, and has supplied his table with the very best quality of food that could be produced, and in profuse abundance. His eye sparkled with delight as he looked upon the members of his happy household, well fed, well clothed, and well sheltered. His home was unpretentious, yet happiness and love reigned supreme within its sacred precincts. He gazed with unfeigned delight upon the children that gathered round him every evening and easily persuaded him to assist them with their lessons. He felt that no human agency could ever enter his home and deprive him of the contentment he so much enjoyed.

And why should he not feel so? Was it not agreed upon all sides that the man who is master of a trade is master of his own destiny? Had he not complied with all the requirements known to the best authorities on the subject? Was it not clear that as long as population increased the demand for furniture must increase, and hence, would he not be forever fortified against want? He has been careful of his earnings. He has paid for his home, has furnished it, and having saved a little money besides, he has invested it in the business for the same reason that he learned his trade. He has become a part-

ner in the concern. The company's interests are now his interests, and he feels a pardonable pride in the knowledge that, in a small way, he is a manufacturer as well as a mechanic.

But, being a careful observer, he began to notice, after a time, that not so many loads of finished furniture were leaving the factory as formerly. He felt no serious concern about the matter, for he reasoned that the cause lay in a temporary lull in business, and that soon the tide would turn and business would assume its normal condition. As the days went by, however, the golden-winged harbinger of returning prosperity came not to the window of the storm-beaten ark in which he had taken refuge. First, the teamsters were discharged, then the newest hands, after that the next longest in service, and finally the expert mechanic-manufacturer is called into the office and told that the institution must go into the hands of a receiver to prevent an entire loss to the stockholders. For the first time he asks, "What is the cause of all this?" and receives the antiquated, time-shrivelled answer, "It is overproduction. We have produced more furniture than the people consume. There are too many factories in the country, and some of them must suspend business. Ours is a first-class factory, however, and we will no doubt pull through with the aid of the receiver."

The receiver is appointed, and, after exerting himself to efforts almost superhuman, he staggers along under the load of debt, taxes, and expenses for a time and finally gives up the struggle, and the factory closes its doors.

Then comes the scramble among the employees for opportunities to earn a living. There are no favored ones that can retain their positions. From the most trusted employee of the head office to the boy that was taken on last week, the whole army of workers is turned away.

Honest, courageous spirits are those, and they strike out boldly for other cities in the hope of securing employment in other furniture factories, but they find many closed, and ten applicants for every place in those that are running. After a while they conclude that the furniture business is in reality overdone, and they turn to other lines of manufacturing, only to find the same condition facing all.

By this time the expert mechanic finds his surplus stock of money exhausted, and he must either quit riding from town to town or borrow money. His family have felt the pinch of hard times as never before. His wife practises the strictest economy, yet she feels that the little mouths must be fed, the little bodies must be clothed, the little minds must be educated, and with a waning hope that the future will bring something better, she consents to placing a mortgage on the home.

The husband has not yet lost hope entirely. He shares the small sum of money they have received with his wife, and kissing the family goodby, starts out with a courage born of a love for home, a love for his country, and unbounded faith in his abilities securing for him a place where he can earn an honest living by the toil of his own hands.

He travels by rail until his money is all gone, then he takes to the road. It is dreadful for him to contemplate the fate that has reduced him to this terrible condition. He is no tramp, and he tries to impress that fact upon the people he meets, but with little success. He is surprised to find so many such as he on the road. Here he meets a professional tramp, who eyes him askance and with scorn, or perhaps berates him for presuming to intrude his presence upon the already crowded road and to interfere with his prerogative of getting a living without work.

He meets a clerk who can quote prices as fast as the telegraph can report markets, yet who hangs his head in shame as he points to the holes in his clothes and declares that he cannot even get a pair of overalls to hide his rags with.

On, on, he goes, from place to place, everywhere hoping that he may get something to do. He has long since turned with a sneer from the early learned proverb that "Every honest man who has a trade is forever secure from want." With him it is now a matter of self-preservation, and he fully realizes that it is the first law of nature. He struggles on, hoping against hope, and being vividly reminded that "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." Driven by that desperation which poverty, hunger, and weariness always bring, he begs a morsel at the back door of a kind-hearted farmer, and as he

eats almost greedily the food that is set before him, he recounts to his host the story of his experience, and concludes by saying: "I never dreamed that the time would come when I would be compelled to accept the food of charity from any man. I tell you it is a sad commentary on the boasted freedom of the Great American Republic when her children are compelled to sleep in the woods and drink with cattle from the ditches."

Grasping the rough hand of the farmer at parting, he said he hoped that "confidence would soon be restored," and work would be easy to find. He was answered by a little laugh from the farmer, which he did not understand, and over which he pondered for several hours.

Weary and footsore he has tramped from centre to circumference of another factory town, and got no relief. He is too tired to walk, and he boards a train that is just pulling out. The conductor demands his fare, and he frankly says he has neither money nor ticket. This conductor has seen many such cases since the advent of the "redeemers" at the seat of government, and mentally resolving to learn something from his passenger, he says pleasantly, "If I will not put you off the train, where will you go?" As frankly comes the answer: "I have not the remotest idea where I am going. There is not an objective spot on the face of the earth to which I can honestly say I am going. I am worse off by far than the lowest ditcher in the land, for he can manage to earn enough to eat among farmers, while I am compelled to sneak, like a half-starved dog, around to the back door and beg for a crust of bread. Stop the train, if you like, and I will get off."

The kind-hearted conductor allows him to remain on the train until he reaches the next town. Here he gets off and continues his weary, toilsome tramp until, tired out in body and sick of soul, he turns toward his native town.

When he reaches it he is told by his family that he will never have to go away again; that the good people of the town have discovered a plan to feed all hungry people. At night he attends the meeting of the Charity Association, and he learns that three years ago the Mayor of Detroit put the idle poor of that city to work raising potatoes to keep them

from starving "until the crisis is past," and that so successful was he in the undertaking that all the cities in the country had adopted the plan. He learns that right here, in his own native town, a competent committee have the matter in charge and are preparing to furnish work to all needy persons who are really deserving, and want to raise potatoes to keep their families from starving next winter. In the light of recent experience, there appears to him to be a good deal of sarcasm in the statement, but there was nothing to do but accept the situation and drop into line raising potatoes "until the crisis is past."

He had learned to be something of a philosopher, and, as he shouldered his hoe and went into the potato field with the rest, he wondered when a crisis was likely to disappear, which the country had been already three years in passing, and which had been spreading from city to city all that time. But he said nothing, and toiled on with a broken spirit and a heavy heart.

This is the exact condition in which we find thousands of educated men in the cities to-day. Their independence is gone. Their manhood is gone. That proud feeling of self-reliance which was formerly their sheet anchor against the winds of adversity and the storms of misfortune is gone, and they grovel along, waiting "until the crisis is past."

Meantime the farmer picks up his paper and learns that the towns have gone into agriculture. He grows a little jealous of this invasion of his rights as a producer. What right have these townsfolk to deprive him of the profits of his industry? Are they not consumers? Whence came all these men who are at work in those potato fields? Are they from the farms? No. He knows many of them, and recognizes them as old schoolmates who were born with a mechanical genius, and who early learned a trade and went from the country into town, not to compete with him by raising potatoes, but to make articles in the factory which he needs on the farm, and which he hoped to purchase with the income he realized from the sale of potatoes.

He walks over to the field, and the first man he meets is an old friend who went into a furniture factory some years be-

fore. He asks him what he is doing in the potato field, why he is not in the factory, and receives the reply that somebody said some time ago that there was an overproduction of furniture, and that the factories are all closing their doors, and he cannot see his family suffer, so he must hoe potatoes, since he can find nothing else to do.

This story of overproduction is dinned into the farmer's ears every time he complains of prices being too low. It amounts to simply this: such a vast amount of food is produced by the farmer that nobody wants it, and hence the thousands of idle workingmen are compelled to go to work raising potatoes to keep themselves from starving. On the other hand there is so much furniture on hand and being manufactured that nobody wants it, therefore the farmer must patch up his old stools and bedsteads, to keep from sleeping on the floor or standing up all the time.

Already the prices of farm products are below the cost of production, and yet the charity associations of the cities are compelled to put the paupers to work raising more potatoes in the hope of relieving present distress and tiding them over the crisis until "confidence is restored."

The Pingree plan is in no sense vicious of itself. If there ever was a necessary evil, it may be said to be one. It is not a cause of poverty *per se;* it is the direct result of the increase of poverty which is caused by imposing upon our people the British money-system. If there had been a temporary crisis at hand when Mayor Pingree planted his first potato patch, this movement would have accomplished all he desired of it. It would have tided the poor over that crisis. But such a crisis was not at hand. This country was just entering the conditions that have always accompanied the advent of the gold standard in every country, and what was supposed to be a temporary stringency of the times has proven to be an approach to normal conditions under the British financial system. Therefore, as poverty in other cities increased, and the charity organizations turned here and there to find a way out, they very naturally dropped upon the Pingree plan, and are carrying it out with varying success in different parts of the country.

It was poverty that drove the mechanic to the field, and now let us see what effect his going there will have on the farmer, who is conceded on all hands to be the best consumer of the products of the factory. Every bushel of potatoes raised on the Pingree plan deprives the farmer of just so much income from the only source of consumption of his surplus products, namely the city, and hence the city is the loser of just so much of his patronage as a consumer of the products of the factory.

To illustrate: a certain little city in Indiana proposes to put enough of its idle men to work during the coming summer to produce 10,000 bushels of potatoes. To do so is to deprive the farmers around that city of the amount of income from the sale of just that many potatoes. At a fair price these farmers should receive fifty cents a bushel, or $5,000 for 10,000 bushels. With this $5,000 they would purchase furniture, and ploughs, and nails, and dishes, and all the numerous other products of the factories, which would keep the mechanic at work at his trade, instead of turning him out as a pauper producer of potatoes on the Pingree plan. Deprived of this income from what he considers his legitimate source, the farmer is turning to the wholesaler and the manufacturer for the constantly decreasing amount of supplies he must purchase. He declares that he holds no malice against the cities, but that self-protection compels him to purchase his goods where he can get them the cheapest.

This explains why so many farmers' clubs are being organized throughout the country for the express purpose of purchasing supplies in job lots. They are not secret organizations, as a rule, in the ordinary sense of the term. They have no signs or grips, and their only password is: "Keep your own counsel." At stated times they meet and compile a list of supplies needed. In many cases wholesale houses send their salesmen to the meetings. Indeed, so important has this trade become that men are employed whose business it is to look after it. Then again, a club or lodge will transact its business through the mails, neither of the contracting parties ever seeing each other. The number and importance of these

clubs is constantly increasing as present conditions grow more and more rigorous.

Another effect of the Pingree plan and its allied interests is to compel farmers to become their own mechanics. I have taken the pains to investigate concerning some of the trades that are affected by the system which compels the farmer to accept a price for his products which is below the cost of production, and I find among them harness-making, wagon-making, blacksmithing, shoemaking, carpentering, painting, and even paper-hanging and glazing. Cheap outfits for making and mending harness and boots and shoes may be found in almost any neighborhood. Blacksmith's tools and forges may be seen set up in cheap sheds on many farms, and the rural blacksmith, who would spurn the thought of socialism, will shoe his neighbor's horses in return for the half-soles which this neighbor puts on his boots. In the woodshed may be found a set of carpenter's tools and a painter's outfit. After harvest the farmer will build a cheap addition to his house, and paint it. In one farmer's home I found a cheap set of photographer's instruments, and the explanation offered was that it required less money to purchase the outfit than to pay for the number of pictures they desired.

These are a few of the industries that farmers are compelled to enter under our present system, and the greater the number of mechanics that are driven into the Pingree Potato Patch by the operation of this system, the greater will be the number of farmers who are driven into the factory of their own establishing, poor and crude as it is.

If Pingree potato culture is to be conducted as a permanent industry, its promoters can do no better than become ardent advocates of a single gold standard, with its consequent scarcity of money; for a return to bimetallism, with its plentiful supply of money to transact the business of the country, means sending the pauper potato-grower back to the factory, the store, the mine, and the railroad. It also means sending the farmer back to the field, and dealing a deathblow to potato culture as a means of distributing alms.

Fountaintown, Ind.

LAW, LAWLESSNESS, AND LABOR.

BY H. W. B. MACKAY.

THE question of government by injunction, as it is sometimes called, has become once more a burning one, owing to the unfortunate events which have occurred at Hazleton, in the same State where so much trouble was experienced before; a State whose courts were, in a generation gone by, exceptionally severe toward striking workmen, and on whose statute book may be found an act authorizing employees to quit work in concert in cases where they have been subjected to "brutal ill-usage," an enactment which clearly implies that they were not at liberty to do so before. It is true, this statute has since been superseded by another authorizing them to quit work in concert whenever they desire to do so, but the earlier enactment affords a remarkable comment on the temperament of the courts of Pennsylvania.

But the occurrence at Hazleton raises another question besides that of Government by Injunction. It raises the question of adequate police. Upon this question I should like to say a few words before passing on to the (theoretically) more important theme.

Between the American States on the one hand and the Australian Colonies on the other there are many points of resemblance, but there is one very remarkable difference. In the former, lynchings and affrays and wholesale shootings are very common; in the latter they are, and I believe always have been, unknown. The difference is not due to race, for both countries are inhabited by the same races; nor to climate, for a large part of both have the same range of climate; nor to difference in civilization, for both are new countries with large immigrant populations, combining an advanced civilization with a lawless element. Nor is it that the wealthier classes in Australia are more forbearing, for one of the Queensland judges censured the police for not using their revolvers on a number of unarmed strikers who were crowding;

and the Colonial Secretary, who is virtually the chief executive there, caused a manual of instructions to be prepared for the police calling their attention to an old statute of Edward III under which any man carrying arms "in the presence of the Justices" might be arrested, and in case of resistance might be summarily despatched; while one of the military officers in Victoria, acting as he afterwards alleged under instructions, told his command that if they should be ordered to fire on strikers they must "fire low and lay them out," an injunction which fortunately was never obeyed.

No! the difference is due to the existence in Australia of police forces modelled after the Irish constabulary, and to the survival in America of the barbarous system of sheriff and posse, which has come down to us from the Middle Ages, and has long been superseded in the country of its origin. That an official who is changed every year, and a crowd of followers selected from among the general public,—ordinary citizens without a vestige of discipline and often as little self-control,—should be entrusted with the delicate duty of preserving the peace seems to me utterly incomprehensible, for I should have thought it plain beyond dispute that discipline, training, and the sanctions derived from the fear of dismissal and the hope of promotion, were all essential to the efficient discharge of such a duty; nor do I believe that the lawlessness which so stains the reputation of some of these States can be prevented so long as the present system continues. But at least, if deputy sheriffs must exist, they should not be chosen from one of the factions who are at strife: as reasonably might a man be made judge in his own cause.

Turning now from the sheriff and his deputies to the laws which they execute, let us consider first the question of contempt of court. The root of the evil, so far as contempt of court is concerned, resides in the power which has been conferred on the Federal courts by act of Congress to punish contempt by a definite term of imprisonment, a power which I believe to be in conflict with the provisions of Magna Charta embodied in the Constitution.

To understand this question we must distinguish between two very dissimilar powers of committal for contempt of

court. First, there is the monstrous power claimed by the judges in England and Ireland of calling any person before them, informing him that some act which he has committed is a contempt of court, and thereupon condemning him to fine or imprisonment or both. This power is rarely exercised, but I remember two instances in which English judges fined the sheriffs five hundred pounds for acts of disrespect, in one case for causing a disrespectful placard to be posted on the courthouse; the nature of the offence in the other instance I forget. A still more gross exercise of this power occurred in Dublin, when Judge Lawson sentenced the proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal* to pay five hundred pounds fine and be imprisoned one year for publishing in his paper a letter stating that one of the jurors in a capital case had been seen, at the hotel where the jury were staying in the sheriff's custody, in a state of intoxication.

This species of contempt is distinguished by four characteristics: (1) The judge may pronounce anything to be contempt which he chooses so to pronounce; (2) no trial of any kind takes place; (3) the punishment depends on the will of the judge; (4) there is no appeal. But it will be observed that the penalty is always inflicted as a *punishment* for an act already committed, and is therefore defined by the sentence.

The other power of committal for contempt is exercised when the injunction of a court of equity is disobeyed. But here the imprisonment is not a punishment, but a means of compelling obedience. When, therefore, obedience has been rendered or has become impossible, the further infliction of the penalty (which in this case is always imprisonment) is stayed. Such is the traditional rule of the courts of equity, and so long as it is adhered to the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury is not violated.

But the Congress of the United States has authorized the judges to inflict a definite sentence of imprisonment for an act of disobedience already past, thus transforming the process for compelling obedience into a punishment for disobedience; and it is here that the constitutional guarantee appears to me to be violated. If an act of disobedience already past is worthy of punishment it ought to be punished under the or-

dinary criminal procedure. This is the more necessary as it is often a question whether the injunction really has been violated. A careful perusal of Debs's case convinced me that he did not violate the injunction.

But the courts in this country make another claim which is well worthy of being known. They claim that, when any act is done which would entitle a *receiver* to recover damages by an action-at-law against the doer, that act is also a contempt of court, and renders the doer liable to imprisonment, even though *no* injunction has been issued. Many railroads in this country are being administered by the courts for the benefit of their creditors, and in such cases the judge has the powers of a board of directors, and a receiver is appointed with the powers of a general manager. If, therefore, any employee of such a railroad or any other person does anything which the judge thinks would entitle the receiver, if he were so minded, to bring an action-at-law against that employee or other person, the latter may be arrested and imprisoned without trial, even though the act done may be such that, if tried in the ordinary way, nice questions both of law and fact might arise for the determination of the court and jury. This is a much more oppressive power than that of punishing the violation of an injunction.

So much for contempt of court. Turn we now to consider the causes for which injunctions may be issued.

The proper object of injunctions is to prevent the use of legal rights in exceptional cases in which the exercise of such rights is held to be inequitable, and to prevent the transgression of legal rights in cases where their assertion is held to be equitable. Lord Eldon held that he had no right to prevent by injunction the commission of a crime. For that purpose the law has provided another process, by binding over the intending culprit with sureties to keep the peace. But sometimes a man claims a *right* to use the property of another. He may claim a right by some ancient custom, or by a deed of doubtful meaning, to cut down trees on another's land, to mine there, to walk or drive across it. In this case the rights of the parties must be settled by litigation; and, if the claimant is unsuccessful and yet refuses to abide by the decision,

he must be compelled to do so by injunction. In this case the act, having been adjudged wrongful, is, in a sense, a crime; and so a crime must be restrained by injunction. This use of the injunction to prevent injury to property is legitimate. But it is far otherwise when no title is in question, and a wrongdoer of mere lawlessness proposes to set fire to a house or to destroy railroad cars. In such a case, if the act is done the perpetrator may be arrested; if it is contemplated he may be compelled to find sureties to keep the peace; if two agree to do it they may be prosecuted for conspiracy. Yet such acts are now restrained by injunction in labor cases.

But, while an injunction to restrain such injuries to property as I have referred to is a usurpation by courts of equity of powers with which they have not been entrusted, the case is much worse when the word "property" is taken with that extreme latitude with which the courts of this country interpret it in labor cases. They hold that the right to labor is a right of property, and that the right to employ labor is a right of property; and that whoever interferes with either of these rights is liable to be restrained by injunction from interfering with it as a right of property.

This brings us to a very remarkable development of law in this country, which, though repudiated in New York, is rampant in almost every other State in the Union. There are only two English cases tending to support it. One, Springfield *v.* Riley, has long since been overruled, though still cited by the American courts as authoritative. The other, Temperton *v.* Russell, lends some countenance to the American cases, though subsequent to most of them in point of time. According to this law, which, be it observed, has been made by the courts in recent years without any assistance from the legislatures, any person who persuades a class of persons to refrain from dealing with, or from employing, *or from working for*, a third, is liable to an action at law, in which damages may be recovered against him. Exceptions are made when the object of the persuasion is to obtain the work or business for the party who effects the persuasion, and when the object is to benefit those who are persuaded. But, when the object is to benefit some other person in whom the persuader feels inter-

ested, the rule applies. Thus, a labor leader may not persuade a union to withhhold their services from their employer until he shall consent to grant better conditions of labor to other employees, or to dismiss non-unionists, or until he shall consent to bring similar pressure to bear on another employer with whom he has dealings for a similar purpose.

That such a rule contravenes the most elementary principles of freedom is obvious without argument; for, if a body of men have a right to withhold their services from their employer absolutely, they must have a right to withhold them until he shall do something which they desire; and, if they have a right to do that, anyone else must have a right to persuade them thereto. And this has been so held in the well-reasoned and leading case Heywood *v.* Tillson, in which workmen were not concerned. But labor cases are decided on peculiar principles. The party who effects the persuasion is generally said to be committing a "boycott," but that word has no very precise signification. It may be well here to correct a popular error that more than one person must be concerned in persuading in order to be liable. It is held without exception in this country that whatever is actionable when done by several is also actionable when done by one only.

Cases of the above character are apt to be confounded with those in which the persuasion is effected, as sometimes happens, by intimidation, violence, or slander. Intimidation, violence, and slander are wrongs in themselves, and are not the less fit subjects for legal redress because they are used as means for the accomplishment of an object in itself unobjectionable. But the working classes have reason to complain when the mere presence of a number of workmen in making a request to another to quit work, or the display of banners or the like, is held of itself to imply intimidation; and when the fear of disapprobation is regarded as equivalent to intimidation; and when the mere carrying about of a placard requesting outsiders not to accept employment in competition with the strikers is held (as I believe it was in one case) to be a libel.

Laying such cases aside, some remarkable consequences flow from the rule we have just been considering. One is that

whoever *intends* to effect such a persuasion as I have mentioned may be restrained by injunction. Another is that whoever persuades workmen to leave their employment and remain out until their employer shall cease to deal with a receiver as such, may be sent to jail without any injunction. Another is that if two persons agree together to effect a persuasion of either kind they may be indicted and punished for conspiracy.

And this brings me to the subject of conspiracy, with which I will conclude this paper, although I have not exhausted the devices which the courts have evolved from their inner consciousness for the oppression of the working classes.

Conspiracy is (legally) an agreement between two persons or more to violate the criminal law, or to bring a third into disgrace, or to violate the civil law in a way by which a third person may be injured; and when two or more concur in doing any of these things the law infers a previous agreement and punishes them for it accordingly. Yet it is not every actionable wrong the joint commission of or agreement for which will subject the doers to the penalties of conspiracy; and the question what wrongs do fall under this ban has always been and still is unsettled. Nor is it every crime. Suffice it to say that boycotting (so-called) is one of those which are held to fall under it.

To a plain man it seems extraordinary that an agreement by two to do an act should be punishable when the act is not punishable when done by one, and is not *itself* punishable when done by two, although their concurrence renders them punishable for the inferred previous agreement. Probably the law of conspiracy originated in a theory that a plot or plan to commit a crime is as culpable as the crime itself, and that the concurrence of two shows that it was finally determined on, which otherwise might be doubtful. And, in the opinion of an able English writer (since promoted to the bench), conspiracies were at first only punishable when the act conspired to be committed was punishable also; but afterwards the courts, which had previously held certain forms of fraud to be punishable, and conspiracies to commit them to be punishable also, retraced their steps as regards the frauds themselves,

but left conspiracies to commit them punishable as before. In this way a principle was established that a conspiracy may be punishable though the act conspired to be committed is not, and so a door was opened for the modern developments.

The theoretical ground, however, on which attempts have been made to justify the modern doctrine is, that there may be wrongs which a single individual is not capable of effecting, but which can be compassed by the joint action of several. Professor Jevons supported the doctrine on this ground; holding that a single individual cannot injure a bank by drawing out the balance at his credit, but that several may by arranging to draw out their balances simultaneously. And the same idea seems to underlie Lord Bramwell's opinion, that a number of persons combining to insult another by making disagreeable sounds or gestures are punishable for conspiracy. The examples are badly chosen, for a single depositor having a million in the bank can injure it more by drawing out his balance than can fifty depositors having but fifty dollars each; and a contemptuous gesture from one man of weight in the community may injure a reputation more than contemptuous gestures of two or twenty nobodies.

But the principle itself does not explain the law of conspiracy. That law punishes the agreement of two to do an act which one alone *can* do, and by doing which he can effect as much injury as the two combined; and it makes no distinction between two and a greater number. Indeed, if the object were to provide a punishment for offences of which a single individual is incapable, there would be no need to make a legal distinction between one or more, for the case of a commission of the act by one alone could not arise, nor would it be the agreement but the joint act itself which would be proscribed. There appears, therefore, to be no excuse for the law of conspiracy.

As regards the application of the law of conspiracy to labor cases, it was formerly held in England and in Pennsylvania that an agreement for a joint cessation of work by employees with a view to obtain better wages or the like was a criminal conspiracy. The reason, as far as we can gather, though few of the cases state any reason, was, a fear on the part of the

courts that, if wages were raised, the manufacturers might be unable to compete with their foreign rivals; or, perhaps, if unreasoning workmen should push their demands too far, might be deprived of all profit, and obliged to abandon their enterprises; and the fact that workmen cannot push their demands so far lest they themselves should be thrown out of employment does not seem to have been taken into account. Indeed, Vice-chancellor Malins, when deciding Springfield *v.* Riley, claimed to be benefiting the workmen themselves by protecting them from the risk of being thrown out of employment. But this doctrine has been abandoned by the English courts, who now profess that it was founded on a statute since repealed; and, in Pennsylvania, it has been abolished by statute. But a conspiracy to "boycott" is still punishable in most of the States. The Federal courts, on branches of the law over which Congress or the Constitution has given them jurisdiction, are supposed to follow the law of the State where the question arises.

To sum up: the position seems to me to call imperatively for statutes in all the States amending the law as follows:

That plots to commit crimes shall be punishable whether committed by one or more; and that the law of conspiracy shall be abolished.

That receivers, when civilly wronged, shall be left to their action-at-law, and when criminally wronged to their prosecutions, like other people.

That the act of persuading others to do anything which they might lawfully do of their own accord shall be legal, whether the persuasion be effected by quitting work or by any other means. Provided, however, that if a means unlawful in itself be used, that means shall remain punishable or actionable as it would be if used without any design to persuade.

That the presence of a number of persons, with or without banners, marching, music, etc., when requesting others to quit work, shall not be regarded as intimidation; and that placards containing such requests or other matter consistent with truth shall not be deemed libels.

That wrongful acts shall not be restrained by injunction,

except as a means of giving effect to a decree determining a disputed right.

That imprisonment or other penalty shall be inflicted not as a punishment for disobedience to an injunction, but merely as a means of compelling future obedience; and shall cease when obedience has been rendered, or sincerely promised, or has become impossible.

That contempt of court of other kinds shall be defined, and shall not be punished without conviction by a jury.

That a constabulary force shall be organized in each State, and the sheriff be relieved of police duties.

THE EXILED CHRIST IN CHRISTIAN RUSSIA.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

A TRAGEDY is to-day being enacted in the Caucasus, a tragedy which challenges the attention of men of conviction, and which may well make Christians pause and think. On the one side is ranged the Russian government, whose Tsar is the head of the Greek Christian Church. The Russian government, like most of the western nations, claims to be Christian. The state and church are linked together, and are a unit in declaring that Jesus is the very God. This Christian government is one of the principals in the tragedy now in progress. The other party is the band of Christians of the Universal Brotherhood, or the Spirit-Wrestlers. The men and women of this body are unique among Christians, in that they take Jesus seriously. They believe that when he taught of man's duties and responsibilities he actually meant what he said. It will be clearly seen that a wide gulf separates these Christians from the vast multitude who, while dogmatically asserting that Jesus is the very God, treat his solemn commands as the idle vaporings of an impractical dreamer. Hence the spectacle which has been witnessed so many times during the past two thousand years is being reënacted. Authority is crushing virtue. A nation claiming to be Christian is persecuting the followers of Christ. The living witnesses of the truth proclaimed by Him who was crucified through the instrumentality of the Jewish Church two thousand years ago are being beaten, robbed, imprisoned, and exiled in Russia to-day.

In their simple and unpretentious lives these persecuted ones exhibit in a wonderful degree the spirit of Jesus. Indeed it is doubtful whether any body of people come nearer living the life enjoined by the Nazarene than do the Christians of

the Universal Brotherhood.* Their virtue, guilelessness, simplicity, faith, honest sincerity, industry, and brotherly love are proverbial, and yet those who have spoken for them have been exiled, while they themselves are being set upon as though they were wild beasts, and are being treated as criminals by a government which claims to be Christian. This brings us to a notice of these ardent followers of Christ, their views, and the treatment which is being meted out to them.

II.

The Christians of the Universal Brotherhood, or Spirit-Wrestlers as they are popularly called, have existed in Russia for more than one hundred and fifty years. In an old Russian manuscript, written in 1805, and recently republished in the periodical entitled *Russian Antiquity*, we have a graphic and sympathetic picture of this remarkable people as they appeared early in the present century. The origin of the society is somewhat obscure. It seemed to spring up without the crystallizing influence of a strong individuality. It does not appear that there was any Paul or Luther to give unity and cohesion to the thoughts which were filling the minds of the simple people who failed to find in the elaborate forms, rites, dogmas, and perfunctory professions of the Greek Church a realization of that for which their souls hungered. Coming together in little groups these illiterate peasants formed bodies and later drifted into communal associations, which represented perhaps more nearly than any similar societies the primitive Christian Church. As the result of a reaction from ritualism and the lifeless pomp and show of the Greek Church, the Christians of the Universal Brotherhood have discarded all rites and forms. In many respects they resemble the early Quakers in belief and practice.

As may easily be imagined, the innovators quickly aroused the opposition of the church and state. There is but one conservative body more antagonistic to innovations than the

* "Christian Martyrdom in Russia: Persecution of the Spirit-Wrestlers in the Caucusus." Edited by Vladimir Tchertkoff, containing a concluding chapter and letter by Leo Tolstoy. London, Eng., The Brotherhood Publishing Company. Pp. 110, paper, price one shilling. (The proceeds of the sale of this work go to relieve the sufferings of these persecuted Christians.)

state, and that is the church. It was the priesthood of old that opposed the prophets; it was the priesthood that compassed the crucifixion of Jesus and so relentlessly persecuted the early church. It was the church or the church party which established the Inquisition, which compassed the martyrdom of Savonarola and Bruno, which imprisoned Galileo, and banished Roger Williams. So, though these Christians of the Universal Brotherhood were simple, unlettered peasant folk, their teachings and, most of all, their lives won many followers to them, until the church and state became alarmed. The priest, the judge, and the soldier, the pillars of conventionalism, were soon pitted against this simple-hearted, unresisting Christian body, whose only crime was the faithful carrying out of the solemn commands of the Founder of the Christian religion.

In 1792 the governor of Ekaterinoslaf, who must have been a man after the order of Caiaphas, in a message to St. Petersburg states that "*All those infected by this move merit no mercy.*" The principal reason for this opinion appears to have been the fact that they were leading or enticing so many to follow them, inasmuch as, to use the language of his report, "The mode of life of the Spirit-Wrestlers is founded on the most honest observances. Their greatest care is the general welfare, and they find salvation in good works."

The persecutions at this time were very cruel. At frequent intervals these pious folk were made the victims of cruelty much like that practised against the early Christians under many of the pagan emperors of Rome. When Alexander I became Tsar, he was adverse to this brutal policy, and in one of his rescripts, issued in the latter part of 1816, he made the following significant observations, probably in justification of his milder policy: "All the measures of severity exhausted upon the Spirit-Wrestlers during the thirty years up to 1801 not only did not destroy this sect, but more and more multiplied the number of its adherents." After Alexander, however, the old-time cruelty was again manifested, and under Nicholas I the former savage measures were rigidly enforced. From time to time the Spirit-Wrestlers have been banished from their homes, or their beautiful and flourishing

lands have been exchanged by the government for barren, wild, and desolate parts of the empire, while many men, women, and children have suffered atrocities of the most fiendish character from the lust, brutality, and blind prejudice of the unrestrained and barbarous Cossacks. But before noticing the present persecution it is important that we consider the belief and life of those who are suffering exile, imprisonment, starvation, and death because of their loyalty to what they feel to be the commands of God.

III.

As already mentioned, the Christians of the Universal Brotherhood discard forms, rites, priests, and creed, and strive to express in their every act and deed a life in which the service and worship of God in the spirit and the truth shall be so apparent that none of their number shall become a stumbling-block to other lives. They believe in the Trinity, God representing to them the principle of *Light*, Christ *Life*, and the Holy Spirit *Peace*, in the one great Life. They acknowledge the manifestation of Christ in the flesh, but hold that the deepest significance of Christ's life is found in its spiritual sense, insisting that the model given must be followed in spirit, in teaching, and in life by each one who would become a disciple of Christ and a son of God. Jesus, they believe, was himself the true gospel. He is the Word that must be written in the hearts as in the lives of those who would be his followers. They hold that faith without works is dead, that any faith which fails to exemplify itself in shadowing forth a life such as Jesus enjoined and such as the early Church exemplified "is empty, lifeless, and of no avail." They do not hold that it is necessary to belong to their society to be saved. They hold that *conduct* brings a man salvation, and that it is only essential that a man know the way of God and follow it. They hold that truth, purity, love, labor, obedience, mercy, and self-mastery should be dear to every soul. "What I do not wish for myself, that I must not wish for anyone else," is a favorite maxim. They hold all life sacred, and are therefore vegetarians. They believe in nonresistance, and refuse to kill their fellow men, as did the early Christians and

the early Quakers, and so they refuse to bear arms. They live in communal societies like the members of the primitive church. They renounce wine, tobacco, and every kind of excess. The following are ten clauses in their belief recently set forth by a number of their body as points they hold essential:

1. The members of the Community revere and love God as the Source of all being.
2. They respect the dignity of man both in themselves and in their fellow men.
3. The members of the Community regard everything that exists with love and admiration, and they try to bring up their children in the same tendency.
4. By the word "God" they understand the power of love, the power of life, which is the Source of all that exists.
5. Life is progress, and everything tends towards perfection, in order that the seed received should be returned to the Source of life in the form of ripe fruit.
6. In everything that exists in our world we see consecutive stages towards perfection: thus, beginning with a stone and passing over to plants, we come to animals, the fullest development of which is man, regarding him from the point of view of life and of a conscious being.
7. The members of the Community hold that to destroy or hurt any living thing is blameworthy. In every separate being there is life and hence God, especially in a human being. To deprive a man of life is in no way permissible.
8. The members accord full freedom to the life of man, and therefore all organization founded on violence they regard as unlawful.
9. The basis of man's existence is the power of thought—reason.
10. It is recognized that the communal life of man is based on the moral law, which has for its rule, "What I do not wish for myself, that I must not wish for anyone else."

One Russian official, in reporting to the higher authorities on the characteristics of these people, stated that they "are of exemplary good conduct, avoiding drunkenness and idleness, and are constantly occupied with the welfare of their homes, leading a moral life. They have always regularly paid the state taxes and fulfilled their other social duties." Wherever the Russian government has from time to time sent them they have made the wilderness blossom like the rose. The wildest and most barren regions have become garden spots, only to be seized in their turn by the representatives of the government of Holy Russia.

The immediate cause of the present persecution of these

people is their refusal to bear arms. Three Russians, Paul Birukoff, John Tregouboff, and Vladimir Tchertkoff, addressed an appeal to the Russians, which opened as follows:

A terrible cruelty is now being perpetrated in the Caucasus. More than four thousand people are suffering and dying from hunger, disease, exhaustion, blows, tortures, and other persecutions at the hands of the Russian authorities. These suffering people are enduring persecution because their religious convictions do not allow them to fulfil those demands of the state which are connected, directly or indirectly, with the killing of, or violence to, their fellow men.

This appeal continues, in simple and touching language, to set forth the cause of these God-fearing people, and to show how cruelly they are being wronged. It is not a carelessly prepared document written by partisans to influence the minds of readers. Nor is it the passionate outburst of men wrought to a high state of feeling by the witnessing of shameful outrages; it is a very carefully prepared document, well-considered and conservative in all its statements, as will be seen from the following testimony by Count Leo Tolstoy:*

The facts related in this appeal composed by three of my friends have been repeatedly verified, revised, and sifted. The appeal itself has been several times recast and corrected. Everything has been rejected from it which although true might seem an exaggeration, so that all that is stated in the appeal is the real, indubitable truth.

A few extracts from this appeal will give a glimpse of the sufferings of men and women of noble purpose and exemplary lives, because they insist on taking the solemn teachings of Him whom the holy Russian government declares to be the very God *at His word.*

First of all, the troops called out were quartered "in execution" on the Spirit-Wrestlers' settlements; that is, the property and the inhabitants themselves of these settlements were placed at the disposal of the officers, soldiers, and Cossacks quartered in these villages. Their property was plundered, and the inhabitants themselves were insulted and maltreated in every way, while the women were flogged with whips and some of them violated. The men, numbering about three hundred, who had refused to continue in the army service, and about thirty who had refused active service, were thrown into prison or sent to a penal battalion.

Afterwards more than four hundred families of Spirit-Wrestlers in

* Concluding chapter of "Christian Martyrdom in Russia." This chapter is written by Count Leo Tolstoy.

Ahalkalaky were torn from their prosperous holdings and splendidly cultivated land, and after the forced sale, for a mere trifle, of their property, they were banished from the Ahalkalaky district to four other districts of the Tiflis government, and scattered among the Georgian villages, from one to five families to each village, and there abandoned to their fate.

Of the sufferings and death of some of the many who have been imprisoned we get some idea from the following:

The first to die in this way [from actual violence], in July, 1895, was Kirill Konkin, *the cause of death being blows received as corporal punishment.* He died on the road, before reaching the place of his exile, in a state of hallucination which commenced when he was being flogged. Next, in August, 1896, died Michael Scherbinin in the Ekaterinograd penal battalion, *tortured to death by flogging* and by being thrown with violence over the wooden horse in the gymnasium. Among those confined in the prisons many have already died. Some of them, while dying, were locked up in separate rooms, and neither their fellow prisoners, nor parents, nor wives and children who had come to bid them farewell, were allowed to even enter the room where the dying lay, alone and helpless. More deaths are to be expected both among the population suffering from want in exile and in the prisons.

Some conception of the fearful mortality of those who have been robbed of their possessions and scattered as chaff before the wind may be gathered from this extract:

In one place of exile situated in the Signak district, 106 deaths occurred among 100 families (about 1,000 people) settled there. In the Gory district, 147 deaths occurred among 190 families. In the Tionet district, 83 deaths occurred among 100 families. In the Dushet district, 20 deaths occurred among 72 families. Almost all are suffering from diseases, and disease and mortality are constantly increasing.

Two thousand years have flown since bands of men and women holding all in common, as do these simple, pure-lived Christians of the Caucasus, men and women believing much the same truths, and believing them so profoundly that they were willing to undergo any cruelty for the faith that was in them, were persecuted much as are these modern followers of Jesus. But the ancient persecutions were by a pagan government, which for more than fifteen centuries has been held up to the execration of the Western world; while the fortitude of the martyrs, and their joy in suffering as the Master had suffered, have been the theme of poet, preacher, and painter. The persecutions to-day are no less reprehensible because the persecuting government claims to be holy and arrogates to

itself the name of Christian. Nor are the fortitude and faith of the sufferers any less touching and beautiful because the persecuted are modern peasants in the Caucasus instead of primitive Christians on the shores of the Mediterranean. Do you speak of the joy and essential heroism of the early martyrs who were slain for loyalty to the teachings of Jesus? Then look at this picture of these persecuted ones given by a man who visited some who were in prison, expecting to find them downcast, and hoping to comfort them. He says:

> Instead of unhappy men, I found spiritually healthy and vigorous men awaiting future tortures with gladness. "It is not for robbery or murder that we are here," they said to me, "and therefore one must not grieve at it, but rejoice; Christ Himself suffered." When I was told that two of them were sentenced to the penal battalion, I could not help exclaiming that it would be hard there. "We do not care for our flesh, and no one can take away from us our soul," was their answer, which was uttered in a tone of deep conviction, clearly showing me the sublimity of these true Christians of modern times.
>
> "It is a great sin," said they to me, "to lift up one's hand against one's fellow man. It is a great pity to kill even a very small bird. Why should we care for our flesh? To-day I am alive, and to-morrow I am dead, but my soul is eternally alive; is it not better, then, to let our bodies be injured and to preserve our eternal soul?"

When I read of these recent persecutions and found out the manner of men and the lofty belief and noble consistency which characterized the lives of the sufferers, and also remembered persecutions on account of religious beliefs which recently occurred in our own land,* I thought of a couplet from Lowell:

> Truth forever on the scaffold,
> Wrong forever on the throne,

and I asked: "Must it ever be thus? Must those who ascend the mountain and return with a new truth for man or a broader and nobler vision for humanity be rewarded with the hemlock? And must those who have been so touched by the

*Russia is not alone in its persecution of men for their religious convictions. Tennessee and other States have placed blisters upon their brows by cruelly arresting, condemning, and imprisoning noble-souled Christians of exemplary character, because they rested and served God on the seventh day, according to the warrant they found in the Bible, and worked on the other six days. The spirit of persecution is not dead. It proclaims the power of darkness yet present in church and state and in the hearts of men. It is anti-Christian; it is from the plane of the animal; it comes from the past. It is one of the greatest foes to true religion, to human happiness, to progress and true civilization.

life and thought of the serene Nazarene that their lives have been transformed into the likeness of His be imprisoned, exiled, beaten, and slain by those who call Him the very God, while mocking His solemn teachings, and crucify Him afresh while pretending to praise and honor Him?" How long the night is passing! How slowly does the caravan of humanity approach the dawn of an age when toleration will find a place in the heart of man, when religion will exchange the rage of bigotry, intolerance, and hate for gentleness, compassion, and boundless love! When confronted by such giant wrongs as many of those which to-day darken the brow of Christian civilization, one is almost tempted to doubt that the night is passing. And yet a backward glance shows us that man is rising, that humanity is moving forward step by step, that the ashes of the martrys, the bones of the prophets, the cells where languished the innocent, mark the milestones of progress. They register the steps in the ascent of civilization.

I watch the circle of the eternal years,
  And read forever in the storied page
One lengthened roll of blood, and wrong, and tears,
  One onward step of Truth from age to age.

The poor are crushed; the tyrants link their chain;
  The poet sings through narrow dungeon-grates;
Man's hope lies quenched; and, lo! with steadfast gain
  Freedom doth forge her mail of adverse fates.

Men slay the prophets; fagot, rack, and cross
  Make up the groaning record of the past;
But evil's triumphs are her endless loss,
  And sovereign Beauty wins the soul at last.

GIRLS' COÖPERATIVE BOARDING HOMES.*

BY ROBERT STEIN.

"Except all men were good, everything can not be right."—*Sir Thomas More.*

EVERYBODY admits that many things in human affairs are out of joint; but when you inquire into the possibility of setting them right, the unanimity ceases. One class of people will tell you that a perfect society can be constructed out of the existing individuals, if you give them perfect institutions. To listen to some of them, one would think that such words as stupidity, indolence, malice, bigotry, greed, envy, cruelty had got into the dictionary by mistake; that, by the requisite amount of coaxing, men may gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles. Another class will tell you that, whatever imaginary men may do, the real man will wrest the finest institutions to evil, and that from the slow improvement of human nature alone can salvation be expected. Without trying to decide the case betwen them, it may be permitted to ask class one: Would it not be easier to introduce perfect institutions if we all were more accessible to reason, more public-spirited, more energetic, in other words, if human nature were improved? and class two: If everything depends on the improvement of human nature, may we not do something to hasten that improvement?

The "conscious evolution" thus suggested, the latest and finest fruit of human thought, is described with rare grace and power by Blanche Leppington in "The Debrutalization of Man" (*Contemporary Review*, May, 1895).

*Since this article was written, the author has received the following letter regarding it:

University of Chicago, Jan. 21, 1898.

Your article on "Girls' Coöperative Boarding Homes" deserves the most respectful and sympathetic attention. Although my judgment about various details would differ from yours, I know from observation that in the main you are right. Society is insecure if women are insecure. Extension of the coöperative policy in creating good homes for women is greatly to be desired. ALBION W. SMALL,

Head of Department of Sociology and Director of Affiliated Work.

"Man," she says, "knows now what Nature has been doing for him all along; he guesses what she is going on to do. He is now the living witness of his own evolution; must he not henceforth be a conscious agent in directing it? He must follow her methods then. He must elect, reject, conserve, suppress, . . . and supplement her process of natural selection by a process of ethical elimination."

As the doctrine of evolution and the supremacy of heredity progressively assume, in popular consciousness, the character of axioms, we may expect to hear more and more suggestions in the direction of "conscious evolution;" and certain agencies which now unwittingly perform the task of "ethical elimination" may do so wittingly with greater efficacy.

Such an agency has grown up during the last thirty years, and the point of view above outlined may impart to it fresh interest. If life is to be a harmony, woman must be the soprano. If the weeds are to be rejected, woman must do at least half the rejecting—probably somewhat more. To that end, she must be, *if possible*, absolutely free to accept or reject. In other words, the life of every woman must, *if possible*, be made so pleasant that she can not make it pleasanter by marrying, unless she marries for love.

Of course this is an ideal. But ideals, though unattainable, may be as helpful and necessary in social science as they are in mechanics. How near can we come to this ideal? All things are possible unto them that coöperate one with another. If one thousand unmarried women, instead of living scattered over a large city, could be made to combine their incomes and live together in one house, they could obtain a thousand conveniences of which they are deprived while living apart. They would be in far greater financial security, for only a few of them would at any time be out of work, and the expenses of these could be borne by the rest, till, finding employment, they could pay arrears. Above all, since the essential pleasures of life arise out of our relations with one another, these coöperators, having the amplest opportunity to enter (or avoid entering) into the most varied relations with others, would have the best chance of happiness.

To anticipate the objection that this is mere theory, I give a list of over one hundred institutions in which the theory is put in practice, about half of them being self-supporting.

LIST OF GIRLS' COÖPERATIVE BOARDING HOMES.

This list is a revised edition of one published in Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia for 1890, pp. 383-385, which was compiled by correspondence, aided by the list in chapter II of the 4th annual report of the U. S. Department of Labor. It was the intention to exclude all institutions bearing the character of hospitals, orphan asylums, reformatories, or old ladies' retreats. Information in regard to any mistakes in this respect, and in regard to omissions, will be gratefully received. The term "self-supporting" is not intended to include rent, taxes, interest, or extensive repairs or improvements. W. C. A., Women's Christian Association; Y. W. C. A., Young Women's Christian Association; L. C. U., Ladies' Christian Union.

Locality.	Name.	Address.	Weekly charge, room and board.	Self-supporting.	Capacity.
Albany, N. Y.	Y. W. C. A.	5 Lodge St.	25 cts. to $1.00 per night.	Yes	13
Baltimore, Md.	Y. W. C. A.	128 W. Franklin St.(cor.Park Ave.)	$2.75—$3.25	No	50
"	Female Christian Home	416 N. Greene St.	$2.75	Yes	30
"	St. Paul's House,St. Paul Parish (Episcopal).	309 Cathedral St.	$3.00		20
"	St. Vincent's Home	108 N. Front St.	$2.50	Yes	60
Bangor, Me.	King's Daughters' Home	18 Middle St.	Up to $3.00	No	18
Boston, Mass.	Y. W. C. A.	40 Berkeley St., cor. Appleton.	$3.50—$5.00	Yes	156
"	Y. W. C. A.	68 Warrenton St.	$3.50—$5.00	Yes	225
"	New England Helping Hand Home	124 Pembroke St.	$3.00	Yes	20
"	Home of the Gray Nuns for Working Girls.	89 Union Park St.	$2.50—$5.00	Yes	185
Brantford, Canada	Y. W. C. A. Temporary Home.	127 Brant Ave.	$2.50—$4.00	Yes	12
Brooklyn, N. Y.	Society for the Aid of Friendless Women and Children	20 Concord St.	Lodging.	Free	125
"	St. Phoebe's Mission	125 De Kalb Ave.	Free.		10
Buffalo, N. Y.	W. C. A.	10 Niagara Square	$2.50—$4.00	Nearly	100
"	Catholic Home for Young Girls	66 Franklin St.	$3.00	Nearly	20
Charleston, S. C.	Home for Mothers, Widows, and Daughters of Confederate Soldiers.	Broad St.	Variable.	No	150
Chicago, Ill.	Y. W. C. A. Boarding Home	288 Michigan Ave.	$4.00—$6.00	Yes	300
"	Y. W. C. A. Transient Home	57 Center Ave.	$3.00	No	25
"	West Chicago Y. W. C. A.	55 S. Ada St.	$3.25—$5.50	Yes	65
"	Home for Self-supporting Women	275 Indiana St.	$2.50—$3.50	Yes	65

Locality.	Name.	Address.	Weekly charge, room and board.	Self-supporting.	Capacity.
Chicago, Ill	Women's Model Workshop and Lodging House	247 West Polk St	15 cts. a night.	No	30
"	St. Joseph's Home	409 S. May St	$2.00—$5.00	Yes	200
"	Jane Club	253 Ewing St	$3.00	Yes	30
Cincinnati, O	W. C. A	26 E. 8th St	$3.00	No	15
Cleveland, O	W. C. A	16 Walnut St	$3.12—$4.50	Yes	55
"	St. Mary's Home (Catholic)	103 Harmon St	$2.50—$3.00	Yes	40
Columbus, O	Boarding House for Women (Women's Educational and Industrial Union.)	64 South 4th St	$2.50—$3.00	Yes	25
Dallas, Texas	Girls' Coöperative Home	223 Ross Ave	$2.75—$4.00	Yes	50
Denver, Colo	Y. W. C. A	1723 Stout St	$3.50	Yes	60
Des Moines, Iowa.	Business Women's Association	1108 Pleasant St	$2.50—$4.00	Nearly	50
Detroit, Mich	Young Woman's Home	Clifford St. and Adams Ave	$2.50—$4.00	Yes	65
"	St. Mary's Home (Catholic)	87 Henry St	$1.75—$3.00	Yes	40
"	Home of the Friendless	Warren Ave., near Woodward	Up to $1.00	No	60
Erie, Pa	W. C. A. Boarding Home	918 French St	$2.50—$3.50	Nearly	20
Fort Wayne, Ind.	Y. W. C. A. Home	49-51 W. Berry St	$2.50—$4.00	Yes	25
Hamilton, Ontario.	Y. W. C. A. Boarding House	17 Main St., West	$2.50—$3.00		
Hannibal, Mo	Home for the Friendless	6th and Hill Sts	Free.	No	40
Hastings, Neb	Bethany Home (W. C. T. U)	139 E. 5th St	$2.00	No	14
Indianapolis, Ind.	Friends' Boarding Home	211 East N. Y. St	$3.00—$3.50	Yes	22
Jackson, Mich	Good Samaritan Home for the Friendless	Cor. Clinton and Ingham Sts	Variable.	No	....
Kansas City, Mo.	Y. W. C. A. Home	9th and Broadway	$3.00—$4.50	No	80
Leavenworth, Kan.	Kansas Association for Friendless Women	267 Marshall St	$3.00	Yes	50
Los Angeles, Cal.	Flower Festival Home	125 East 4th St	$3.50	Yes	60
Louisville, Ky	W. C. A. Boarding Home	530 First St	$2.50	No	30
Lowell, Mass	Ayer Home for Young Women and Children.	159 Pawtucket St	Variable.	No	100
Memphis, Tenn	Anna Brinkley Home	455 Shelby St	$1.50—$3.00	Yes	55
Milwaukee, Wis	Woman's Christian Friendly Society	502 Milwaukee St	$3.00—$4.00	Yes	34
"	Girl's Home (Catholic)	Sycamore St., bet. 11th and 12th.	$2.50—$3.00	Yes	20
Minneapolis, Minn.	W. C. A	409 S. 6th St	$3.00—$4.00	Yes	75
"	W. C. A. (Branch Home)	108 S. 7th St	$2.50—$3.00	Nearly	32

Montgomery, Ala.	Working Women's Home	Cor. Adams and Union Sts	Free.	No	50
Montreal, Canada.	Y. W. C. A	896 Dorchester St	$2.50—$4.50	No	70
Montreal, Canada.	Y.W. C. A. Temporary Home for Working Girls	2434 St. Catherine St	$2.50	No	18
"	Ladies' Benevolent Institution	31 Berthelet St	Variable.	No	165
"	Sheltering Home	92 St. Urbain St	$2.00	No	30
NewBedford, Mass.	W. C. A. Boarding Home	Cor. Lincoln and Union Sts	$3.50—$6.00	No	14
Newburyport, Mass.	Y. W. C. A. Girls' Boarding Home	13 Market St	$3.25—$3.75	No	25
New Haven, Conn.	Y. W. C. A	568 Chapel St	$3.50—$5.00	Yes	62
New York, N. Y.	Margaret Louisa Home for Protestant Young Women (boarding department Y.W. C. A).	14–16 East 16th St	About $8.00	Yes	115
"	Y. W. C. A. West Side Settlement	453 West 47th St	$3.00—$3.50	No	17
"	L. C. U. Young Women's Home	27 Washington Square	$3.00—$5.00	Nearly	84
"	L. C. U. Branch Home for Women	308 Second Ave	$3.00—$5.00	Yes	38
"	L. C. U. Eva Home	153 East 62d St	$4.00—$6.00	Yes	40
"	Shelter for Respectable Girls	241 West 14th St	$3.75—$5.00	No	40
"	Temporary Home for Women	219 Second Ave	$1.40—$2.00 (lodging).	Nearly	50
"	Women's Lodging House	6 Rivington St	$1.00 (lodging).	Yes	100
"	Free Home for Destitute Young Girls	23 East 11th St	Free.	No	28
"	Elizabeth Home for Girls	307 East 12th St	$1.50	No	60
"	Young Women's Home Society (French Evangelical).	341 West 30th St	$4.00	Yes	20
"	St. Barnabas Home for Friendless Women	304 Mulberry St	Nominal and free.	No	48
Oakland, Cal.	Y. W. C. A	1424 Franklin St	$3.00—$5.00	Yes	45
Ottawa, Canada.	Y. W. C. A	133–135 Metcalfe St	$2.50—$5.00	Yes	44
Peoria, Ill.	Home for the Friendless	Knoxville and Thrush Aves	Up to $2.00	No	40
Peterboro, Canada.	Y. W. C. A. Boarding Home	168 Brock St	$2.25—$3.00	Nearly	11
Philadelphia, Pa.	W. C. A. Boarding Home	18th and Arch Sts	$3.00—$6.00	Yes	250
"	W. C. A. (transient)	18th and Arch Sts	25 to 50 cts. a night.	Yes	35
"	Boarding Home for Girls (of St. James Guild).	2136 Fitzwater St	$3.50—$5.00	Nearly	12
"	Boarding Home for Young Protestant Women.	913–915 Clinton St	$3.00	No	52
"	" " " " " "	834 Pine St	$3.00	No	26

Locality.	Name.	Address.	Weekly charge, room and board.	Self-supporting.	Capacity.
Philadelphia, Pa..	Temporary Home for Women and Children.	505 North 6th St.....	$2.50—$3.00	Nearly ..	27
"	St. Margaret's House.....	5419 Germantown Ave.....	$3.00	No	20
Pittsburg, Pa.....	Temporary Home for Destitute Women.....	956 Penn. Ave.....	$3.00—$4.00	No	28
Portland, Me.....	W. C. A. Young Women's Home.....	26 Spring St.....	$3.00—$3.50	Yes	12
Portland, Oregon.	Portland Women's Union.....	510 Flanders St.....	$3.00—$7.00	Nearly ..	60
Providence, R. I..	Y. W. C. A.....	122 Fountain St.....	$3.50—$4.00	Yes	45
"	Y. W. C. A.....	73 Mathewson St.....	$3.50—$4.00	Yes	14
"	Maria Home.....	125 Governor St.....	$2.50—$4.00	Yes	125
Quebec, Canada...	W. C. A.....	125 Anne St.....	$2.00—$4.00	No	20
Quincy, Ill.....	Y. W. C. A. Boarding Home.....	313 York St.....	$2.00—$2.50	Nearly ..	20
Richmond, Va....	W. C. A.....	709-711 E. Franklin St.....	$2.00—$2.50'	Nearly ..	45
Rockford, Ill.....	Y. W. C. A. Boarding Home.....	226 S. Madison St.....	$2.50	Yes	17
Saginaw (E.) Mich.	Home for the Friendless.....	Cor. Howard and McCrosky Sts..	Variable.	No	60
Saint Louis, Mo..	W. C. A. Boarding Home	1814 Washington Ave.....	$3.25—$5.00	Yes	100
Saint Paul, Minn.	Young Women's Friendly Association.....	Cor. Jackson and 7th Sts.....	$2.25—$2.50	Nearly ..	50
Salem, Mass.....	Working Women's Bureau.....	12 Elm St.....	$2.15	No	25
San Francisco, Cal.	Y. W. C. A.....	1259 O'Farrell St.....	$3.00—$6.00	No	76
"	San Francisco Girls' Union	929 Pine St.....	$3.50—$5.00	Yes	27
Savannah, Ga.....	Louisa Porter Home.....	23 East Charlton St.....	$1.50	No	30
Seattle, Wash.....	The Sarah B. Yesler Home	2d Ave., North, cor. Republican..	$3.00—$5.00	Yes	40
Springfield, Mass.	Y. W. C. A.....	19 Bliss St.....	$3.25—$4.50	Yes	40
Syracuse, N. Y....	W. C. A. Boarding Home	518 South Salina St.....	$3.00	Nearly ..	32
Toledo, O.....	Y. W. C. A.....	622 Madison St.....	$3.50—$4.00	Yes	15
Toronto, Canada..	Y. W. C. A.....	18 Elm St.....	$2.50—$4.00	Nearly ..	56
"	Y. W. C. A. Southern Branch.....	79 Richmond St., W.....	$2.25—$2.50	Nearly ..	20
Troy, N. Y.....	Y. W. C. A.....	33 Second St.....	$4.00—$5.25	Yes	58
Utica, N. Y.....	W. C. A. Industrial Home	21 Court St.....	$2.50	No	20
Washington, D. C.	W. C. A. Boarding Home.....	1719 13th St., N.W.....	$1.00—$3.50	No	50
"	Young Women's Christian Home.....	311 C St., N. W.....	$2.00—$3.00	No	50
"	Institute of Our Lady of Mercy.....	222 N. Capitol St.....	Variable.	Yes	30
Worcester, Mass..	Y. W. C. A.....	10 Chatham St.....	$3.50—$5.00	Yes	82

At first sight, on inquiring into the origin of these institutions, the coöperative theory seems indeed to fail. The helpful idea, as usual, came from those not in need of help. In the course of the last thirty years, kind-hearted women, observing the privations and insecurity of young girls who had to earn a living away from home, devised a substitute for the natural home, the bulk of the funds being as a rule obtained from wealthy patrons.

The two homes of the Young Women's Christian Association at Boston seem to be in advance of most of the others, and to afford the best models for study. Their illustrated reports reveal an activity surprising by its variety. First and foremost, there is the Boarding Department, the root of happiness and culture. Educational facilities are provided, mostly of a practical nature—stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping, grammar, geography, and history. A library and reading-room stand ready to satisfy those who thirst for further knowledge. A school of domestic science "prepares the mistress to preside intelligently over her own home." Domestic science comprises "cooking and marketing (theory and practice), natural science (chemistry of foods, botany of fruits, grains, vegetables, physiology of digestion, hygiene), household management, keeping of family accounts, home nursing, and emergencies." Domestic arts comprise "educational sewing, home dressmaking, millinery, form study and drawing, clay modelling." For teachers, psychology, rhetoric, physical and voice culture, and Bible are added. The *training school for domestic servants* teaches cooking and serving, general housework, chamber work, parlor work, laundry work, sewing and mending, reading and spelling, penmanship and letter-writing, arithmetic and geography, and daily Scripture lessons. The Employment Bureau, in 1896-7, found situations for 4,674 women. Relaxation is found in entertainments in the spacious hall, receptions, and teas. A gymnasium, frequented by 588 pupils in 1896-7, provides physical exercise under careful supervision. In summer the roof garden is a great attraction. The Traveller's Aid Department sends an agent to the wharves and railway stations to inquire after young women who, on arriving, do not know where to go. Both homes are

self-supporting, each having a slight surplus annually, with a budget of about $36,000.

It is evident that nowhere but in such an institution can similar advantages be obtained for from $3.50 to $5.00 a week. Lodged in a pleasant room, with the conveniences of an hotel, with pleasant company always near, with the means of culture and practical training ready at hand, with experienced and discreet counsellors to give advice, with a host of friends to offer sympathy and aid in trouble, with a powerful organization to shield her against injustice,—it is not too much to say that the life of a girl in such an institution differs from that of her sister in a private boarding-house (equally expensive) as much as a holiday differs from a workday.

A description of the foremost among the other institutions would practically be a repetition of the above. The boarding Homes of the Women's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association at New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Buffalo, St. Louis, San Francisco, Toronto, Montreal, and other cities seem to be conducted, in the main, on the same principles as the Boston Homes, and to be not less successful. The reason of this superiority seems evident: these powerful and energetic associations are thoroughly organized and have annual meetings, at which the managers from different cities compare notes and learn from each other, while the "independent" Homes have to rely each on its own local wisdom. The Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Columbus, Ohio, seems to be uncommonly active and progressive. "Girls' Union," San Francisco, "Girls' Coöperative Home," Dallas, "Business Women's Association," Des Moines, are to be commended as attractive names—no small matter. The name "Hotel," the most attractive and appropriate of all, was formerly borne by an institution in Kansas City and another in Chicago. Was it abandoned for the same reason that prevents a Home in a certain Eastern city from purchasing a piano, "because it is too worldly?" A most important step has been taken by the institution in Denver, in opening their dining-room to ladies and gentlemen alike. The result has been most gratifying, financially and socially.

"Our patrons," says the report, "are of the kind most desired, quiet and orderly, showing their appreciation of our efforts by continuing with us from year to year. Special attention has been given to encouraging the patronage of the high-school boys; and to see them trooping in and taking their midday meal in a dignified manner, surrounded by right influences, would be reassuring to any mother's heart."

Many Homes have vacation houses in the country or by the sea, where vacation days may be spent with no greater cost than at home. One of the most famous is Sea Rest, Asbury Park, belonging to the Women's Christian Association of Philadelphia, and accommodating 240 boarders. Altogether, every page of their reports impresses one with the conviction that these institutions meet an urgent want and are thoroughly in harmony with the modern spirit, which is everywhere replacing isolated by combined action, individual by corporate capital.

Evidently, however, many fall short of the Boston model. First of all, most of them are much poorer. In this case, as in many others, "unto him that hath shall be given." The larger the Home, the greater is the chance of economy by coöperation, and the more attractive does it become by diversity of company and occupation. Above all, a large Home can be made self-supporting and thus avoid the stigma of charity. This point is well illustrated by an incident related in one of the reports:

Dissatisfaction arose at Thanksgiving because the Home was among the institutions asking for remembrance in church offerings. One girl thus offended sought newspaper notoriety, publishing her opinion that if the Home was a charitable institution it was no place for her. This resulted in the departure of six girls, whose places were speedily filled, showing that the majority take a just view of the situation, . . . despite the self-evident fact that the prices charged do not cover interest on the money invested.

"It is not uncommon," says another report, "to hear the remark, 'Oh, I would not board there; it's like living on charity!' Looking at it in that light, are not our churches, our university, our public library, all doing benevolent work, and as we gladly avail ourselves of the privileges these afford, why should we not of this?"

The fact is, however, that the public do make a distinction between donations for purposes of religion, education, amusements, and the like, and donations made to eke out somebody's daily bread. This distinction is wisely recognized at the Bos-

ton Homes, where the boarding department is kept strictly self-supporting, and all donations are devoted to educational and religious purposes. All inquiries have shown that the Boston public regard these institutions not as charities, but as coöperative enterprises. And thus it appears that co-operation, though not the origin, is, after all, the sustaining principle of these institutions, so that the theory with which we started and the title of this paper are justified. It would seem, however, as if not all Homes were anxious to avoid the appearance of poverty; and so great is this difference in principle that one is tempted to make two lists, the charity Homes and the non-charity Homes, and to treat them entirely apart, or rather to omit the former, as being foreign to the present subject. Such names as "Home of the Friendless" or "Shelter" may indeed appeal to some too timid and destitute to seek an "Hotel," but none will remain longer than they can help in a house whose very name proclaims their poverty. Some managers indeed seem fond of the word "charity," which is not surprising, seeing how rare is the faculty of putting one's self in another's place. These must be left to the influence of time, which seems destined to relegate "charity" to the list of archaic words. Aside from poverty, other reasons may sometimes account for lack of success. A lady who is thoroughly familiar with the subject writes as follows:

The Homes started by those who know the difficulty experienced by working girls in securing boarding places are generally, like most charities, managed to secure the greatest amount of pleasure to the patrons rather than the beneficiaries. They are not homes; no place can be a home where the inmates must live like machines, eat the same food day after day, turn out the lights at appointed times, be in the house at too early an hour to allow of any but the mildest of social evenings, and be compelled to give up the precious boon of solitude or "sit in the dark." Therefore the Homes are not homes, and with the exception of ——— none of them seem to me to be what they should be, *boarding-houses*, where a working girl who can afford to pay but $3 a week has the same consideration which can be bought by any respectable woman anywhere for $6 or $8 or $10. The rule in most of the so-called Homes seems to me to be, "*You are poor;* you can not earn enough to pay more than $3 a week for your board; *therefore* you must be willing to give up the greater part of your freedom, sink your identity, eat what we give you, live as we tell you, go to such places as we are willing to allow you, pray as we do, and in your supposed hours of freedom conform to rule as much as in your place of business." These Homes, as far as my experience goes, are run

on neither the strict business principles which could make even a $3-a-week boarding-house pay, nor on those principles of regard for the right of freedom, even to the poor, which is not incompatible with right living. Now they are charities in the coldest sense of the term, and I do not find that girls stay in them any longer than their circumstances compel them—a fact which proves that they are not "homes."

This was written seven years ago, and seems to indicate that at that time certain persons were trying to imitate King Suddhodana, "who made the people happy *by command.*"

Certain "positive" gentlemen have a summary way of disposing of girls' boarding homes. "I do not believe in girls' being shut up in nunneries. The proper place for them to be is where young men can meet them and marry them." As a rule, this terminates the discussion, for lofty minds of this nature never demean themselves by abandoning an opinion once formed. The reports, indeed, do not indicate the policy of the Homes in this respect, with perhaps one exception, in the following passage:

Large, sunny rooms, flowers, music, a well-filled library, games for evening amusements, a study club, etc., are the attractions; and while great praise is due the young men in their work, we claim to complement even that, as proved by the pretty weddings in our parlors a few weeks ago.

A letter speaks of "our wedding parlor." Manifestly, weddings do not take place in "nunneries." In point of fact, every Home has its parlor, where gentlemen may be received. That this privilege does not remain a dead letter will become apparent to any evening visitor. Evidently this will be more apt to be the case in self-supporting institutions, because somewhat more than ordinary attractions will be needed to induce a young man of a certain degree of spirit to call on a "charity girl." It is not improbable, however, that the "principles" on which some of the homes are conducted do not favor visits from the sterner sex, and these might accordingly come under the class which caused Sir Walter Besant to exclaim (in "Katharine Regina"):

Merciful heaven! Send quickly to Harley House, *in spite of the rules*, as many strong-armed lads as there are lasses fit for them, so that every poor gentlewoman may find a man who will believe her beautiful and best, and will worship her, and set her in a chair with the household linen in her lap, and a few friends by her side for afternoon tea, while

out of doors he cheerfully mops his streaming brow and makes the splinters fly!

If there are still institutions infected with the mildew of asceticism, there is a means to disinfect them that has worked wonders in our universities: enlarge them by ample endowments, and they will become liberal. Why? First, because large institutions require people of brains to manage them, and people of brains are liberal; second, because sunlight kills microbes, that is, large institutions are better known, and, by their very importance, more subject to public criticism, which in these days is generally on the side of liberality; third, because a large number of people, comfortably situated, are less easily tyrannized over than a small number of destitute.

What, then, would the ideal institution be like? Sir Walter Besant has given us his opinion on that point, in the work just cited:

Among the many useful and beautiful inventions which wait for the Man—I am sure that the Woman will never bring any of them along—is an Institution or Home for Working Ladies *which they will love.* It is very much needed, because in these latter days there are so many ladies who have to work. And the number is daily increasing, so that it will be wanted very much more. . . .

In my mind's eye I see the perfect Home clearly. First, there are no rules or regulations at all in this house. . . . The drawing-room will be thrown open every evening to callers; of course visitors of the opposite sex will be welcomed and entertained with sweet speech, sweet smiles, and sweet looks; there will be music, and, if the young people like, dancing; . . . every girl will thus have her chance of the wooing which to some is the necessity of their souls; the young fellows engaged all day in the city will find out where they can pass the evening in delightful society with the sweetest girls possible, and *will turn coldly from the billiard room.*

In trying to picture the completely developed institution, it will be necessary, first of all, to make the supposition, not altogether extravagant perhaps, that the early years of the twentieth century will witness such a general renaissance of chivalry as will place financial resources in limitless profusion at the disposal of enterprises in woman's behalf. With this premise, and keeping the past development in view, one may venture to describe the "Women's Hotel," which some thirty years hence will probably be a conspicuous feature in every large city in North America.

It is a gigantic yet elegant building, in the busiest part of the city. On the ground floor is the public dining-room, which is open to ladies and gentlemen alike, special dining-rooms being provided for those ladies who desire greater seclusion. A large revenue is thus secured to the Hotel, the air of recluseness is avoided, and employment is given to many girls as waitresses and cooks. This work, together with the housework, has been organized into a training-school for domestic service, under a superintendent who gives her whole time to it. An untrained girl is given only one kind of work to do until she knows it perfectly, when she is advanced to the next. Thus in the course of some six months, with natural aptitude, she becomes a perfect cook, waitress, laundress, and chambermaid. The housekeepers all over the city are in ecstasy over this domestic-service training-school, for it has solved a problem which was their despair. And where else could that problem have been solved but in an establishment large enough to concentrate in itself an amount of such work sufficient for *graduated* training and at the same time *remunerative?* The pupils of this school have a parlor of their own, where employers become acquainted with them, so that when a lady needs help, she has at once a dozen suitable names on her list. Girls in domestic service invariably spend their free time at the Hotel, where they find entertainment and a host of friends. Thus their main grievance, the lack of congenial company and of facilities to meet friends, has vanished. If they lose their places, they can stay without anxiety at the Hotel, which serves as a clearing-house where employer and employee find each other with the least trouble. By association and discussion their mutual rights and duties have developed out of chaos into a well-defined code, to which employers find it prudent to conform, thus removing another grievance.

One naturally thinks of housework first, because that is the burning question. Training is also given in dressmaking, millinery, stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping, retouching of photographs, typesetting, etc. Employers generally want none but experts, so that the untrained, even with the best natural gifts, have little chance of finding employment in skilled labor; and their chance of acquiring skill rapidly

vanishes as their teens recede into the past. The Hotel has laid the axe to the root by offering to every woman a chance to become thoroughly skilled not only in one kind of work, but in several. This again would not have been possible had the building been smaller.

But it must not be imagined that the Hotel is nothing but a great workshop. By far the larger part is occupied by women in good positions—clerks, writers, artists, and women of leisure, some of them of considerable wealth. It is precisely the presence of these in large numbers that creates the demand for so much work and thus benefits their less-favored sisters, while at the same time it confers on the Hotel a quality which is perhaps the most essential of all: it makes it *fashionable*, so that everyone is anxious to go there. Life, you know, is worth twice as much when you live under the same roof with the *crême de la crême*. To the society ladies the Hotel serves as a convenient rendezvous, where they may exchange their social "duties," so that the "Social Clearing-House" for which Charlotte Perkins Stetson sighed has become a reality. To ladies travelling the Hotel is an invaluable convenience. The girls of the whole city are from childhood affiliated with it in a vast confederation, and turn to it as their Guardian Power in difficulties. Of course in so large a building there is plenty of room for birds of a feather to flock together, so that the different social grades need not associate. But the spirit of culture pervading the place soon infects the gifted ones among the humbler ranks. They first develop into "young persons," as Sir Walter Besant would say, then graduate as "young ladies." Presently they are invited to this select gathering or that, till the blissful conviction is forced on them that they are welcome everywhere.

In a certain sense the Hotel ought really to be called a college. There is the same wide range of refined and congenial companions and friends, the same restful feeling of having enlightened and sincere counsellors always at hand, the same delightful consciousness of steady increase in intellectual possessions, the same brightness and buoyancy imparted by mental gymnastics. A number of inquiring and ambitious minds having been gathered under one roof, where

facilities for study are unusually great, and many teachers being among the visitors, it is natural that regular classes should be arranged. Special tables are provided in the dining-room for those desiring to converse in foreign languages. One large and several smaller halls, each provided with a stage, are in daily use, and develop fine elocutionists and actresses. The dancing-school is a rich and ever-bubbling source of grace and gayety. In fact, while people elsewhere have to pay high prices for instruction and amusement, the inmates of the Hotel get them for nothing, because they are furnished with the means to instruct and amuse each other. Having all these facilities *under one roof*, they can afford to take advantage of them, which they could not if they lived scattered over the city. For physical culture, the aid of gymnasium, swimming-school, and Russian and Turkish baths may be invoked.

The reference to the dancing-school brings to mind one feature in which the Hotel differs from a girls' college: it facilitates, instead of restricts, meetings between young men and women. Not only is the main dining-room open to ladies and gentlemen alike, but several of the clubs, literary, scientific, linguistic, dramatic, musical, dancing, admit gentlemen, and these of course have the privilege of library, reading-room, study-room, and certain parlors, for which they cheerfully pay. They are themselves organized into a general club, with a very active membership committee, whose duty it is to see that none but *gentlemen* are admitted. And even these elect are slowly but surely perfected by woman's influence, "flower-soft and conquering." Induced by many attractions to spend most of their free time at the Hotel, where of course they have to "put their best foot forward," they finally forget that they have another foot. Ungentlemanly proclivities become atrophied for want of exercise. These visitors grow remarkably economical, striving, in fear and trembling, to provide homes to which their princesses may not disdain to descend from their palace. The money which used to vanish in whiskey, beer, and smoke, now flows in a steady stream into the Hotel savings bank. Abashed to find themselves deficient in culture, they consult one of the visiting professors, who,

after feeling their intellectual pulse, prescribes an appropriate diet of studies. It does not take them long to discover that study, under such circumstances, is one of the most delightful of recreations. Thus the Hotel, offering library, lecture-hall, social amenities, and other advantages in the same building where meals are taken, thereby affording the greatest possible economy of time, gradually becomes the focus of the University Extension movement, a potent engine for "the debrutalization of man."

We are told sometimes that our age has no ideals. No doubt the ideals of the past are fast dissolving, but a new one seems to be taking shape, fairer perhaps, and more rational, than all. It was never better symbolized, perhaps, than in the scene described by Charles Kingsley in "The Heroes, or Greek Fairy Tales," where Athene appears to Perseus, bidding him go and slay the Gorgon. Among the agencies tending to realize this ideal relation between man and woman, the Women's Hotel occupies a place of constantly growing importance. Everyone who by its influence has been made to appreciate high conduct necessarily becomes a slayer of Gorgons—an antagonist of base conduct. For this eternal battle for good and right the Hotel is a strategic point of first importance. Its lecture-hall, located at a central point, with ample library and other conveniences *under the same roof*, with an audience ready-made always at hand, has *organized* the progressive forces by giving them "a local habitation and a name," and, what is perhaps not less important, financial power. And it would be hard to imagine how they could have been better organized than on the basis of three good meals. The greatest obstacle to organization is the universal lack of time. But everyone has to take time to eat; and thus the place where meals are most enjoyable to a large number of people is best fitted to be the centre of organization. Thus the sting is gradually taken out of Arnold Toynbee's complaint:

> Everyone is organized, from licensed victuallers to priests of the Roman Catholic Church. The men of wide thought and sympathies alone are scattered and helpless.

About ten miles from the city, by the water's edge, the

Hotel has its farm, with spacious villa, playground, orchards, fields, plenty of boats, and a sandy beach for bathing, where the tired city-dwellers may find recuperation in play, in horse-back-riding, or in light and pleasant work, amid refined and joyous surroundings, in close communion with that best of teachers, nature. The farmer lads and lasses are admitted to the house and grounds, and to them the library and evening entertainments and the conversations are a veritable godsend. Botany and zoölogy open an undreamt-of realm of pleasure.

Such in brief is the Women's Hotel, toward which the existing Homes seem to tend. It would be difficult to imagine an agency more effective in realizing the ideal with which we started out: to make woman's life so pleasant that she can not make it pleasanter by marrying, unless she marries for love. Now, going back to the question at the end of our first paragraph, we may invoke the weighty authority of Grant Allen, who has shown that, as the improvement of human nature has been largely due to love marriages in the past, so the accelerated improvement which we all sigh for will come when there are none but love marriages. And if Fichte is right in saying, "*Es gibt nur ein Glück auf der Erde, das Glück der Liebe,*" there will certainly be no truer friends of humanity than the builders of institutions which will tend to hasten the advent of that time.

"A vision!" will be the verdict of those whose minds are perpetually made up to condemn as visionary whatever they fail to understand or are too indifferent to examine. To them this paper is not addressed. It is addressed to those who know something about the subject, and who, while fully realizing the force of the many objections that may be raised, are also willing to find out the answers, and, above all, to appreciate the fact that there exist some fifty self-supporting institutions of this nature, containing, in embryo or more or less developed, all the features described. It is difficult to see why these might not be enlarged till they meet the entire demand. Why should one of the largest, the Margaret Louisa Home of New York, be obliged, for want of space, to turn away two out of every three applicants? Why should the excellent institution at Denver be obliged to print the following lines:

> Many persons have been turned away from our doors because it was an absolute impossibility to give them even cots. . . . Sometimes twenty or thirty were turned away during the week. . . . How much more could we do if we only had more room, or if the rooms we have were less shabby and unattractive. . . . Its crowded condition, under such unfavorable circumstances, proves the tremendous need of its existence.

In any case, the experimental stage having been passed, new Homes ought not to be made to struggle through penury and shabbiness to gentility, as most of their predecessors had to do, constantly exposed to the risk of failure. They ought to be begun, if possible, on such a scale as to make them self-supporting at once, and thus never arouse the suspicion that they are "charities." It is pleasant to read that the movement out of which has grown the grand institution in Philadelphia was first broached in December, 1870, and that in the following June "the house was opened free of debt, was soon filled with forty happy girls, *and was self-supporting.*" By thus starting on an adequate and economically healthy scale, another very important advantage is secured—greater publicity— of which more anon.

Since the basis of these institutions is coöperation, their success naturally suggests the establishment of larger ones, cooperative even in origin. Two interesting movements in this direction are in progress in New York.

The first is the Woman's Apartment House Association, of which Miss Janet C. Lewis is the secretary and the moving spirit. It proposes to erect a ten-story building containing small apartments, suites, and single rooms, also studios, a restaurant, club-rooms, together with Russian, Roman, and Turkish baths. Its object is to accommodate the large number of educated self-supporting women in New York, as well as the many young women who come to the city to study. More applications have already been filed than the house will be able to accommodate. From the fact that this is a strictly business enterprise, primarily intended for women with fair incomes, it must not be inferred that its promoters gave no thought to a more needy class. Recognizing, however, that gentility is the prime requisite, the lack of which would cause the house to be shunned by those who could best make it

a success, they deem it wise to wait until it is firmly established and the lines of further growth are clearly indicated, before trying to include those who would bask in the sunshine of gentility rather than diffuse it. There is admirable prudence in this attitude. Before you can move the world, you must have a place where to stand. Whatever other qualities may be requisite in such an institution, the first thing to make sure of is that those for whom it is intended *will go there.* Evidently stock subscriptions would be far preferable to donations, and if it can be demonstrated that such stock can be kept even slightly above par, it will be the greatest impulse the movement has yet received. In brief, this business enterprise is guided by a truly scientific and enlightened philanthropy, and in furthering it benevolent people may do far more real good than in making donations to many "charities."

The second enterprise is that of Miss Alice L. Woodbridge, secretary of the Working Women's Society. She hopes to establish a coöperative home for working women, beginning with domestic servants, who, when out of employment, are often forced to spend their meagre savings for wretched accommodations in tenement houses, where four or five sometimes occupy one little room.

> The work of the Home will be done exclusively by the inmates, and the expenses shared. One member of the club will give one month in service in the kitchen, and each girl will take care of her own sleeping-apartment, while each in turn will serve as waitress, etc. Our object is *not to reduce the living expenses* of the workers, but to give them clean accommodations and wholesome food for the same amount that they now spend in unwholesome tenements. There will be no rules save such as will ensure perfect sanitation and temperance. Each girl will be provided with a latch-key and be permitted to receive her friends at reasonable hours. Of course the home will be non-sectarian.

It will be exceedingly interesting to observe whether Mr. D. O. Mills's Men's Lodging House will yield the profit that he expects. If it does, the success of both the enterprises just described, *when once started,* seems reasonably assured. Mr. Mills's success will, of course, encourage imitators, and thus make even the start easier. For one person willing to make a donation, a hundred will be glad to contribute to a business enterprise, even if the returns are but trifling. Thus a very

important element of usefulness will be added to Mr. Mills's enterprise, for it goes without saying that women need such an institution ten times more than men.

But the more one thinks of the difficulties of *starting*, the more does it seem likely that the main growth of the movement for a good while to come will be due to endowments of existing institutions. To this end every effort should be made to give publicity to the work already accomplished. The amount of money available for endowments (as proved by the monthly record of donations and bequests in the *Charities Review*) is surprisingly large, showing that many wealthy people agree more or less with Mr. Andrew Carnegie's doctrine, that "surplus wealth is a sacred trust to be administered during life by its possessor for the best good of his fellow men." But to find out what is the best good of one's fellow men is perhaps the hardest of problems. In trying to solve it, the lifelong labor of many keen minds has built up a vast and subtle science, sociology. Let us hear what a specialist in that science has to say on the present subject.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Commissioner of Labor, in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics (1884), speaks of girls' Boarding Homes as follows:

> If the people of wealth, in making provision for the distribution of that wealth by will, could be impressed with a knowledge of the amount of happiness they would bring to deserving people, by remembering the generally weak institutions which are fighting bad conditions, they would, we feel certain, liberally endow such institutions, or provide the means for the establishment of new ones upon better and broader plans. It may be that the time has come when, instead of leaving great sums to educational institutions, money can be made to tell more for the practical Christianity of the age by so placing it as to help relieve those who are obliged to make the contest of life with the barely elementary education furnished by the lowest grades of schools, the necessity of providing for their own support too often obliging them to forsake the school for the shop.

If these institutions, as predicted in a preceding paragraph, eventually become the foci of the University Extension movement, owing to the concentration of facilities and the economy of time which they would afford, and if they are led by their very nature to take up the practical study of the long-

neglected science of conduct, as has been suggested, it is evident that donations made to them, instead of being lost to the cause of education, will be doubly gained.

Finally, those who desire to aid in allaying the class hatred which so many factors tend to embitter, can hardly find a better means than in endowing institutions which promise the most favorable answer to the question which, to the workingman, is the most anxious of all: "What will become of my daughters?"

Such are the considerations which, it is hoped, may impress some readers with the conviction that these institutions deserve the foremost place in the abovenamed record of donations and bequests, from which they are now painfully absent. But to secure endowments—it can not be too often repeated—three things are needed: first, publicity, second, publicity, third, publicity. Hitherto this has been strangely lacking. Except in local daily papers, the Homes are hardly ever spoken of in the press. And yet the theme is one which a skilful pen could readily develop into the choicest ornament of a popular magazine.

Long homilies might be written on the old text: "Doe ye Nexte Thynge!" Every thinking mind must be grateful to Herbert Spencer for that highest flight of human thought, the chapter "Conciliation" in "The Data of Ethics," where he shows what nature intends to do with us. As we stand with impatient feet before the ascent to life's perfection, we must try our best to peer through the mists as far ahead as possible to find out what awaits us on the distant upper heights, so that our course thither may not be more random or circuitous than we can help; to make sure that our activity shall not, in the sum total of nature's work, be affected with the minus sign. But when we have thus oriented ourselves and wish to make an actual advance toward the goal set for us by nature, there remains but one thing to do: to look close around us, among the present elements of society, both good and bad, for the safest and most advantageous footing for our *next step*.

Of all the next steps in sight, none seems safer or more directly in line with the teachings of evolution than the ampler endowment of the institutions here described.

UNDER THE WINDING SHEET.

BY GRACE ADA BROWN.

HEAD and heart are on fire! God is asleep,—or is he dead, and the whole world one grave? I must speak; I have something to say for the sweet, dumb lips under the sheet there,—the sheet that never stirs—O God! never stirs with a breath.

I am a woman, poor and with no knowledge of books except what I have gained by years of companionship with the bright, acquiring mind that once gave life and light to the little form now lying so quiet, so awfully quiet! under the sheet,—a woman poor and unlearned, but an American woman, with an ancestry of American men and women ever faithful and loyal to God and country—the God who has forgotten their children, and the country which has no room for them.

"The American woman is a goddess enthroned on an Olympus of the reverence and affection of her countrymen," declares the orator whose words come to my ears from the public square this Independence Day. A sorry goddess I should make, and thousands like me, with frame more gaunt and eyes more wild than the terrible wolf ever at our heels. Such material does excellently well in the making of fates and furies, as France once learned, but is scarcely fit for Olympian goddesses.

For days, so near has been this prowling wolf, this new species in the fauna of *happy* America, that we have grown faint from the fire of his fetid breath and the frightful craunch of his blood-dripping fangs. More than once we have felt the grip of those fangs that bite through flesh and spirit; for is he not the one of whom we have been warned, who kills not the body alone?

Years ago, in our little cottage home among the birds and flowers, could be heard at times the faint howls of this wolf, but so far away that it came to our ears like a strain of pa-

thetic music; though it left in the hearts of our elders a little ache that would only cease with the heartthrobs. We have always been poor, but, oh, so proud and independent! and the one under the sheet there, the proudest, most independent, of all, with a merry, cheery word for the darkest hour, and a kindling face ever turned to the light. We are weak now, and old before our time; and the struggles are so many that we fear the fierce thrusts of their fists and heels even more than we do the fangs of the pursuing wolf.

Ah, those who guard the golden apples have so many eyes to see every opportunity, and so many hands to grasp the fruit, that nothing is left for us, but to die! My quiet darling! Thank God—it is so natural to thank God, though he may be asleep or dead—that you are quiet at last. The soil of poverty was all unsuited to so sensitive a plant. A kind word, an encouraging smile, would lure forth its sweetest blessings, but trouble, coldness, and unkindness would wither it to the ground.

Well, to my story. Long and severe illness came. The little money, hardly earned and saved, dwindled dollar by dollar. Then came death. The white head of our honest, hard-working father for the first time in many years lay on the pillow with no thought or care for the morrow. The poor are never quite friendless; they have one friend—Death! And yet even his visits are dreaded; it costs so much to be ill and to die!

After this, gathering up our little all, we drifted to a great city. Where there are so many demands, one can surely get something to do. And we shall not be particular; we will do anything. But thousands of others also are not particular.

Morning after morning the one under the sheet there would go forth in answer to some advertisement, and come back with slower step, sadder eyes, and a more care-lined face. No matter how early she might leave home, scores would be there before her, scores as needy as herself.

I recollect that one advertisement asked for a reader to an old man. The servant who opened the door to her timid ring said reproachfully, "Fifty are here already." Yes, the hall was filled, and the bell was constantly announcing new ar-

rivals. Four or five hours did these women, young, middle-aged, and old, wait for an interview with the advertiser. Separately they were questioned and dismissed with the request that each would send a sample of her penmanship by the next mail. Of course it did not once occur to the rich woman that had she furnished a sheet of paper and pen and ink this could have been done at once, saving to those with whom every cent counts, material and postage as well as trouble. And what was the position for which so many were striving? It was to fill during the day the place of chambermaid and parlor-maid, and in the evening, from nine to eleven, that of reader and accountant to an old gentleman. And the wages? Four dollars a week! Of course but one could get this position, and the sleeper under the sheet there was not that one.

What did we not try? The Women's Christian Association, the Woman's Exchange, and all the various helps to provide work for the poor. Our tale was heard. Such a common tale!—one of thousands; and we left our names in case we should be needed, but with no results. There were too many of us. How will it be in the other life?—if there be another life. We used to talk of this in the twilight as dreary as our hopes, and wonder if the other life also was not a monopoly of the rich. In this awful struggle for breath, breath alone, shall we not drop, with all our other treasures—youth, and hope, and faith—the pearl of eternal life also?

Is there not a legend somewhere of an Indian child forsaken and cast among wolves in helpless infancy, who grew up a wolf and not a human? Will it be the same with us? And, after all, what does it matter—eternal life or eternal sleep? Place them before the fainting, panting fleers before the wolf, and which will seem more like heaven to them?

I am ignorant, and cannot put into words my thoughts. Oh, if I could they would drip blood with the agony of earnestness; and the thunder of their emphasis would shake the earth and disturb the serenity of the very angels in heaven.

As we scanned the "wants" in the daily papers with eyes dim from anxious sleeplessness, we would see accounts of twenty thousand dollars spent for the flower decorations of

a certain rich man's ball, and of a lady picking into bits two-dollar rosebuds in a careless chat with some acquaintance.

My darling under the sheet there knew just what to say and how to say it. Once she had been full of faith in God and her fellow man, and we used to laugh at the fervor of her patriotism; but the hot breath of the wolf had shrivelled to death her happy faith, and all the sweet music of her life had been hushed in an agonized listening for the nearing, ever-nearing howl of the terrible beast.

To my story again. We could get nothing to do in the great city. At the labor bureaus it was hinted that our appearances were against us. We were too delicate and refined in looks and manners. A diet of crackers and water might account for the one, and maybe generations of independent-thinking ancestry were responsible for the other.

Again in the twilight we looked into each other's eyes and asked, "What is to be done?"

"Oh," said my sister, "if among all the discoveries of science were one to cause the body to disappear with the vanishing of breath! The very thought of the coroner's inquest and the press comments upon a body found bereft of life is shocking. Ah, the beauty of Christian civilization! It shuts out from you every chance of life, and then calls it a crime for you to die except by the lingering, torturing method which they miscall nature's. And does it not all seem a bitter jest, to struggle and worry night and day, to keep a life not desired within the body, and to stay in a world that has no use and no place for you?"

Then at sight of my worn, uneasy face, she smiled stoutly and declared in her old cheery way that the world was wide, and that if no place could be found in the East, why there was the broad West, and we had still enough to take us there. "Let's go."

We went West, but, ah! the wolf of the prairie is no less relentless and even more swift than he of the mountain or the shore. In the West as in the East you find kings walking with haughty strides among the mighty Babylons which they have built. In the West as in the East, at the feet of these autocrats are prostrated the poor, murmuring praise and

thanksgiving for the hard-earned permission to live, or is it not daily dying?

The day before Independence Day we had a long and quiet talk, and when at its close she put her arm about my neck, with a long, long kiss, I understood it all. But I could say no word of hope, utter no protest against what was in her mind.

"Do not come to my bed till late, will you, dear sister?" she whispered.

"No, darling," I answered; "nothing shall disturb you."

All night I sat watching the beautiful stars, so bright, so far, not moving at the soft stirs in the next room—now so still—nor at the sounds incident to the morning of Independence Day.

Not till the sun was shining broadly down on the Stars and Stripes flaunting far and wide, and the snap and sizzle and burst of fire-cracker and torpedo, mingling with the gleeful shout of children, filled the air, and people in festive garments were gathered to listen to the popular orator of the day, did I go to my last, my only friend.

The dear face of abiding calm, of restful triumph, was turned toward me, but not in greeting. She had gone beyond the fangs of the wolf.

I have myself prepared her for the shelter never disturbed by the landlord's knock, and now I am seated to rest and to think. Ah, dear human Christ! friend of Martha and Mary, toiler at the carpenter's bench, I need thee now!

I said I must speak for the silent lips under the sheet, but what can I say? My story is so old! and as common as human misery.

Ah! my only friend, you were always quick of thought and speech; I place in your hand my cause—the cause of millions. Should you find a God,—not dead, not even asleep, but ever-living and ever-watchful,—tell Him your story, our story, the story of helpless millions. Mayhap *He* will understand it all. From His height will He not see the great hollow image called Society, from its head of gold to its feet of crumbling clay, waiting, ay, waiting—for what? For the crushing Stone hewn without hands?

And now the Declaration of the "unalienable rights of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" has been read, and the words of the eloquent orator come to my ears.

"Behold," he says, in ringing tones, incited to greater earnestness by the cheers of his hearers, "our magnificent country, sovereign of nations, with her throne like that of the Eternal One, towering above the crystal seas! With warp of steam and woof of lightning the Fates of Industry have woven her royal robes. Her sons and daughters are kings and queens in courtly grace and glittering pomp."

Hush! Did the pale lips under the sheet say anything?

No, oh no! They are silent.

Who speaks?

Community of Shakers,
Mount Lebanon, N. Y.

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

THE ASCENDENCY OF KIPLING.

THE poetical ascendency of Rudyard Kipling cannot be doubted. It is no longer a question of fact, but only a question of interpretation. His success is phenomenal; his fame, as we believe, will remain an enduring part of the glory of English letters. Two of his recent poems show him at his highest flight; but there is no suggestion that his wing will weaken or his eye be dimmed in the face of the sun. The poems to which I refer are "Pharaoh and the Sergeant" and "The Feet of the Young Men." I have been deeply impressed with these productions, and I can but regard them as the strongest and best work of the century's close.

What is the secret of Mr. Kipling's power? It seems to consist of three elements, each of which is so strongly developed as to give its possessor a full claim to literary preëminence. These are: wide range of information, power of condensation, and cogency of expression. I venture the opinion that in each of these particulars Mr. Kipling is the foremost writer of his times.

In such a poem as "The Feet of the Young Men," the reader can but be impressed with the vast extent and variety of Kipling's knowledge. There is hardly a kind of scenery in the world which is not included in the tremendous panorama of this poem. Each section of it carries us into some new land, far, far away, and opens to us a scene so picturesque and vivid that we seem to have been whirled in an instant from zone to zone. Now it is the polar region, and now it is the tropics; now it is the mountain, and now it is the jungle; now it is the deep recesses of the moaning forest, and now it is the river bank of distant island with its fringe of bamboo, and its smoking volcano in the horizon.

So, also, of the animals hunted by the Young Men. Every creature, from the rhinoceros to the rabbit, from the bear to the beaver, from the tiger to the tortoise, from the lemur to

the lizard, is included in this procession which the Red Gods devote to the hunter's desire. In like manner every type of man is introduced. Now it is the hunter, and now the fisherman; now the Indian trapper, and now the English adventurer going forth to combat with the caribou on the mountains or the tiger in his lair; now the white man, now the yellow man, and now the black man, but always with a fidelity of character not surpassed in any other production of the age.

Kipling's power of condensing much into little is the preeminent quality of his poetry. This is strongly exemplified in "Pharaoh and the Sergeant." In this poem there is a revelation of enough history to fill a volume. I am not sure that if all the minor suggestions of this brief song were followed out and well developed in prose narrative, it would not fill three volumes or a library. It might be difficult to find any aspect of Egyptian history, ancient or modern, which is not here sketched with Kipling's lightning strokes. The very phrases are big with chapters. Note the juxtaposition of characters in the title. Think of Pharaoh till you realize who he is, and of Sergeant Whatisname until you know him. Note the powerful impersonation. This Pharaoh has more in him than has any other character with whom I am acquainted. He has everything in him from Menes to the Mahdi. Pharaoh is six thousand years old at least, and he is all here. In his blouse are included the historical folios of sixty centuries. And in the blouse of Sergeant Whatisname are the whole history and tradition of the Anglo-Saxon race. Under Pharaoh's belt are twenty-six Ptolemys, and under the Sergeant's, a hundred sea kings and all the sovereigns of England. The juxtaposition of the two characters surpasses the invention of historical genius; it is an inspiration.

The vividness of this two-page drama is as great as its condensation is marvellous. Such a result could not be effected without the highest dramatical power. Here description and action are wrought together; the epic is revealed in a word.

Said England unto Pharaoh, "I must make a man of you."

The most powerful nation of Christendom addresses a character which stands for the most powerful nation of antiquity. What is the address? "I must make a man of you!" No

nation could undertake a more serious task. To make a man is a work which has confounded all other men and perplexed God. England undertakes the task without flinching. And the subject which she selects is who? Is what? According to Kipling "*mud*"—mere mud of the Nile bottoms. And what is it, besides making a man out of this Nile mud, that England undertakes? She will not only make a man, but she will make one who will—

Stand upon his feet and *play the game.*

He is to be not merely *Homo sapiens*, but *Homo bifurcans perpendicularis.* He is not only to stand up, but to "play the game." What game? The whole game of civilization. In this game, which England will teach Pharaoh how to play, are all the arts and industries, all the institutions, all the religion and politics, all the steamships and railways and stock exchanges of mankind. In this game are included everything from Windsor Castle and the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street to the miner's hut in Wales, and the British fishing smack in the South Bay of New Zealand.

We might go through this poem from beginning to end, and note in almost every verse and every phrase the packing together in the space of a gun-cap of historical facts and principles as if under the pressure of five hundred atmospheres. Take for example the description of the conditions under which Pharaoh was converted from mud to manhood:

There was heat and dust and coolie work and sun,
There were vipers, flies, and sandstorms, there was cholera and thirst,
But Pharaoh done the best he ever done.

It is not every poet who can take such a liberty as that, while compressing into two verses the whole landscape—malevolence of nature, visitation of disease, and cruelty of man.

Mr. Kipling's phraseology is the most graphic and powerful with which we are acquainted. His words have an indescribable momentum. His audacity leads him to the use of language which can only be snatched from the dictionary of slang by some son of genius who is able to do it. Kipling says that Pharoah shall be taught to—

Maxim his oppressor as a Christian ought to do.

In the word "Maxim" is hidden the whole evolution of fire-

arms from the old mousquet of the French hawker (*mousquet* means "a falcon") to the highest development of the Krag-Jörgenssen rifle that will drive its missile through thirty inches of oak. Pharaoh is to *maxim* his oppressor! In Kipling's hand the proper noun vaults over among the common verbs and dispenses history and Christianity in one volley.

All through the poem this marvellous use of language, freighted with the very essence of things and the live blood of thought, bubbles and rushes and flames along the page in currents of electrical fire. Kipling can say *anything;* he can force into his expression description and philosophy and poetry, until his phrase fairly bursts with the infinite vehemence behind it. Describing the process by which the nameless English drill-master converted Nile mud into a rifleman, Kipling says:

> The Sergeant gave the cautions, and *he combed old Pharaoh out.*

In the hands of a weakling that would be merely vulgarity, but when we perceive Sergeant Whatisname far up in the desert, working his unpromising subject by laborious manipulation into the similitude of a British soldier, what should we say but that he combed old Pharaoh out? Further on the poet says of the Sergeant that

> He drilled a black man white, . . . he made a mummy fight—

which is perhaps the most marvellous example of raising the dead on record.

Nor may we fail to observe the tremendous blows which Kipling delivers on the policy of Great Britain in the East. He drives home with doubled fist into the stupid epigastrium of British politics, and if that monster have by this time recovered his breath, it is only by a spasmodic gasp. Of the neglect on the part of Great Britain of her heroic defenders in the East, Kipling says,

> That is England's awful way o' doing business;
> She would serve her God or Gordon just the same;
> For she thinks her Empire still is the Strand and Holborn Hill,
> And she didn't think o' Sergeant Whatisname.

Again he says,

> England used 'em cheap and nasty from the start.

And finally in the last stanza he says:

We are eating dirt in handfuls for to save our daily bread,
Which we have to buy from those that hate us most,
And we must not raise the money where the Sergeant raised the dead,
And it's wrong and bad and dangerous to boast.

As to the Sergeant who wrought the marvel of creating an army of valiant soldiers out of the dirty degenerate offspring of Copts and Fellahs, England has never cared for *him.* Kipling says:

He will still continue Sergeant Whatisname—
Private, Corporal, Colour-Sergeant, and Instructor—
But the everlasting miracle's the same!

It is well worth while for one to travel far, and buy books, and study history, and reflect on the nature of things, and acquaint himself with the social, political, and military conditions in the East, if for no other purpose than to prepare himself to sit down for a winter's evening and read and reread "Pharaoh and the Sergeant," with the full assurance that he will find it the most powerful and graphic poetical synopsis of great things that has perhaps appeared within the memory of men now living.

ECCE HOMO.

Behold the Man! The cry of Pilate rings
Forever. In the halls and porch of Time
The mandate echoes. Every age and clime
Hears the profound apostrophe. The wings
Of morning bear it, and the evening swings
The message in a censer. The sublime
Cry, *Ecce Homo,* throbbing like a rhyme,
Beats and repeats to all earth's serfs and kings.

Who is the wondrous Man we shall behold?
The Christ? The Socrates? Nay, nay, not one—
But him who does his duty as he can!
Hindu or Greek, Hebrew or Chaldee old,
Teuton or Kelt, humanity's lone son
Of toil and tears—in him behold the Man!

BOOK REVIEW.

[*In this Department of* THE ARENA *no book will be reviewed which is not regarded as a real addition to literature.*]

A CARTOONIST OF DEMOCRACY.*

The ancient Egyptians were quick and capable in caricature. I recall one instance in which the effects of too much wine are most grotesquely delineated in the sculptures. It is, perhaps, a good thing that only a little of human wit has been done into granite; granite is so serious.

The shrewd Greeks took to caricature as a natural vent for their vitriolic jocularity. They laughed at everything, and spared nothing. The Greek caricaturist did not hesitate to make Zeus as ridiculous as possible. Man or god was all the same to the libellous hilarity of the Hellenic satirist. The merciless stylus of Aristophanes was not sharper than the sacrilegious pencil of him who pictured Homer as an old woman, and Socrates as a satyr.

The clumsy Romans also essayed the grotesque in art; but the sluggish temperament of the race did not consist with visible humor. I dare say that the monks of the Middle Ages amused themselves between prayers with sundry bits of theological malice done into pictures which are now happily lost to the world. Generally, however, pictorial wit has flourished only where a certain democracy has prevailed among men, giving them liberty to make fun of each other without dread of any punishment more severe than being ridiculed in turn.

For the last century caricature has flourished among the English-speaking races. The Germans and the French have greatly affected this species of humorous revenge. An interesting volume was published a few years since, made up exclusively of the satirical pictures which were produced at the expense of the Emperor Louis Napoleon and his government. In America there has been since the Civil War an extraordinary development of this kind of art. It has been found available as an *argumentum ad oculum*. The cartoon has become the most fatal shaft shot from the merciless bow of politics.

Among our American caricaturists of the present day, Homer

* "Cartoons." By Homer C. Davenport. With an Introduction by Hon. John J. Ingalls. Large folio, pp. 100. New York, The De Witt Publishing House. 1898.

C. Davenport has achieved a sudden and well-merited fame. We doubt whether any other pencil in America is more effective than his. His work has the happy combination of perfection as an artistic result and of a strong conviction on the questions of the day. Mr. Davenport has just offered a folio volume of his cartoons, and it is this work which calls for a word of favorable criticism. Davenport's book contains one hundred of his choicest recent plates. They are nearly all on political themes. The tendencies and particular actions and policies of the dominant party in American public life have furnished the subjects of these cartoons, which, we may say in a word, are, according to our opinion, the best that have been done in their line since the decadence of Thomas Nast. Indeed, we are not sure that Davenport does not surpass his predecessor. There is this difference between the two: that Davenport is always *thoroughly American* in his spirit and manner of treatment, while Nast did not always strike home on the true lines of our national intent.

Davenport's work is peculiar in many respects. His pencil perhaps lacks the ferocity of Nast's. There is a certain gentleness in Davenport's pieces which sometimes extends so far that the victims may almost join in the laugh; but let no man think that these pieces do not bite.

Mr. Davenport designates his book simply as "Cartoons." He tells us that most of them have been reproduced from his work done for the New York *Journal*. It was this publication that first brought Mr. Davenport to a full appreciation by the public. The book he dedicates to his father—this in a picture in which the son stands by the father, who is lost in curiosity and rising merriment over the work which his promising scion has put into his hands. The introduction is by ex-Senator John J. Ingalls, and is written in his epigrammatic manner. Then follow the plates, which explain themselves. The picture and the title suffice. He must be blind who cannot see the point.

Davenport's work is done with a strong and fearless hand. His subjects are invariably conceived in the spirit of truthfulness and depicted with the highest artistic ability. There is not a single picture in the volume which does not strike home to the root of the question. The meaning of the cartoons flashes upon the observer. The drawing is excellent. The exaggeration is immense, but always truthful. It would hardly be possible to improve upon the pieces in which he embalms the origin, the development, and the philosophy of that baleful aggregation of

forces which came into full fruition on the 4th of last March under the auspices of the Advance Agent of prosperity. It amuses us to revel in the ready wit and profound penetration which Mr. Davenport has shown in conceiving and executing his work against the whole hypocritical combination.

The crowning excellence of Davenport as a caricaturist is this, that he is *with the American people.* He has not done a stroke which is against the people. He has not a single line in which American plutocracy may find anything for which to be grateful. Davenport is a true democrat; he is a republican in whom there is no guile. His pictures invariably convey a profound sense of the existing condition in the civil society of the United States. The personages whom Davenport has pilloried before the world are precisely they who deserve it. They are the enemies of American liberty, and the enemies of mankind.

The political bosses are his especial favorites. Whenever he sees one of these creatures he sharpens his weapon and pursues him to his lair. It does the heart good to see the uses which Davenport makes of a few of our conspicuous bright lights. It is as good as a college education to see Marcus Aurelius and the American Czar and T. C. Platt and their lieutenants transfixed. Davenport gives the syndicate and the trust no quarter. His pictures constitute an ideographic history of the McKinley administration. There is no mistaking as to which side of the question Davenport is on. The parvenu despots of America are, in the work under consideration, so pictured as to turn upon them the burning scorn of the people.

The argument in these cartoons is never fallacious. If there be anywhere in our political society a bloat who deserves to be painted and put in the stocks, we may be sure that Davenport will get him. It is this that makes him so great a leader of the popular cause. We think that he is doing his work as heartily as any other political reformer. I trust that he will not abate his zeal. I hope that he will not rest until he has driven the enemies of the American Republic into the sea. They are indeed a pretty crowd—boodlers, robbers, bosses, cormorants, and all the kindred birds of ill omen and bad odor. Davenport has already taken the conspicuous sinners of this crowd and has nailed them to the wall, where they may be seen of men. If this book could be in every home of the country it is not likely that the next generation would be so prolific as this generation has been in the production of a certain kind of monsters.

THE ARENA FOR APRIL.

THE ARENA for April may be anticipated with special interest by all who are concerned in the progress of public opinion.

Hon. William Jennings Bryan.

The opening article, on Foreign Influence in American Politics, will be by Hon. William J. Bryan. Everything that Mr. Bryan writes and says is eagerly caught by the public, and is considered with the profoundest interest. The writer has become a historical character whose utterances carry with them a value and force which can hardly be overestimated. By the readers of *The Arena* Mr. Bryan's article will be hailed with delight.

Hon. George Fred Williams.

Under the caption, *The Way Upward*, Hon. George Fred Williams will present a powerful discussion of the methods by which the American nation is to emerge from the commercial, industrial, and civil slough of despond into which it has been plunged for the past five years. The high abilities, the forceful character, and the pronounced leadership of Mr. Williams will give a special interest to his production.

William H. Johnson.

The greatest of themes, that is, the question of survival after death, has not been more ably presented in any recent contribution than in the article, *Immortality: Its Place in the Thought of To-day*, by William H. Johnson, of Cambridge, Mass.

Henry C. Whitney.

Among the surviving contemporaries of Abraham Lincoln no one is better fitted to speak of that immortal character than is Henry C. Whitney. His subject is *Abraham Lincoln: A Study From Life.*

Mary C. Remick.

Under the caption of *The Relation of Art to Morality* Mary C. Remick, president of the Chicago Woman's Club, will present an article of unusual merit, in which she discusses the conditions which prevailed in the three great periods of art development.

Stinson Jarvis.

Our able contributor, Stinson Jarvis, will present another of his brilliant papers for April. His contribution will be entitled *America, A Power.*

Dr. T. A. Bland and Dr. William R. Fisher.

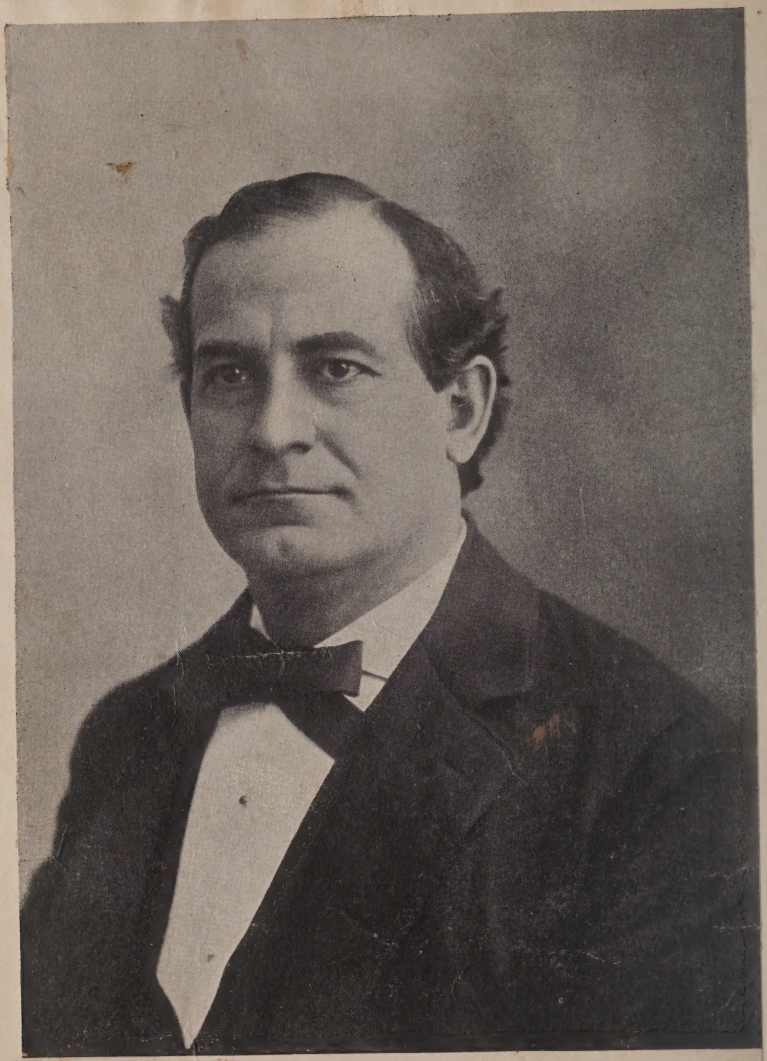
Under the head of *The Medical Trust* T. A. Bland, M. D., discusses the abuses which the orthodox schools of medicine are accused of creating and defending. To this paper William R. Fisher, M. D., replies in a counterblast defending the regular school of medicine.

John Clark Ridpath.

The Editor's article in the issue for April will be entitled *The Three Democrats*, in which he will set forth his views respecting the historical characters of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and William J. Bryan.

Genevieve Thorndike Clark.

The fiction of this issue is by Genevieve Thorndike Clark. The story is a psychical study dealing with the materialism of a physician and considering the danger of allowing the subjective mind to dominate in the practical affairs of life.



Yours truly

W. J. Bryan

Plate missing. 25 Apr 99

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into *the arena*,
Where like gladiators, we must fight for them."—*Heine*.

THE ARENA.

VOL. XIX. APRIL, 1898. No. 101.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

BY HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

THE *Review of Reviews*, which cannot be accused of silver fanaticism, in its February number contained the following comment on the Chinese loan:

The matter has peculiar interest from the fact that the arrangement is supposed to have been worked out chiefly by the great bankers, who are neither English, French, nor German in their real allegiance, but must be regarded as a law unto themselves and a separate power, gradually but steadily strengthening their grip upon the destiny of nations.

It was this huge, mysterious money power that enabled the continental governments, led by Russia, to circumvent England and place the Chinese loan at the close of the Japanese war. And now it is the same hidden but potent force that declines to allow the continental powers to make the present Chinese loan, but ordains that England shall make it. The issues of the recent Turco-Greek war were decided, unquestionably, by this coalition of European bankers, who improved the opportunity to gain a better hold upon the revenues both of Turkey and of Greece, and cleared up millions of profit out of the hideous conflict between Moslem and Christian. Their influence has slaughtered the Armenians and wrought the discomfiture of Greece. The hand of this coalition of European bankers has been constantly felt in the affairs of Spain and Cuba. Their method is to secure control of great issues of public securities at heavy discounts, bearing high rates of interest, and then so to manipulate diplomacy and the course of international politics as ultimately to make certain the payment in full of interest and principal. It is not pleasant to remember that these foreign gentlemen, with their finger in every diplomatic and international affair, were invited to come to the rescue of the United States Treasury under the last administration.

While the people of the United States have not been blind

to the foreign interference which resulted in the dismemberment of Poland, the subjugation of India and Egypt, and the unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Mexican republic; while they cannot be ignorant of the manner in which foreign influence is affecting Turkey, Greece, and China, and even now propping up the efforts of Spain to continue monarchical institutions in Cuba; they have reason to be indignant at the extent to which foreign influence has interfered in American politics during recent years, and still more reason to be alarmed at the attempt now being made to give foreign financiers absolute control over the financial policy of this nation.

When President Cleveland entered into a contract with the Rothschild-Morgan syndicate, he submitted to Congress a proposition made by this syndicate, which involved a radical change in the policy of the government. The syndicate virtually offered to the United States a sum equal to $16,000,000 (calculated in interest upon the bonds under consideration) to depart from its established custom of issuing coin bonds and to inaugurate an entirely new custom, namely, the issuing of bonds specifically payable in gold. The proposition was supported in the House by the administration Democrats under the leadership of Mr. Wilson and by most of the prominent Republicans under the leadership of Mr. Reed.

If that offer had been accepted it would have been immediately followed by a proposition to make all government bonds payable in gold. In fact, the Lodge amendment to the Teller resolution contemplated this very thing, and there is no doubt that such a proposition would have received the support of a majority of the Republicans in the House, had it been submitted to that body. This amendment did receive the support of a majority of the Republicans of the Senate.

It is difficult to calculate the far-reaching influence of such a change as that proposed by the Rothschild-Morgan syndicate, indorsed by Mr. Cleveland, and later fathered by Senator Lodge. It would have committed the government to payment in a metal the production of which is largely controlled by the English government, and would have been a voluntary abandonment of the nation's contract right to pay in a metal of which this country is one of the largest producers.

On the 17th day of March, 1896, the English House of Commons unanimously adopted the following resolution:

> That this House is of opinion that the instability of the relative value of gold and silver since the action of the Latin Union in 1873 has proved injurious to the best interests of this country, and urges upon the government the advisability of doing all in their power to secure by international agreement a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver.

Whether the House of Commons, in passing this resolution, contemplated its effect upon American politics, is not known; nor can it be known whether the resolution above quoted inspired the pledge made by the Republican convention to promote international bimetallism; but it is certain that the action of England was used during the campaign to encourage international bimetallists to hope for the reëstablishment of the double standard through the aid of European nations. The election was sufficiently close to justify the assertion that without the promise to promote international bimetallism the Republican party could not have secured a majority of the electoral votes. It is certain, from a speech recently delivered by Mr. Wolcott in the United States Senate, that the resolution above referred to, together with the speeches delivered by Mr. Arthur J. Balfour and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach in support of the resolution, led the commission to expect concessions, and largely guided our commissioners in the proposals made by them to the English government.

Another evidence of the dominant force of foreign influence is to be found in the fact that the refusal of England to give assistance is accepted by the leading advocates of the gold standard as proof positive that international bimetallism is at present impossible. Upon this failure the pronounced monometallists predicate their demand for the permanent maintenance of the gold standard.

The English House of Commons by a brief resolution leads international bimetallists in the United States to hope for relief from the gold standard, and then the English government, by refusing to coöperate with the United States and France, disappoints the hopes aroused, and plunges our international bimetallists into the depths of despair. Was confiding innocence ever so unkindly treated?

The Republican platform of 1896, while so skilfully drawn as to satisfy the most extreme monometallist and at the same time delight the international bimetallist with the phantom of foreign aid, was, in fact, nothing more or less than an acknowledgment of subserviency to European dictation. The restoration of bimetallism in the United States was by that platform made expressly dependent upon the will of foreign nations, and the duration of the gold standard in the United States was left entirely to the decision of foreign nations. The platform pledged the party to oppose "the free coinage of silver, *except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world*" (which the party promised to promote); and then concluded, "*until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved.*"

So far as I have been able to learn, this is the first American platform to declare it necessary for the United States to have a financial policy identical with that of other nations.

It was said that the triumph of that platform would put an end to any further discussion of the money question and revive prosperity by restoring confidence. It seems, however, that Argonaut Gage continues his search for the golden fleece and is advising Congress that something must be done "to commit the country more thoroughly to the gold standard," in order to "strengthen the credit of the United States both at home and *abroad*." The Secretary is still endeavoring to conciliate foreign financiers.

Within the last few months several American citizens have announced, upon their return from Europe, that confidence in our securities cannot be fully restored until we retire all government paper and substitute National-Bank notes.

Thus it will be seen that European opinion is continually at work shaping the conduct of an influential portion of our country. When it is remembered that the failure of our commission to secure international bimetallism was largely due to a protest signed by the London bankers, it becomes evident that the financial policy of seventy millions of American citizens is being determined by a handful of persons who owe no allegiance to our government and have no sympathy with

our institutions. If this domination is due to the fact that the American people do not realize the manner in which their political independence is slipping from them, the danger will be overcome by the spread of intelligence; but if it is due to actual inability upon the part of the American people to control their own affairs, then, instead of being a nation, we are but a province.

Foreign influence has not only contaminated those whose ears are habitually turned to receive instructions from across the ocean, but it has been directed toward the fears rather than toward the reason or conscience of the people. When foreign financiers have found themselves unable to defend an appreciating dollar; when they have recognized their inability to prove the gold standard a wise standard, they have threatened to visit a panic upon the United States if our people are guilty of the presumptuous sin of independence. This threat, operating first upon the money magnates of the metropolis, then upon the smaller bankers throughout the nation, then upon merchants and manufacturers, and, finally, upon the army of wage-earners, has been a potent influence in our elections. Will anyone defend foreign influence thus exerted upon the destinies of our republic? Most of these financiers live under governments quite unlike ours. With us, governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; in Europe most of the people still hold to the doctrine that supreme power descends from the throne, and that the throne should descend from parent to child. The difference between these two ideas of government is so radical that those who believe in the former idea cannot safely entrust political questions to persons who hold to the latter.

No European nation boasts of its willingness to allow its policy upon financial questions, or, indeed, upon any other questions, to be determined by the people of the United States; any party that would advocate such a doctrine in any European nation would be held up to public scorn and contempt; and yet there are many eminently respectable citizens in the United States who assert the helplessness of the American people to restore bimetallism, however much they may desire it, without an international agreement.

But the European money-changer is not the only foreigner who is exerting an influence upon American politics. Foreigners hold a large amount of stock in our railroads and other corporations. A share of stock held abroad is equal in voting power to a share of stock held in this country. When a majority of the stock is owned abroad the foreign holders are able to choose the directors and, through the directors, to select the officials and other employees of the corporation. If a president of a railroad or other corporation owes his elevation to foreign stockholders, is he not apt to be influenced by them? And, if influenced by them, is he not likely to transmit that influence to his subordinates? May he not become so engrossed in his work as to overlook the injury which he is doing to his country?

If foreigners continue to invest in American securities, and their interest in our politics grows with their investments, is it not possible that a time may come, if it has not already arrived, when foreign influence may be sufficient to decide elections, and ultimately to mould our institutions to conform to European ideals?

Washington, in his farewell address, said: "Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

Has the name of Washington lost its charm? Was he a demagogue, seeking to play upon the passions and prejudices of his countrymen? Or has his advice, wise when it was spoken, become folly now? Has the struggle for the almighty dollar become so intense as to obscure the lofty purpose of our forefathers to establish upon the Western Hemisphere a govment "dedicated to the doctrine that all men are created equal"?

THE WAY UPWARD.

BY HON. GEO. FRED. WILLIAMS.

THE downward path of industry is hard. The muscle and the genius of man struggle against it. At the foot lie all the ills. Periods of business depression have ever brought physical misery, unhappiness, and moral decadence. Pauperism, crime, and tyranny do not flourish in the warm rays of prosperity. Liberty weakens when freemen are discouraged and desperate. It is, therefore, the first function of the statesman to set industry on the upward way; nor can the philanthropist or moralist progress in well-doing while mankind languishes.

For five years our country has been in industrial straits. There is no one who does not desire a reversal of these conditions, and any man or party which in good faith assigns a cause and suggests a remedy is entitled not only to respectful but to eager hearing from suffering men. It behooves freemen who decide their own political policy to inquire of statesmen whether they have truly prophesied in the past in order that the value of their present prophecies may be rightly weighed. Statesmen themselves are bound to account to those who have trusted in their diagnosis of our industrial disease. The sufferers ought not to trust the physician whose remedies have aggravated the disease.

This is the same land in which from 1850 to 1870 the cottages of the workmen increased in number, the farmer's acres brought him annual increase of wealth, and our population flourished even during the terrible years of civil war. For the last twenty-five years the sun has shone, the earth has been as fertile, and the waters have fallen, but year by year productive activity has yielded to the laborer less and less of the fruits of industry, until in 1898 two conditions confront us which vie with each other in their malevolent promise. First, the masses of the producers of the land are disheartened and poor; secondly, enormous aggregations of capital are taking

possession of the industrial properties of the land. Labor languishes while capital is supreme. The more wealth, the more poverty—an unholy paradox.

Within the last month the wages in the cotton factories of New England, already pitiably small, have been cut ten per cent. Also, in the same month, the milk trust of New York was organized with a capital of fifteen million dollars; the International Paper Company was organized with a capital of fifty million dollars; the coal-dealing trust was announced which is to combine all the great coal properties of the East; enamel-ware manufacturers capitalized a combination at twenty-five million dollars; and the American Steel and Wire Company started with a capital of eighty-seven millions of dollars. In our factory towns in New England gaunt hands are raised in prayer for pennies, while capital gathers the properties of the land with endless millions. The masses grow weaker, while the strong are massing. In this terrible divergence the props of our republican institutions are spreading. The strength of our whole superstructure rests upon the fair distribution of wealth and the equal opportunity of all men to obtain the just reward of their toil. Surely here is cause enough to alarm and to inspire the reformer and the patriot. Our republic can no more bear the rule of oligarchy than it can endure the exactions of the despot.

There is one party in our country which looks with favor upon the supremacy of capital, and has no word in its platform to admit or to deprecate the misfortune of the developments referred to. It is the Republican party, which still beseeches the people to believe that these conditions are only temporary, and that its policy will revive industry and satisfy the suffering. During the depression of the last five years, a Democratic administration has not differed in one respect from the policy which is now declared by the Republican party to be of supreme, and indeed, exclusive importance. The administration of President Cleveland was conducted in support of the gold standard, and the administration of President McKinley follows strictly in this path. They must, therefore, stand together in their accountability.

In testing their judgment we find that both have run vainly

from one excuse to the other up to the present day. In 1893, when gold was fast leaving the country, the Sherman Act was repealed for the express purpose of stopping the drain, and thereby, as was confidently asserted, restoring prosperity. The repeal of the Sherman Act was an absolute failure. Bond sales were then resorted to for the same purpose of stopping the exportation of gold. A debt amounting in principal and interest to $500,000,000 was incurred, and still the exports of gold continued and the depression increased. In 1896 the Republican party attributed the depression to the ascendency of the Democracy, and asserted that its dethronement would restore confidence. The Republican party was placed in power, but the depression was not lifted an inch. It was then explained that the Democratic tariff burdened the country; a rank protective measure was passed without Democratic opposition, but not a ray of sunlight entered our dreary house. We now find the gold-standard followers of President Cleveland and President McKinley, the mistaken prophets of the past, combined in recommending for relief a new and radical policy, which was not suggested in any previous political contest. The people are now asked to retire the notes of the government and to turn over to the national banks the whole power of regulating the monetary supply of the country. The gold standard has accompanied, if it has not led us through the industrial carnage of the last five years, and yet the Secretary of the Treasury opens his address to Congress with the avowal that he wishes "to commit the country more thoroughly to the gold standard." It would seem that the *Financial Reformer* of Liverpool is not far astray when it says, "If there is a country in the whole world where the ruling powers seem desirous of causing a social revolution it is the United States."

On the other side stands a party which for twenty-five years has returned a majority of its representatives to Congress, to insist that the gold standard has produced the distressing results with which the country is now afflicted. From 1877 down to the present day, the *Congressional Record* abounds in Democratic assurances that each year would bring added calamity unless the equal coinage of both metals, which pre-

vailed down to the year 1873, should be restored to our monetary system.

While this policy did not for many years prevail in a National Convention, at last, in 1896, the will of the majority did prevail, and the issue was squarely presented to the country. The Democracy did not secure a majority in the electoral college, but at this moment the party is eagerly looking forward to the campaign of 1900, without a thought of swerving from its platform adopted at Chicago in 1896. A year of Republican administration has utterly failed to bring relief, and it is now the single duty of the voter to decide between the certain policies of the two great parties, one of which must prevail at the beginning of the new century.

It is satisfying to note that the discussion of these issues is coming rapidly to a focus. In the bimetallic press and the addresses of the bimetallic leaders the non-essentials have been sloughed off, and there remains the single vital argument on *prices.*

The money issue is an issue of prices. The economic distress is due to prices, and the social crisis arises from prices. As the prosperity in the third quarter of our century was attended with rising prices, so the path downward to bankruptcy and depression has known only falling prices. In but two years since 1874 have prices risen above the level of the previous year. While there is no one so bold as to assert that falling prices can possibly be of benefit to civilized society, there are few who appreciate how mighty are their influences upon human kind. It is not extravagant to say that they may turn civilization to decay.

The mightiest of all problems, the distribution of wealth, turns upon this question of prices. If honest men who are looking eagerly for the dire cause and for relief could but understand, or would but try to understand, the vital relation of prices to their prosperity, the demagogue who cries out for the nation's "honor" would not succeed in branding those as demagogues who condescend to the plane of humanity and seek to rescue their fellow men from misery. False cries, false prophecies, trifling issues, have prevailed too long; suffering humanity now demands relief and will have the

truth. The arguments upon this question may be elementary and trite; but we are teaching. It is time now that we caused the business man to understand that which he is beginning to feel.

One cannot realize the far-reaching effect of falling and rising prices upon debtor and creditor without figures. Assume a farm, raising 2,000 bushels of wheat, to be worth $6,500 and mortgaged for $5,000 at six per cent, and that the cost of raising the wheat be $1,250. At $1 per bushel, the wheat, less the debt (interest), is worth $1,700; a profit of $450 for the year. At $0.75 per bushel the wheat less the debt is worth $1,200; a loss of $50 for the year's work. At $1.25 per bushel the wheat less the debt is worth $2,200; a profit of $950. At $0.75 and $1.25 per bushel the creditor receives for the annual interest 400 and 240 bushels respectively, a difference of 160 bushels, or more than one-half the entire annual interest at $1.00 a bushel. At $0.75 per bushel the debtor in the year loses $50; at $1.25 per bushel he gains $950, the difference between ruin and prosperity.

If the farm fall in value 25 per cent, it will not pay the mortgage; if it rise 25 per cent, the equity will be worth $3,125, or be doubled in value. If wheat fall 25 per cent, it will take the whole crop for 3 1-3 years to pay the mortgage; if wheat rise 25 per cent, two years' crop will pay the mortgage. The Eastern investors who have lost by the collapse of Western mortgage securities should realize that falling prices and not lack of the farmer's thrift and industry have brought the ruin; nor can the farming properties be made valuable again except through a rise of prices.

But in discussing the question of falling prices we are dealing not with one commodity, but with all goods and properties. Wheat may in a single year fall or rise from temporary causes; political economy deals with the general range of the prices of all the great staples. In dealing with the facts in this regard we fortunately cannot be contradicted. For many decades scientific men have taken careful measure of current prices of commodities, month by month. Tables have been kept by different methods, but all show substantially the same results, so that their conclusions are undeniable. The system

of obtaining the average variations in price by index numbers is no device of silver advocates. It was first brought to perfection by Prof. Jevons in order to estimate accurately the depreciation of gold by the Australian and Californian discoveries. It is not denied that since 1874 the progress of prices has been steadily downward, and with the fall of commodities the prices of properties which produce them have likewise fallen. Farms and factories have gone down with the goods they produce. In the case of the individual it is apparent even to a superficial observer what the result of falling prices must be. The merchant who at the end of a season carries a stock which has fallen in price is a loser, not a gainer.

It is, however, in the liquidation of debt that the consequences become most serious. If there be a mortgage upon the farm the interest and principal must be paid from the products of the farm. If these fall steadily in price no one can dispute that each year will demand more and more of the fruits of industry to liquidate the indebtedness. If the farm itself shall fall in value to the amount of the mortgage it is clear that the farm must be lost to him who has tilled it. The same is true of the manufacturer, and the owner of stock in railroads. If the property fall to the mortgage margin the moneylender is entitled to the property, and the productive forces are deprived of possession. If the inquirer will but consider the inevitable consequences to the individual debtor he may be able then to understand the terrible results of a general fall in the last twenty-five years, which undeniably amounts to 40 per cent. Such a fall brings the value of properties below the average limit of equities of redemption. When it is understood that the mortgage margin was reached in the panic of 1893, and that since then prices have gone downward with terrible rapidity, the business man should not be surprised that railroads have been transferred to the hands of bondholders, that farms have passed under the flag of the auctioneer, and that industrial properties are now being gathered up at bankrupt prices by great capitalistic syndicates. It is, in short, a period of bankruptcy and liquidation through which we are passing, and who can deny that it is depriving the industrial forces of the country of their nerve and muscle?

It is thus that the fair distribution of wealth is being perverted; taking from the hands of the toilers, and giving to the creditor unfair and inhuman advantage.

The great problem we are now facing is the impoverishment of industry, with which the poverty of the masses must go hand in hand. It was not always thus, and the change must have a cause. The United States Secretary of Agriculture reported three years ago that wheat was then raised in this country at a net loss of $5.00 per acre. In October last a mob in Rome committed violence because it held the king responsible for the ruin of agriculture and general industry in Italy. In France and Germany the agricultural reports show the general prostration of agricultural industry. Last summer a report was published from a royal commission appointed by the Queen of Great Britain to inquire into the depression of agriculture in England. The commission found that the arable lands of Great Britain fell between 1875 and 1895 from eighteen millions to sixteen millions of acres, while pasture land increased from thirteen millions to sixteen millions of acres. It also found that the capital value of agricultural lands declined from 1875 to 1894 fifty per cent, or, stated in figures, $4,175,000,000. This amount exceeds one-half of the total coined money of the world, yet no one of the fourteen commissioners dissented from the statement. M. Méline, Minister of Agriculture of France, last November in the Chamber of Deputies said: "We thus reach the alarming conclusion that in fifteen years the total receipts of agriculture in France fell half a billion of francs." He then asks the question, which applies even more forcibly to the English figures than to his own: "What industry could face such a situation without drifting into bankruptcy?" The royal commission agreed that the agricultural depression in Great Britain has been due to the constant fall in the prices of agricultural products. The commissioners assert that "Any further fall would assuredly result in a condition of general ruin and disaster, which we cannot contemplate without dismay." M. Méline refers the depression of agriculture in France to the "progressive depression of all products of the soil, without exception, during the last twenty years." He

adds: "There can be found in all epochs periods of decline in the value of land produce, but now for the first time, I believe, the world witnesses a prolonged crisis affecting all agricultural products."

Now, let our farmer, and our cotton planter, and our weaver put their heads together and study all this. The Englishman and the Frenchman are in the same plight. True, the agricultural commission did not report on cotton-weaving, but if the weaver will read the Manchester *Guardian* he will find that the Lancashire cotton manufacturers are in as bad a plight as those of Fall River, Lowell, and New Bedford. It ought not to need argument to show that while the great farming population of the civilized world is thus impoverished, the weavers must soon be out of work or working at reduced wages. It is painfully yet triumphantly that the cotton-workers of New England are asked to review the prophecies made from the Democratic platform in 1896 of the inevitable collapse of New-England industries under the general impoverishment of their customers.

If the honest man will leave his politics for a while he can realize what twenty years of falling prices mean. They spell "ruin." Business men who let their bankers think for them should begin to use their own wits. The results ought to be apparent; we can now study causes.

The advocates of bimetallism have for twenty-five years insisted that there is a great fundamental law which underlies the whole misery of the present. It is a law which everyone has learned from school days, viz., the law of supply and demand. No one denies that if wheat is over-supplied its value will fall; if the supply is short the value will rise. So, if the demand falls, the value falls; if demand rises, the value rises.

Now, men of business, you reach the *pons asinorum;* if you can read the next chapter you need not fear the whole book. Apply this same law to money and you have discovered the final truth. Money, like all things else, rises with scarcity and falls with plenty, and the far-reaching results of a rise or fall of money are due to the fact that humanity has accepted money as a measure of all the commodities and prop-

erties of the world, and an increase or decrease of that measure affects everything which is bought or sold by humankind. Money names all values. You have chosen it to denominate the standing in the market of all goods and properties. You go over the market returns to find, not how much wheat you can buy with so much wool or cotton, but how much of everything you can buy with a dollar. Better stated, you look to find how many dollars your goods will buy to-day. If, then, every merchant is looking for dollars in exchange for his goods, is it of no importance how many dollars are to be had? If you will not trust the politician, the economist may at least have respectful consideration. It may be safely asserted that not a respectable economist in the civilized world to-day denies that the dollar varies in its value. General Francis A. Walker, whose memory is revered in Boston, and, indeed, in the whole world, says very simply:

> We have spoken of reducing the value of money as equivalent to raising prices, and of enhancing the value of money as equivalent to lowering prices. This is manifest enough to anyone who thinks of the matter.

Now, let us "think of the matter": to raise the value of money is to lower prices. Prices of what? All prices; the prices of all goods is what General Walker means. If, then, we find the prices of all goods falling, and if General Walker is right, we may, indeed must, search for the cause in *the rise of the value of money;* and if we will but apply the inevitable law we shall find that money rises in value with scarcity and falls with plenty.

Men not acquainted with the laws of political economy dismiss the question of prices with the assertion that improved facilities of production have caused the fall in prices, but a second thought must convince that not *all* commodities can rise and fall in value from such cause, for many of them are not subject to improvements in method; and yet the problem with which we have to deal is that of a general fall in the prices of all the staples of trade. If wool and wheat rise because of supply and demand they do not materially affect the value of tobacco or leather; cattle do not gain value in the market because iron is scarce. No cause can be conceived which will bring down the value of all goods together. Leave

money out of the problem and it will be found that matters stand about where they did twenty years ago. It is true wheat is cheaper, transportation is cheaper, leather, corn, and iron are cheaper; there is no exception; but *among themselves* these commodities exchange much as they did before. Here comes the plain truth, which so few understand, but which unlocks the whole difficulty. Values of commodities have not changed greatly, but their prices have fallen over 40 per cent. Value is the power of a commodity in exchange with other commodities; price is the value measured by money. In 1874 cotton brought 18 cents a pound and fine wool 55 cents a pound. In 1896 cotton brought six cents a pound and fine wool 18 cents a pound. In both years three pounds of cotton would buy one pound of fine wool; but the price has gone down two-thirds in each case.

The report of the British commission on the depression of agriculture shows that in the three-year period ending in 1877 the price of British wheat was 49 shillings per quarter, in 1895 it was 24 shillings per quarter. In the same two periods Lincoln wool sold at 19 pence and nine pence per pound. In both periods 31 pounds of wool would buy a quarter of wheat, but the price of both has fallen over 50 per cent. It is clear enough that the cost of raising wool and wheat in England was not twice as great in 1877 as it was in 1895, nor could cotton be raised in 1896 three times as cheaply as in 1874. As already mentioned above, the capital value of land in England fell in this same period fifty per cent; it is not greatly different with farm lands in the United States; but invention does not create farms, nor do railroads carry them.

The solution of all this is so plain and easy that honest men ought not to differ about it, and, indeed, one of the most significant results of honest thought appears in the report of this royal British commission. Its members were appointed as experts in agriculture, and without thought that they would deal with the money question, yet ten out of the fourteen, including two members of the English cabinet, decided after three years of investigation that all other remedies were hopeless, and that the agriculture of England could not be revived unless the baneful effects of the single gold standard were

removed from the world's industry. Their final recommendation was that the English government should do all in its power *to restore silver to the coinage of nations*, and thus prevent the disastrous fall in prices which has brought England's agriculture to the verge of ruin. Yet how insignificant is England's agriculture as compared with ours!

It is perfectly apparent that the thing which we have taken to measure value has itself risen in value, and that thing is money. It was the greatest of English gold monometallists, Sir Robert Giffen, who, as a member of the royal British commission, rebuked some of his associates in these words:

> It is a great misfortune that some monometallists still refuse to recognize the general fall in prices in the last quarter of a century as being an appreciation of gold, and as being explained by a contraction of gold which commenced about the year 1873.

It is at this point that we encounter another closed door in the thought process of the average business man. He produces his gold pocket-piece with the statement that it is the same dollar in 1898 as it was in 1874 when he received it; a dollar unchanged and unchangeable. This same man is very likely begging his bank not to reduce his line of credit after his profits and assets have fallen year by year to the point where his credit is doubtful. He does not recognize that his assets are as valuable as ever save that the dollar which measures them has changed.

A simple object-lesson upon so important an error needs no apology. Let us assume that the dollars which are to measure commodities are five (instead of eight thousand millions), and that the commodities to be measured are five. The price of each commodity is then one dollar. Take away one dollar; those which remain are the same dollars in appearance and weight as before. We do not see any change as long as we gaze on the dollars. Now, however, measure the commodities again; they measure four dollars instead of five, and the price of each commodity is eighty cents. By reducing the amount of money one-fifth the prices of all the commodities have been reduced one-fifth. Which, let it in candor be asked, have changed, the dollars or the commodities? It was such a

change as this which Sir Robert Giffen denounced prophetically in 1879 in these words:

> A large and sudden abstraction from the money of a country would be potent for mischief. The rich would become enormously richer and the poor enormously poorer. Debtors would be ruined all round. Discredit would become such, that for a time the business of such a community would almost be entirely stopped.

But, to get even nearer the present situation, let us conceive that the dollars remain the same, but through increase of population and production another commodity is added. In other words, the same number of dollars is called upon to measure six commodities instead of five. The money price of each becomes 83 cents instead of $1.00. In other words, if added value is given to money, it finds expression in the fall of commodity prices.

Sir Robert Giffen covers the case thus:

> An insufficient supply of the precious metals for current wants, that is, for wear and tear, increase of population and wealth, leads to a fall in prices;—and I desire this to be assumed.

If all goods are falling, it is plain that money is rising, or, to use the current phrase, "appreciating."

To illustrate the effect of appreciating money upon the debtor, let us assume that the owners of the five commodities, for the purpose of increasing production, borrow four of the five dollars. At the time of borrowing, four of the commodities represent the debt. If the money-owners should then destroy the remaining dollar the prices of all five of the commodities would fall to four dollars, and all five commodities would be payable for the debt. Thus the creditor, by throwing away a dollar, is richer in goods than he was before. Surely this is unjust, and it must be clear that decreasing the monetary fund has confiscated the debtor's property. It is equally clear that if all the five dollars should be loaned to the commodity-owners and they should then increase their commodities to six, the six would measure the same in dollars as did the five before, and all six must be delivered up in payment of the five-dollar debt.

The greatest authority on monetary science, Ricardo, makes this statement: "That commodities will rise or fall in pro-

portion to the increase or diminution of money I assume as a fact that is incontrovertible." Hume, Mill, Goschen, Giffen, Jevons, Bagehot, and indeed all reputable economists admit this law. Outside of American politics it would be considered disreputable to deny so plain a truth. It is equally undeniable that a stable monetary fund works equal injustice if the use to which it is put increases. As the creditor gains a dollar by destroying a dollar, so he gains with every increase in production and population, if no addition is made in money to correspond. The motive, then, of the creditor class would be to prevent the increase of money. The money of the world is not only fully loaned, but loaned more than once in the form of credit. If the creditor can maintain the monetary fund stable while the debtor increases products, the creditor can take the increased product if not also something in addition. Thus the debtor gains nothing by producing; the creditor takes it. We speak of this nowadays in the phrase, "The rich are getting richer, the poor poorer." It is no dream, but a reality, yet some honest men still insist that the dollar does not change. Think, honest citizen, whether you may not be helping to rob the debtor and wreck honest producers while you gaze at the "unchangeable" dollar. This same dollar is, be assured, the most potent instrument for wrong which civilization furnishes. It can and does change, and change terribly, but you must look at the price lists and not at the dollar.

Now, to come out of illustration to reality. The money which humankind has selected to measure our wealth is made of gold and silver. It has served well, because nature has provided a fairly steady annual increase from the mines to keep pace with growing population and trade. The creditor class has tried from time to time to discredit one metal or the other, but with no substantial success until twenty-five years ago. At that time, whether through carelessness, bad judgment, or bad purpose is not here material, silver was denied coinage by the mints of the great Christian nations. For twenty years preceding there had been produced nearly $200,000,000 annually of gold and silver. Prices had steadily risen; a period of unexampled prosperity had been enjoyed. Great inventions had brought men into closer communication,

and increased wonderfully the productive activity of mankind. At the end of this period, a constantly growing annual increase of money was necessary to meet the wants of humanity. It was then that the burden of trade was thrown upon gold alone. The mines produced but $120,000,000 a year, most of which was annually used in the arts. Some economists claim that the arts have absorbed it all. The swelling population of the Christian world, with its railroads, its steamships, and its telegraph, has for twenty-five years depended upon this pitiable supply, when between 1850 and 1860 the mines were furnishing $180,000,000 annually to the comparatively small wants of that decade. Immediately the prosperous conditions of the previous generation were reversed. Prices began to fall and continued to fall throughout the gold-using lands. At the end of twenty-five years agriculture has been ruined, industrial activity is in suspense, poverty has increased, bankruptcies have multiplied, and the properties of industry are passing into the hands of the creditor. These conditions are true of every gold-using country. The question is, therefore, international and not local.

The dollar which has brought about these terrible results is the gold dollar. Instead of being an honest dollar it is the most inhuman, cruel, murderous dollar which any quarter of a century in the world's history has produced. It is not only dishonest, but it is unchristian and hateful. It is called by those who make phrases to mislead men "sound money," whereas it is as unsound as any money which the ingenuity of man has devised. It draws blood from the starving; it ruins the honest toiler; it fills almshouses and loads up prisons. Its awful tyranny is worse than that of any despot who ever reigned; yet there are those, honest men too, who, out of their ignorance, are calling upon the opponents of this dollar to attack the trusts, or lower the tariff, or do some pitiable thing while this awful process is wresting food from the mouths of the toilers of the world!

It is time now for patriots to inquire whether they are not being hoodwinked by those who have a motive to gather to themselves, by mere law and without toil, the fruits of the world's industry. It is time to enter a protest against false

morality. Our civilization itself needs defence when honest men are starving. Society is barbarous until every honest man can get his living without dishonest customs. The coiners of phrases have had matters too much their own way. Let the truth be known. Those who advocate the free coinage of silver are not repudiators; they are not dishonest; they are not immoral. Those who stand for the gold dollar are not robbers if they do not understand, but those who must give up to them are none the less robbed.

There are those who know full well the results of an appreciating money, and these men are the most wicked, rapacious, and ungodly who have ever dared to call themselves respectable among men; yet these very men spread out their phylacteries and declare the laws of morality. They own the press; they govern the university chairs; they even speak through the pulpit; they hold the instruments for social torture. So far do they govern public opinion that it would now seem as if there were no honesty which the capitalist does not approve.

This state of affairs cannot last forever. The debtor is a factor in the problem of justice as well as the creditor. No one questions the right of the manufacturer to cut down wages if his dividend is threatened; but is it "moral" to maintain the dividend and cut down wages? By what law? Or is it, rather, morality to maintain the wage and cut down the dividend? The wage is the return to labor for producing; the dividend is the return to the drone for not laboring. In the university of man it should not be taught that labor which produces all shall take the burden of falling prices, while capital, which works not at all, shall bear none.

So respecting the payment of debt a wicked morality is in vogue. Money is defined by an extreme gold monometallist, Dr. Macleod, as "A right, or title, to demand a product or service from some one else." If the product, or service, be ten, is it not robbery to demand eleven? Yet falling prices mean more product and more service than were due when the debt was contracted. If I hold a thousand dollars as a demand on the products and service of my fellowmen, the law which allows ten per cent of products and services

to be added in the payment ten years hence is immoral and outrageous.

It will not be long before suffering humanity will understand these tricks of words and phrases, and see that they have been led to their own ruin by accepting the false morality which their despoilers have declared. They will soon tear down that morality which insists that to increase the value of money and ruin industry, to bring bankruptcy and starvation, is proper and just, while to decrease the value of money and lift up industry and suffering man is repudiation and dishonor. They will inquire how it is that lowering prices is honorable, while it is dishonest to raise them.

When not long ago a syndicate of bankers purchased bonds of the government it offered to pay a higher price if the bonds were made payable in gold instead of coin (gold and silver). The offer was refused, and the bonds were issued payable in coin. The bargain was thus clearly defined; yet within a few days a Senator from New York has been publicly censured by the State legislature for voting that it it not dishonorable to pay these bonds in silver and gold. In point of fact it would have been utterly immoral for this Senator to have voted away the option for which the taxpayers paid a premium of several millions of dollars. That such censure of a representative for the performance of his duty to the people should pass for a high morality is a sad commentary upon the power of wealth over the code of ethics. It is such morality which enables a leading gold-standard newspaper to refer to the Lattimer tragedy as "an unfortunate incident in the maintenance of the law."

The argument of "the 50-cent dollar" has gained the adherence to the gold cause of many honest men; this is another phrase which capital has coined to coax the people into the shambles. But as it is effective in politics it must be considered seriously.

Capital is very sensitive when an increase of money is threatened; and has only praise when a decrease is proposed. Tooke's great book, "The History of Prices," was written after the discoveries of gold in Australia and California, to assure capital that the added supply of money would not raise

prices at a bound. Capital was then proposing to demonetize gold, because of its plentifulness. It failed, and prosperity came. But when the paper money of our government was destroyed by hundreds of millions after the war, capital unanimously approved; yet the ghastly wrecks from that contraction still rise above the sands. At the end of that terrible depression in the seventies, the silver dollar was restored to limited coinage. Since then the threat of its depreciation has been unremitting, yet no one has seen the day when it would not exchange for a gold dollar.

John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, in 1878 and 1879 began to prophesy, and opened the war on the silver dollar, which every Secretary of the Treasury has continued since. Mr. Sherman allowed that silver dollars would serve to pay customs dues and provide for small payments, but if issued in excess of such demand "they will at once tend to displace gold and become the sole standard." He fixed the safety limit at $50,000,000, and asked Congress to confine the coinage to that amount. The prophecy resulted thus: in the next eleven years 330,000,000 of silver dollars were coined and the imports of gold exceeded the exports by $225,000,000. President Cleveland in both administrations made like attempts to discredit the silver dollar. Up to 1893 $420,000,000 had been coined, and yet in the panic of that year silver certificates and silver dollars were at a premium!

The astonishing fact is, that if the silver dollar were a 50-cent dollar it would be honest, and it is now dishonest only because it holds its value equal to the gold dollar. This is no mere brave phrase; the facts justify the statement, as can be proved. All admit that the perfect, the "honest" dollar will measure the same all the time. In other words, a dollar which does not gain or lose in value, will hold prices continuously stable.

Let no man sneeringly or lightly pass by the great fact, which is now stated, namely, that from 1874 to 1893 silver at its bullion value has been nearly a perfect measure of values. In this period gold prices of commodities fell (by index numbers) from 102 to 68, or just one-third. In this period silver fell from 95.8 to 65.4, or 32 per cent. Had

prices of commodities been measured by silver bullion, there would have been a fall of less than two per cent in these nineteen years. No more honest dollar ever existed than this depreciated silver bullion would have made. The gold dollar was more dishonest than a coin had ever been before.

While silver had fallen almost step by step with commodities during this period, in 1893 the cruel blows were struck in India and the United States, which "broke the gauge" between commodity and silver prices. Were silver bullion now to measure commodities they would have risen 31 per cent from the prices of 1892. Such a rise would not, of course, be fair to the creditor, who has to bear the burden of rising prices. In this same period, since 1892, the gold prices of commodities have fallen 15 per cent, to the debtor's terrible burden.

No really sane man questions that the opening of the mints of the United States to the free coinage of silver would raise the price of bar silver at least to 87 cents an ounce, its level in 1892. On that level it is again an honest dollar according to the standard of prices which prevailed when first the mint laws were changed for the creditor's gain.

But it is complained that to restore the price levels of 1873 would be unjust to those creditors whose loans have been made more recently on a lower price basis. This claim is just; the error lies in the assumption that the free coinage of silver by the United States would at once make a drastic change in the price level.

It is unfortunately impossible within the limits of this article to deal fully with the probable effects of the free coinage of silver on prices; a whole article would not suffice for it. But this subject strikes men's minds in two phases: first, the phenomenon of a gold premium; secondly, the effect on the price range. Men speak loosely of a gold premium, but any opinion is worthy of respectful treatment, because the question we are considering is absolutely new in the world's history. We cannot afford to dogmatize, for we are on debatable ground; yet we may appeal to reason.

Upon the passage of a law for the free coinage of silver, let us assume that the bankers can bring about a temporary

premium on gold. What will be the result? Gold, of course, will not be used in payment of debt. Whether it be hoarded or sent abroad, the result will be contraction. Contraction will make the existing monetary fund more valuable than it is now. It is claimed by the U. S. Treasury officials that one-third of our total money in circulation is gold. If the banking and commerce of the country be thrown upon two-thirds of the present fund, so enormous would be the contraction that the rise in its value would be enormous. It is inconceivable that the gold premium could prevail against the demand for other money, no matter what its character, if it could only pay debt. In other words, gold would be drawn irresistibly into circulation at par with other money; the premium would disappear.

Relief could come from only one other source, silver. But where is the silver to fill the gap? There is none in the market; the annual output has been absorbed every year, no matter what its price has been. This bugbear of a flood of silver need not be feared. If gold should disappear, as some claim it would, we should be praying for silver, which would not come. If gold stays and does money work, then it will have no premium; in other words, the silver dollar will be equal to the gold dollar. That is bimetallism established.

Those who talk of a gold premium do not consider how much this country is overbanked, when credits are compared with the specie or redemption fund. To take out the gold fund from current work would bankrupt all the banks in the United States. They are top-heavy with credits, and the alarm at the gold exports in the early nineties was due to this fact. When the Barings failed, £3,000,000 imported from France saved England from a panic. So great a part does a little metallic money play. To talk of $500,000,000 in gold leaving the country or going to a premium, both of which conditions would have like effect, is ill-considered, to say the least.

Many believe that Europe would flood us with silver; but Europe is a steady buyer of silver for coinage. No one can be found who claims that any nation in Europe has more metallic money than it needs. We run into paradoxes when

we test such a theory. Europe's coinage is at the ratio of 15½ to 1. There is a loss then in selling silver to us at coinage rates; three cents on the dollar. As silver already coined in European countries is as efficient as gold, why should they incur a loss of three cents on the dollar in exchanging it for gold? But in this estimate we are assuming that silver is at par with gold. Suppose now that gold is at a premium; then the sacrifice of European nations in sending silver to us will clearly be three cents on the dollar plus the gold premium. As silver coins are doing as well as gold in all the countries, in the name of fair reason where is the motive to replace it with gold at a heavy loss?

The only theory on which any imports of silver are conceivable is that of parity of the metals in our market. If there is parity our end is accomplished, and whether we have silver or gold will make no more difference with us than it made with France when endless millions of gold poured into her vaults in the fifties, in exchange for silver at the fixed ratio.

The mere willingness of France to make the exchange held the ratio firmly when the output of gold was quadrupled in four years. Yet we are stronger in population, wealth, and banking power than was the whole Latin Union, and can absorb silver by the hundreds of millions only to our gain.

Few realize how poor we are in metallic money. Were we to have the metallic basis of France, $200,000,000 a year would have to be added for six years. By reason of the strong metallic basis France is in the soundest monetary condition of any country in the world. It is inconceivable that we could secure for coinage more than a hundred millions of dollars in silver a year. And we could use that amount to strengthen ourselves and our monetary system.

It is highly probable that all the terrors of free coinage will culminate like Secretary Sherman's awful prophecies in 1878. But with silver restored we shall have broken up the gold monopoly, and with the annual supply of both metals from the mines, some measure of steadiness in prices will be attained. Whether there will be much rise is doubtful, but

the fall will be stopped. Then prosperity will be *possible;* it is now *impossible.*

We do not realize our power as a nation. England had only to hear Olney's "No," and her grip loosened from Venezuela. England is now holding the world in the grip of the gold standard, and our "No" will free us and the whole world. We send $500,000,000 in goods to pay our debt to England at gold prices; these very goods should pay a debt of $1,000,000,000. By halving the prices of her debtor's goods through the gold standard, England has doubled her income; otherwise expressed, she gets twice as many goods for her debts as she has honest title to.

We, poor fools, go on paying 100 per cent of tribute, and when Wall Street orders her statesmen to shout "national honor," "sound money," "repudiation," "anarchy," etc., we tremblingly return to the work of digging out enough to pay double next year, thanking heaven that we are honest. Alas, it is not even honest; when the debtor fails, suffers, starves under such a process, honesty has become oppression, inhuman, no longer a virtue.

We can well afford to argue exhaustively the question what will be the effect of the free coinage of silver upon silver itself. Here honest men may differ, but ignorance is the greatest obstacle to reason. Hitherto, since 1873, the governments of the earth have only been purchasers of silver at market rates. Their purchases were only effective as an additional demand, and governments had no more influence relatively to their purchases than did the silversmiths. The United States silver-purchase acts of 1878 and 1890 did not place any value on silver, but defined the quantities to be purchased at current prices. On the other hand, the government undertakes to convert into a dollar 23.22 grains of gold. It is apparent that as long as the government makes this exchange of dollars for gold, 23.22 grains of gold cannot be worth less than a dollar. The government offers to purchase all gold at that price, and the price cannot fall.

Free coinage would put silver on the same basis: the government would agree to pay a dollar for every 371¼ grains of silver, and make a dollar out of the bullion, which shall be

equal with the gold dollar in the payment of debt. The difference between free coinage and limited silver purchases in their effect on the price of bullion is infinite.

There is not a silver dollar in circulation which is not equal to a gold dollar to-day. Why is this so, even when the bullion in the dollar is worth by gold measurement less than 50 cents? Clearly because of the debt-paying power. With free coinage the debt-paying power will not be changed.

But the value of money is regulated by the quantity and the work it has to do; free coinage will only change the quantity as it brings more silver to do money work. Experience proves that the world demands annually within a few million ounces of the largest recorded output.

The power of the United States to absorb silver was illustrated after the law of 1890, when 54,000,000 ounces were converted annually into dollars, and a great impetus was given to trade. The declared purpose of that act was to absorb the entire output of silver, in order to raise the price to the coinage rate. The confidence of the market in the accomplishment of this result by mere purchases of silver was shown by the rise in the price of silver between March and August, 1890, from 96 cents an ounce to $1.21, or within eight cents of the coinage value. Immediately it became a subject of discussion, why bullion did not rise to the coinage rate. The Secretary of the Treasury and leading Republican Senators insisted that there were 13,000,000 ounces in the market which depressed the price, and that if this amount should be added to the government purchases, the parity of the metals would be established at the rate of 16 to 1. If these claims were true, free coinage would certainly have raised silver to par at the ratio of 16 to 1 with the addition of only 17,000,000 silver dollars to the coinage. Free coinage would also have taken care of the annual addition to the output, whereas a purchase law would have to be changed from time to time to take up the surplus.

The repeal of the Sherman Act and the closing of the Indian mints reduced the price of silver between May, 1893, and March, 1894, from 84 cents to 60 cents an ounce, a fall of 29 per cent. But India was a silver monometallic country,

and the United States only a purchaser at market rates: in fairness let it be asked, would not the price have risen from 84 cents to $1.29 if the wealthiest nation of the world had offered to receive every ounce of silver, and coin it into dollars of equal debt-paying power with a gold dollar?

Secretary Gage has declared that the silver dollar must be redeemed in gold: this upon any theory could only be necessary if the bullion in the silver dollar were worth less than that in the gold dollar. If the Secretary is right, then the silver dollar must be a burden on the gold redemption fund almost equal to that of the whole issue of United States notes. We have incurred a debt of $500,000,000 to keep our gold redemption fund from depletion. Not by the wildest reckoning could it have cost that much to hold silver up to the coinage value with a free-coinage law. When held at the parity silver and gold together will furnish money for note redemption, and the whole problem of our finance is solved. Those who are willing now to throw more millions into the bottomless pit of the gold standard should consider this.

Some honestly believe that the work of raising the price of silver bullion involves lifting the value of every silver coin in the world; but when silver rose 25 cents an ounce in 1890 no one thought that there was anything involved except the amount of bullion then in the market for sale. This was and is the fact; and free coinage has only to contend with the future output of the mines. As a fall in silver undoubtedly weakens the credit of silver money, and makes the gold fund more valuable, so a rise to the coinage rate will lift the whole burden from international credit and be a boon to the civilized world.

That we cannot ignore the great fabric of credit, as a factor in the money problem, is evident, and many believe that the metallic fund is so insignificant in comparison with the vast volume of credit, that it plays a small part. This is a radical error, as the very reverse is true. Credit adjusted to a given fund of redemption must remain substantially in that adjustment, except that credit may be lowered at the will of the banks, while they are powerless to raise it without danger. They are thus able to damage trade, but unable to help it.

Sir Robert Giffen has given his powerful opinion upon this point, which may well close the argument:

> But the result of carrying on larger and larger transactions on a narrow basis of coin or bullion is to magnify the relative importance of changes in that article. It may be true, and I believe it true, that the bullion in a country under a given set of conditions is the final measure of prices in that country: that an addition to the quantity, or a reduction from it, distorts the equilibrium, and the balance is only set right again by the adjustment of prices.

The Democracy, with its issue of free coinage, makes no attack on capital, but merely asks from it justice to the debtor. With the addition to the coinage of the annual silver output to do the work of trade and commerce there will be no destructive rise in prices. Reason would indicate that the remonetization of silver will operate in the same degree upon prices as did the demonetization. Demonetization was accomplished from 1873 to 1877, yet the fall of prices was gradual, amounting up to 1880 to only 12 per cent.

In 1879 Sir Robert Giffen, discussing the rise in the value of gold, said: "Now we may witness a gradual increase in the burden of debts to the loss of the debtors, and the immediate advantage of creditors." That process has gone steadily on to the present day, and the Democracy proposes to reverse it.

The Democracy must now appeal, over the heads of the bankers, to the business men, who are suffering from a false system. Fairly and dispassionately we shall argue our cause, not heeding abuse and misrepresentation, because if we can rescue humanity, the glorious results of our work will bring lasting honor to the disciples of the faith. It is said a bullet which has been dipped in the marksman's blood will surely hit the mark. Jefferson said truly, "The patriot, like the Christian, must learn that to bear revilings and persecutions is a part of his duty."

The campaign of 1896 has taught us how cruel and dishonorable is the money power in contest. Now, emboldened by success, they propose to gain bodily possession of our currency system, and to commit the country irrevocably to the rapacious gold standard. In the summer of 1897 the Bank of England, yielding to the unanimous demand of parliament, offered to encourage the bimetallic movement by holding a

portion of its reserves in silver. Of its rebuke by the money power of London the Manchester *Guardian* said: "The letter of censure from the Clearing-House bankers to the Bank of England is a distinct claim on the part of a group of London bankers to control the currency system of the country." With these invaders it is useless to argue; they must be dragged from their power to control human happiness and progress. The people of Europe are helpless, the voices of their parliaments avail nothing; only one free people remains to do battle, and we are that people.

In 1900 we shall close the awful path downward which has brought us to the end of the greatest of centuries in misery and suffering. Bimetallism is not a final reform, but it is THE WAY UPWARD. When through rising prices humankind again gets courage, other reforms will come. This must be the first. The relief we offer by restoring silver to the coinage is described by the great English economist Jevons, who in 1863 wrote thus in defence of plentiful money:

> Putting aside individual cases of hardships, if such exist, a fall in the value of gold, and an increase in the supply of money, must have and, as I should say, has already had, a most powerfully beneficent effect. It loosens the country, as nothing else could, from its old bonds of debt and habit. It throws increased rewards before all who are making and acquiring wealth, somewhat at the expense of those who are enjoying acquired wealth. It excites the active and skilful classes of the community to new exertions, and is to some extent like a discharge of his debt to a bankrupt struggling against his burdens. All this is effected without a breach of national good faith, which nothing can compensate.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A STUDY FROM LIFE.

BY HENRY C. WHITNEY.

He stands apart in striking solitude—an enigma to all men. The world eagerly asks of each person who endeavors to write or to speak of him: "What illumination have you for us? Have you solved the mystery? Can you explain this man?" The task has been essayed many times; it will be essayed many times more; it never has been, and probably never will be, entirely achieved. . . . He was the most individual man who ever lived, . . . lonely, . . . impressive, mysterious, unmeasured, and unsolved.—*Morse.*

LINCOLN'S heterogeneity was manifest even to the exterior senses, and was emphasized upon close study. He was six feet, four inches tall, but his short trunk—*torso* in the classic phrase—was out of all relation and harmony with his long legs and arms. Had all else been in keeping with his diminutive trunk, he would have been a passable dwarf; had his abnormal legs been joined to a homogeneous body, he would have passed for a moderate giant. His great antagonist, Douglas, was fourteen inches his inferior in stature when they stood together, a difference which was reduced to four when they sat. As a phrenological example, Lincoln's head was not a complete success: it was not only too small for so big a man, his hat measuring but 7¼, but the forehead was comparatively narrow and retreating, and thus the organs of causality and comparison, which, by the test of his exemplified talent, should have been unusually large, were, contrariwise, abnormally small. It is but just to the so-called science of phrenology to say that, as might be expected, his organs of combativeness, firmness, benevolence, secretiveness, adhesiveness, and approbativeness were large; while those of self-esteem, hope, reverence, destructiveness, and acquisitiveness were small.

His countenance, when animated with the inspiration of social contact or the simplest agreeable emotion of any sort,

possessed a magnetism and gave evidence of a *bonhomie* which were indefinable, and which could never be forgotten by those who had felt the charm.

> He had
> A most bewildering smile; there was a glance
> Of such playfulness and innocence
> That, as you looked, a pleasant feeling came
> Over the heart, as when you heard a sound
> Of cheerful music.

His face had great mobility as well as great power to amplify his thoughts, but little capacity for mere contortion; but it was remarkable, if not indeed unique, in its widely extended compass and diapason of expression, being at rare intervals lurid with majestic and terrifying wrath, at another time (and that, habitually) veiled with an awful shadow of impenetrable woe, then assuming a phase of severe responsibility,—

> deep on his front engraven,
> Deliberation sat, and public care,—

and anon betraying a quizzical expression of mischief or senseless vacuity.

On the morning of July 10, 1858, I was sole witness of an exhibition of the mood first named. I found him alone, in the small writing room of the Tremont House at Chicago, calmly reading the morning paper, when I handed him a letter from Judge Dickey, the contents of which greatly irritated him. He was at once transformed by rage, and in a voice of extreme passion he exclaimed several times (not to me, for I had nothing to do with the affair), "*I hain't got any argument to make.*" Dickey and he had an appointment before Judge Drummond that morning, and this note stated that Dickey was then leaving town and requested Lincoln to make his argument, which Dickey would reply to thereafter.

Again, on the morning of September 30, 1861, just after breakfast, he started with me in radiant good humor to accomplish a matter at the War Department, when I unfortunately asked him to appoint William Houston (a brother to Sam Houston of Texas) to a clerkship. He flew into a towering rage at once. "There he is, settin' here,—— —— ——, wanting the best office I've got," etc. (I suppose Houston was a

chronic bore.) "Let's drop the subject," said I, and his rage vanished as quickly as it came.

These are the only exhibitions of this kind that I saw, and they show that trifling matters sometimes aroused his wrath. Trifling matters likewise stimulated his innate tendency to melancholy. Soon after the first battle of Bull Run, he told me that his greatest vexation had arisen on account of two bitter contests over post offices, one at Bloomington, Illinois, and the other in Pennsylvania. About noon on Friday, March 8, 1861, in the executive chamber, with expressions of extreme irritability, and with a countenance shrouded in the densest gloom, he inveighed to me in the bitterest terms against Judge Davis's greed and importunity for office, and summarized his disgust in these words: "I know it is an awful thing for me to say, but I already wish I was back home, and some one else was here in my place." His deep-set, melancholy, weird-looking gray eyes, suggestive no less of hidden grief than of patient self-introspection, constituted his most striking and impressive single feature; and when in a serious mood, literally

> His look
> Drew audience and attention still as night
> Or summer's noontide air.

But awkward and ungainly as he manifestly was, there nevertheless was in his *tout ensemble* an indefinable *something* that commanded respect.

His attire was homespun, faded and *négligé*, much like that of an Illinois farmer in his second-best, or market-day, suit. His clothes did not fit him. His baggage while on circuit did not occupy much over a square foot of space; he carried hardly the necessary appliances of civilized life. In his daily walk and conversation, and about the commonplace matters of social economy, he was artless, unsophisticated, and unassimilated: no man of his social rank and experiences ever wore his rusticity and guilelessness so persistently. Literally he was

> Of manners gentle, of affections mild;
> In wit a man, simplicity a child.

Style and pretensions made no impression on him. To his

appreciation, that part of a man—in many cases, the principal part—which was composed of wool, cotton, silk, whalebone, fur, leather, pomatum, and bay rum was unnoted; the soul and ethical tendencies alone made the man. To his apprehension, in other words,

> The rank is but the guinea's stamp;
> The man's the gowd for a' that.

An introduction to a stranger was not acknowledged on his part by a supercilious, insolent, inquisitive, vacant, or patronizing stare or by an obvious taking of a mental inventory of the attributes of the novice, or with an exordium of hollow compliment; if he said anything formal, it was simply "How-d'ye" in a familiar, good-hearted way. But he either continued the conversation he was engaged in without ceremony, or commenced with the new-comer as Uncle Toby did with poor Lefevre, in the familiar style of an old acquaintance; hence there was no restraint or constraint on the part of the very humblest in his company.

His close associates while on the circuit were determined for the time being by strict considerations of utility, by their ability, that is, to do the thing wanted at the time. He wanted attrition with a good case lawyer, or a good jury lawyer, or with a good storyteller, or possibly with a political leader—with that person who could bring the desired result. So inflexible to this sentiment was he that as a constant habit he chose as his opponent at billiards a bibulous lawyer of no merit save the negative one of playing as awkwardly and badly as Lincoln himself; and it was a strange but not unfamiliar sight to see these two men, who had nothing else in common, playing billiards in an obscure place, sometimes for hours together. Billiards, I may say, was the only non-utilitarian thing that I know of Lincoln indulging in.

Although it may tend to minify the popular opinion of his exuberant and disinterested *bonhomie* and philanthropy, the fact remains that he believed, with Helvetius, that "pain and pleasure form the only springs of the moral universe, while the sentiment of self-love is the only basis on which we can lay the foundations of moral usefulness. What motive," he often asked his familiars, "but that of self-interest could lead

a man to perform a generous action? He can as little love good for the sake of good, as evil for the sake of evil."

In his exterior affairs he had no method, system, or order. He had no library of any sort, law or other, at any time. He had no clerk, stenographer, or typewriter; no letter-copying book, no scrap or commonplace book, no diary, no *index rerum*, no cash or account book, no daybook, journal, or ledger. When he received money for law practice, he gave his partner his share at the time, or wrapped it in a bit of paper, awaiting an opportunity to divide. Even when he was President, when he wanted to preserve an unofficial memorandum of any kind, he noted it on a card, and put it in a drawer or, mayhap, in his vest pocket. But in his mental processes and operations he had a most complete method, system, and order; while outside of his mind all was anarchy and confusion, inside all was symmetry and precision. His mind was his workshop; he had little need of an office or pen, ink, and paper; he could perform his chief labor by self-introspection and reflection.

His daily life at home was of the simplest order; no working man or day laborer exhibited less style or pretensions. Imagine a lawyer and politician of his rank going out on the commons every evening, searching for, driving up, and milking his cow, cleaning out his stable, grooming his horse, chopping and carrying wood for the kitchen fire, and going regularly to the grocery and carrying home the supplies. And yet he did all these things habitually, not from any desire of ostentation or by reason of eccentricity, but from motives of the strictest utility,—and this even on the evening of May 18, 1860, and afterwards, when the telegraph from Maine to California and from Minnesota to Florida was vocal with his, as the unique and honored name. His disinclination to employ a clerk, errand boy, or servant arose from his unfamiliarity with petty enterprise, and from his secretiveness, self-reliance, and desire of independence. Indeed, self-dependence and mental isolation were among the very strongest elements of his character.

His intellectual vision was clear and lucid: "he saw all things through a perfect mental lens." While men usually

see through a glass, darkly, he saw face to face; he comprehended the entire landscape of all moral propositions, and viewed each element in its technical perspective and relation to all truth and logic. Truth is polygonous, and average minds can see only the nearest side perfectly, the oblique sides imperfectly, and the rear not at all; but Lincoln possessed that peculiar kind of mental eyesight (if I may use that expression) which could see all sides and angles of every moral proposition. His perception was thus accurate, far-reaching, and astute; no glamour of romance or illusion of fancy gilded or magnified any object in his view. While ordinary vision would invest objects with various of the prismatic colors, according to the bias of education, sympathies, antipathies, or affinities, his mental view united all colors of the prism, and saw with the cold, colorless light of exact truth.

He gleaned quite as much knowledge from observation and by experience as anyone, but the crude product was passed through and crystallized in the alembic of his own mind and genius before it was of any concrete use to him. Nothing within the wide range and extended compass of his mental view passed unchallenged. To all acts, accidents, incidents, objects of vision or speculation, phenomena, and moral propositions—extending even to theorems in geometry—he made the highwayman's demand, "Stand and deliver." Every material object or moral entity which was presented to his optical or mental vision conveyed to him an object-lesson; from everything, actual or phantasmagorial, he extracted a moral. As the busy bee distilled honey from the whole floral world, so he, by and through reflection and self-introspection, distilled wisdom from the entire realm of the speculative and the ideal. His shrewd but apparently indifferent gaze comprehended and included every element of the object under review. Under the mask and disguise of *nonchalance* and negative dissimulation he was an eager student; and moral objects which to the common apprehension were chaotic and heterogeneous, were orderly and homogeneous to him.

Calhoun was the greatest logician of our political history; he was so constituted by nature, and he perfected himself by

art. But he did not elucidate his themes for the masses; in fact, the masses of his constituency would not have understood him had he attempted to be simple. Calhoun was a statesman by profession; he had no other vocation. It was a lifelong study with him, and he was a master of the art. Such intellectual giants think only for superior minds, approximating to their own.

Lincoln was much like the great South-Carolina statesman in his dialectical style and modes of thought; his written speeches, of which the Cooper Institute speech is the most conspicuous example, are structurally like Calhoun's; they have all the logical strength and adaptation, but are without the classic pose and oratorical rhythm which come from long study. But Lincoln's speeches, unlike Calhoun's, are receptive to feeble and strong minds alike; his thoughts and reasoning are abstruse, but his style and mode of statement are comprehensible by all. And in addition, as Herndon says: "There were no words in the English language containing the coloring, shape, exactness, power, and gravity of his ideas. . . . Hence he was compelled to resort to stories, maxims, and jokes to embody his idea, that it might be comprehended."

Calhoun's erudition and philosophical culture directed him into the narrow channel of metaphysical subtleties, the technique of government, the "letter that killeth." Lincoln's lack of the art of schools enabled him to take a broad generalization, to be guided by "the spirit which maketh alive"; he thus arose to the dignity and necessities of his great occasion.

An honorable and noble ambition was the basis and impelling force of Lincoln's desires and aspirations. There are great differences in the character and quality of the ambition which moves men. The ambition of one may be eminently egoistic; that of another chiefly altruistic; and there are many intermediate degrees between. The spirit which controlled the Continental Congress was mainly altruistic; that which animates our more modern Congresses is equally egoistic. Benjamin Franklin and George Washington were clearly defined types of altruistic and unselfish statesmen; while John Sherman and Stephen A. Douglas were equally pronounced and emphasized examples of egoistic politicians, of no single

unselfish grace. Chatham's controlling passion was love of ostentation and display—the simulacrum of power; his greater son disdained the glitter of station, and aspired to power alone. Some of the most noisy statesmen of to-day on both hemispheres are guided by the most debased venality.

Lincoln was *sui generis* in this trait, as in all else, being egoistic in his pursuit of ambition, and altruistic in the ministrations of his great office. It would seem as if he put the enthusiasm and satiety of good-fellowship above all other personal desires. He certainly abhorred ostentation and the glamour of official station. His more resplendent wife essayed the difficult task for both. He abnegated power where he could conscientiously, but not otherwise; and of power which was unmistakably his he was extremely jealous. In this he allowed no one to "poach on his manor." He dwelt on the familiar side of things; called things by their right names; called those about him plain Seward, Stanton, Lovejoy, Swett, and Washburn, and preferred to be called plain Lincoln in return; and he was quite as approachable by Tony Lumpkin as by Lord Lyons.

He did not obtrude gratuitous advice on anybody, and he did not interfere in affairs which did not directly concern him. When possible to avoid it, he never repeated scandal or froward remarks, or attributed sinister or unworthy motives to the conduct of another. Concerning his powers and public responsibilities he was egoistic to an intense degree, but as regarded any derivative benefit or personal aggrandizement or ulterior advantage, he was equally altruistic; and "the Union, with him, arose to the sublimity of a religious mysticism."

He was not, as a rule, enterprising and effusive in his friendships toward his friends, but when appealed to he was usually more than generous, though sometimes less than just. In this attribute, as in all others, he was eccentric and uneven. He was frequently magnanimous to his enemies and complaisant to the neutral at the expense of generosity to his friends.

Thus, Judge Davis did more than any other man to put him on the track for the presidency; and Lincoln was in many ways made to know that he desired and expected to be a cabi-

net minister or to adorn Judge McLean's vacant seat on the Supreme Bench; but Lincoln passed Davis by for Judd, a selfish placehunter whom he wanted in the cabinet, and whom he appointed to a first-class mission. Finally, however, he did grudgingly place Davis on the Supreme Bench, not on his merits, but on the earnest importunity of Swett. But let no man condemn the great President till he knows all the facts. In the execution of his great office matters of political expediency had to be considered which history cannot fully reveal, and which debarred him from executing his independent will. In the case put, to illustrate, while the world took Davis seriously, according to his pretensions, Lincoln knew that he was a hollow political charlatan. On this and other topics of criticism, the great President might well say, as the musician said to Philip of Macedon when that monarch criticised his instruments and his art: "God forbid that you should know more about these things than I do."

The accepted belief is that the career of an ultimately successful man is an unbroken series of current successes from zero to affluence or renown; in practice, however, the progress of the unsuccessful and successful alike is replete with current misfortunes. The adventurer who meets with ultimate defeat may nevertheless have been highly favored of fortune in life's current journey; while the laurelled victor may have trodden the winepress of humiliation and defeat all his days, except the last. Four years before he was nominated for the Presidency, Lincoln publicly declared: "With me the race of ambition has been a failure—a flat failure"; and two years and two months before he actually took the Presidential chair, he said to me, in extreme bitterness of spirit, "My friends are leaving me, and I expect everyone to desert me."

His first political success (as it may be called) was achieved on April 21, 1832, when he was elected captain in one of the companies to serve in the Black Hawk war. The fact itself, no less than the successful prosecution of that war, gave him the greatest pride and self-gratulation. In the fall of that year he ran for the legislature, but was defeated. Soon thereafter he was appointed by John Calhoun, the Democratic county surveyor, to be his deputy for the northern part of the

county; and on May 7, 1833, he was appointed by William T. Barry, Jackson's Postmaster-General, to be postmaster of New Salem. In 1834 he ran for the legislature again and was elected, taking his seat in that body on December 1st of that year. In 1836 he was elected for the second time; and he was reëlected twice in succession thereafter. The only fadeless laurels he earned during these four sessions of service were in his hanging out his anti-slavery flag in the face of pro-slavery gloom, and in removing the capital to Springfield, which was his distinctive work. For this great service he was afterwards—as is usual in such cases—repaid with the basest ingratitude.

In 1842, 1844, and 1846 successively he aspired to a nomination for Congress, but on the first and second occasions he was defeated by John J. Hardin and Edward D. Baker respectively. On the third attempt he was at last nominated; the election resulted in his favor, and he took his seat in December, 1847.

In only an extremely few instances have members made a deep impression at their first term in Congress. Henry Clay and Douglas were exceptions, but Lincoln was not. Not only was he handicapped by his native modesty, but he was in a despised minority, whom the triumphant majority treated with utter disdain. Lincoln attempted, however, to gain a reputation. But, though enterprising, he was unfortunate with legislative schemes. In his speeches he attempted grave political philosophy and the witchery of broad humor, each alike in vain; and he returned home with neither profit nor laurels, and saw his district pass over to the opposition. He applied to a Whig administration for the office of Commissioner of the General Land Office. "He asked for bread and got a stone"; he was tendered the insignificant post of Secretary for Oregon; afterwards that of Governor. Oregon was then a *terra incognita*—the Van Diemen's Land of our political system.

In 1854, and again in 1858, the United States Senate was almost within his grasp, but, as with Sisyphus, the stone eluded him, and, as with Tantalus, the sparkling draught and ambrosial fruit fled from his famished lips. True, indeed, his

race of ambition had been "a flat failure." In point of fact, when I first knew Lincoln in 1854, he being then in his forty-sixth year, he had wrought no achievement of conspicuous fame except the removal of the capital, and that was not apt work for a great man. Indeed, at that time, his reputation as a story-teller eclipsed all other traits.

His career of real greatness opened on October 3, 1854; and while it might have come to pass in course of time in any event, it was by mere accident that it happened then. The plan prearranged was that Douglas should on that day speak to the people who were expected to attend at the State Fair, in justification of the Nebraska bill; and that Breese or Trumbull or both (being leaders of the Democracy, in opposition) should reply. Neither one appeared, however, and Lincoln was informally but opportunely designated by the opposition to reply. His speech, which was repeated at Peoria and also at Urbana, exceeded any argument on that side, either in or out of Congress. So Douglas himself admitted. Trumbull, however, reaped the reward then, and Lincoln had to wait. In 1856, however, at Bloomington, Lincoln eclipsed all previous efforts in the line of speechmaking. This gave him a distinctive and unassailable leadership in the State, and in 1858 he enlarged this leadership to national proportions. The opportune "house-divided-against-itself" speech made "his fame fold in this orb o' the earth."

Lincoln was a native politician, with all that the term implies, consistent with honor and integrity. When, in 1858, Buchanan was decapitating the office-holders in Illinois who adhered to Douglas, Lincoln told me that Buchanan was right, and that he should have done the same—that a President had a right to demand that his appointees should be in harmony with the policy of his administration. Lincoln was likewise a utilitarian, according to the conception of Hume and Bentham alike. He classed the value of men according to their strength and efficiency, which in his view somewhat condoned moral obliquity. He once spoke to me in highly eulogistic terms of Bacon, at which I expressed surprise, and ventured to object that he had been accused of receiving bribes. Lincoln admitted this to be true, but in extenuation said that it

had never made any difference in his decisions; in short, he admired him for his strength in spite of his flagitiousness.

Lincoln's adhesion to Judd was in consequence of Judd's eminent success as a politician, although Lincoln well knew that Judd was, as he expressed it to me, a political "trimmer." Judd's rallying cry in a political campaign was, "Turn on the beer and keep it running." Lincoln's appointment of Cameron was made in spite of that politician's malodorous reputation, which the whole world knew. Lincoln even resisted it, saying: "How can I justify my title of 'Honest Old Abe' with the appointment of a man like Cameron?" All of which tends to show that politics and its practice are not divine arts.

Perhaps the most conspicuous element of Lincoln's character—certainly the one most generally noted and discussed—was what is somewhat vaguely styled his honesty. It is not, according to my view, and was not in his, an affirmative virtue to be merely *honest;* for while it is, of course, a badge of dishonor to be dishonest, it is in no wise notably meritorious to be honest. It is like the faculty or accomplishment of accurate spelling, the maintenance of personal chastity, or the normal habit of being dressed, not meritorious so as to excite comment in the observance, but disgraceful in the breach. A man who is merely honest, without more, is a moral imbecile; the fibre of character requires some element more radical. But while Lincoln was indeed honest, as a matter of course, which is the negative pole of uprightness and moral intrepidity, he was also just, which is the positive pole. He was also logical and consistent in this attribute, not merely by the test of conventionalism, but equally by the test of a vital and enlightened conscience. He would as lief break into a man's house and despoil the owner of his goods, as secure the same result through the medium of an inequitable suit at law or a tricky contract. To acquire values by malpractice or by unjust or unfair action in court or elsewhere, by overcharging for services, by flat or disguised perjury, or by technical larceny, was alike in essence to him. The form and style of the malappropriation did not engross his attention, nor was he deluded by ornate phrases or euphemistic titles. To him dishonesty was dishonesty, whether it was

concealed in the burglar's kit, the "dicer's oath," deceit in a trade, the lawyer's sophistical speech, the politician's venal vote, or the hypocrite's vain profession.

Nor was his style of honesty one of limitations or of negative ethical obligation, such as, "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not bear false witness," etc.; it was an active, vital law of his being which prompted affirmative performance of duty. Lincoln also possessed not alone *moral* honesty, which is easy and common, but also *mental* honesty, which is difficult and rare indeed. All men profess moral honesty; they assume that virtue whether they have it or not. But men in general are not ashamed of obliquity of opinion; to them conformity is preferable to consistency, conventionalism to independence. To be looked at askance because of singularity of opinion conveys terror; men shun the criticism of their fellows with greater solicitude than that of their own consciences. As Lincoln himself put it: "Men who are brave enough to defy a loaded cannon cannot endure the awful name of Abolitionist, even when made by one whom they depise." But Lincoln always had the courage of his convictions; and he not only sounded the clarion note of defiance to his enemies, but with greater courage he challenged his friends to mortal combat in the maintenance of what were at the time novel and heretical political doctrines.

Shall I be told that this eulogium is undeserved, that it was not just to sustain the Fugitive Slave law, or to thwart Hunter, Phelps, Frémont, and Schenck in extirpating slavery, or to urge compensated emancipation,—all of which things Lincoln did? I reply that slaves were, in a legal aspect, *property*, and that, in Lincoln's view, to despoil their legal owners of this property was an overthrow of justice as enthroned in constitutional law; and that he deemed it more consonant with justice to protect slaves as property, by and *plus* law, than to attempt their freedom through the bloody processes of anarchy. Even in seeking to execute justice and enforce equity, he had utility and practicability of achievement in view. He did not design to "let justice be done though the heavens fall," because he knew that justice could no more be perfectly done than the heavens could fall. His goal was not ideal jus-

tice, but the practicable and the attainable. He did not attempt impossible achievements. Let it be remembered that Lincoln was primarily a statesman and politician, and in no sense a closet reformer or barren idealist. He conformed to the political monition of Cicero: "Whoever enters upon public life ought to take care that the question, how far the measure is virtuous, be not the sole consideration, but also how far he may have the means of carrying it into execution."

In the days of his adolescence Lincoln gave no favorable promise for the future; sarcasm and brute force were dominant. But this fashion was in accord with the times and manners with which he was environed; it was, in short, the custom of the country. He was impatient of restraint; he learned magnanimity later. He was impermeable to insult and quick to repel any disparagement,—by muscular force if needful, in which he knew no superior. This harsh and unlovely but then necessary gift of physical prowess—this element of herculean strength—and the laudable characteristic of resolute courage constituted his chief paternal inheritance and bequest; and so far as can be traced he did not abuse the gift, being always wary of entering into a quarrel; but, being in, he bore it so that the opposer would beware of him ever thereafter.

Exterior and visible agencies, however, defined only the initial point in Lincoln's unique career. The film of sorrow and bereavement which glazed his eyes at the deathbed of Nancy Hanks Lincoln was never effaced, and the mystic chords of memory and sympathy which stretched from the neglected grave in the deep tangled wild wood to the stricken heart of the bereaved boy were constant in their tension, impelling him to all efforts that were noble and heroic, toward all ends that were good and true. It is said that Schiller, before commencing a work, heard within himself a harmony of indistinct sounds which were like a prelude to inspiration. Also, that Rembrandt, when in the act of conceiving a picture, had a vision of rays and shadows, which communed with his soul, before he had animated the canvas with his personages. By analogy, if not indeed by the same occult influence, soon after the death of Lincoln's stepmother, an obvious and

radical transformation was wrought in his nature: he acquired that well-defined habit of abstraction, absent-mindedness, and introspection which was so marked and emphatic a feature of his character in his later days. The man who had theretofore presented no appearance of sedateness, suddenly experienced or assumed a deep sense of responsibility, and gravity usurped former exhibitions and manifestations of frivolity and vacuity.

To a superficial view this sudden change, while inharmonious with ordinary laws of evolution, and obviously not a growth or progress, seemed no more than a metamorphosis and an exotic, a sort of psychological meteor, as it were, falling into his orbit and assimilating somewhat imperfectly with his system. A sufficiently occult intelligence, however, might discern in his life of psychomancy a more impressive moral, as well as a cabalistic meaning in his frequent references to his "sainted" mother, in which hope was heralded, but masked and concealed by the awful mystery of the grave. By the premature death of Ann Rutledge, his affianced, this film of superstition and gauze of the supernatural became a cloud so dense as to overshadow his reason; and throughout life his sadness was deeply ingrained, and usurped all avenues of his intelligence and existence. It was his ruling mood. As Herndon puts it, by a strong figure of speech, "His melancholy dripped from him as he walked."

To this sad characteristic, which surprised me greatly at the time, my attention was first drawn in the spring of 1855, at the McLean Circuit Court. I was sitting with John T. Stuart, and, our conversation turning upon Lincoln, Stuart remarked that he was a hopeless victim of melancholy. I expressed surprise, when Stuart said, "Look at him now." I turned a little and saw Lincoln sitting alone in a corner of the bar, remote from anyone, wrapped in abstraction and gloom. It was a sad but interesting study for me, and I watched him for some time. He seemed to be pursuing in his mind some specific painful subject, regularly and systematically through various sinuosities, and his sad face would assume, at times, deeper phases of grief. No relief came till he was roused by the adjournment of court, when he emerged from his cave of gloom, and, like one awakened from sleep,

came back to the world in which he lived. It seemed as if his mind waged a persistent and unrelenting warfare with his feebly resisting body, and were slowly but surely wearing it out.

On the circuit, he and I, from necessity, slept together; and one morning at Danville, where we had a hearth fire, I was awakened before daylight by my bedfellow sitting up in bed, his gaunt figure dimly visible by the ghostly and fitful firelight, and talking the most bizarre and incoherent nonsense, all to himself. Knowing his idiosyncrasies I felt no alarm, and finally he ceased his grotesque monologue, bounded out of bed, like an acrobat, with a single spring, hurried on his clothes, replenished the fire, and then sat in front of it moodily and dejectedly, without a word or a movement for fully two hours, till we were called to breakfast.

Closely allied and interwoven with these traits was an inherent belief in his *destiny*. I am not aware that a specific destiny was clearly outlined to him; if so, he did not reveal it; but on several occasions he avowed that he was doomed to a violent and bloody end. As Napoleon III said of Cæsar: "He had faith in his destiny and confidence in his genius." But faith is an instinct, not a calculation; and genius foresees the future without understanding its mysterious progress. Apropos of this, in October, 1854, he visited my law office, with others of the travelling bar, and while there, taking down a copy of Byron, he readily turned to the third canto of "Childe Harold," and read aloud from the thirty-fourth stanza, commencing,

> There is a very life in our despair,

to and including the forty-fifth stanza, thus:

> He who ascends to mountain-tops shall find
> The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
> He who surpasses or subdues mankind,
> Must look down on the hate of those below.
> Though high *above* the sun of glory glow,
> And far *beneath* the earth and ocean spread,
> *Round* him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
> Contending tempests on his naked head,
> And thus reward the toils which to those summits led.

This poetry was evidently very familiar to him; he looked

specifically for it, and found it without hesitation; and he read it with a fluency that indicated that he had read it oftentimes before. I think he read it sadly and reverently.

Lincoln also had a faculty of abstraction which was marvellous if not indeed unique. Ofttimes he had an absent, "far-away" look; he would gaze unmistakably but without show of intelligence into the eye of an intimate friend; he would accept the proffered hand mechanically and without heartiness. The image impressed upon his retina must, of course, have been that of the person at whom he so impassively gazed, but his eyes were turned inward, and another totally different object was stamped on his consciousness.

Let me exhibit his simplicity of character by an incident. One evening, at Danville, immediately after supper, he was missing. We could not imagine where he had gone, and the Judge and I retired at 9 o'clock, somewhat worried about the unsolved mystery. Lincoln had a way of furtively stealing in on one, unheard, unperceived, and unawares; and our door soon noiselessly opened, and the tall form of Lincoln softly glided in. "I was in hopes you fellers would be asleep," said he: "Well, I have been to a little show up at the schoolhouse;" and he narrated what he had seen. The entertainment had been intended chiefly for school children. Next evening, he was missing again. The show was still in town, and there was to be an entire change of programme. He was as pleased at it as a child.

Let me give another incident to show the contrasts in his deportment. On the evening of October 24, 1854, at Urbana, Illinois, he made one of the most able and dignified political speeches ever made in Illinois; he was perfectly majestic, and he evoked the most intense enthusiasm. Next morning he had to ride to the train two miles in an omnibus, and he essayed the clown, and played "Yankee Doodle," and very badly, all the way on a small French harp. He called it his "band."

I may give yet another incident, somewhat illustrative of the same characteristic. During the sitting of the Philadelphia Convention in June, 1856, he was in attendance upon the Circuit Court at Urbana, and at the very time when the

110 votes were being cast for him as a candidate for Vice-President in Philadelphia, he committed the boyish freak of hiding the hotel gong, and on being strongly suspected by the landlord, he looked as sheepish as a mischievous boy might be expected to in a similar predicament. In extenuation of this freak I may add that, besides giving us a rest from the din, it taught our vulgar landlord a lesson, for, previous to this practical protest, he had been wont to bang the instrument in our ears *ad nauseam*.

At sunset on May 27, 1856, Lincoln and I happened to be standing in the market square at Decatur, Illinois, when he impressively said: "Here is the exact spot where, twenty-six years ago, I stood by our wagon, which had everything in it that my father and I owned in the world." And he might have added that during the succeeding year he had worked in the clearings and cornfields of the Sangamon bottom as a common field-hand, and was so obscure a person that even tradition has a blank leaf at this page of his history.

Within five years from this meeting at Decatur he and I were at that town again, and he was then the President-elect of the United States.

For more than a century the majestic figure of Washington has occupied a consecrated niche in the Parthenon of history, and has been canonized in the hearts of his countrymen as the ideal patriot, unique in public virtue, the Genius of Constitutional liberty. "*Stat magni nominis umbra.*" To approach that proud and preëminent exaltation all political ambition aspires. Washington is the "bright particular star" in our galaxy of the mightiest departed; he is in the clear upper sky, and the lustre of his glory will not grow dim or fade till our political system itself goes out in darkness! Lincoln once said to me, reprovingly: "Let us rather believe, as in our youth, that Washington was spotless; it makes human nature better to believe that one human being was perfect—that perfection is attainable and possible." Yet again, he said: "Washington is the mightiest name on earth—long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty, still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name no eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of

Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked, deathless splendor leave it shining on."

From the new historic era which was unfolded in 1861 the rays of the world's laudation converged to one focus, in which, in letters of living light, is written the name of *Abraham Lincoln*, the only name apposite to be linked with that of him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen;" and until civil and political liberty shall be no more, the inquirer shall find, occupying the same historic pedestal,—always linked and entwined together with the same laurel wreath, and the effulgence of the fame of each adding glory to the other,—united in patriotism, complementary in achievements, one the founder and the other the preserver of constitutional liberty, and thus homogeneous in immortality, the sainted names of

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN!

THE RELATION OF ART TO MORALITY.

BY MARIE C. REMICK,
President of the Chicago Woman's Club.

THERE have been three periods of great art: sculpture in Greece in the age of Pericles, painting in Florence in first half of the sixteenth century, and in Venice in the last half of the same century.

The history of art development in Greece is analogous to that in Italy. In both countries the first art was an attempt to present—in sculpture in the one country, in fresco in the other—the religious conceptions of the age. In both countries, as art escaped from the bonds of religious authority, better technique and greater freedom in choice of subject and treatment were gradually developed. In both, art nominally served religion after love of beauty had supplanted the religious motive in artist and patron.

Egyptian art remained the servant of religion, and was so bound by conventionality that little development was possible. Byzantine art never threw off the fetters of the Greek Church. The very fact that a picture was intended for worship compelled the artist to adhere to a fixed type of representation, because any variation would have been both shocking and confusing to the worshippers. For this reason perfection in art could only come with the release from ecclesiastical bonds.

A writer has said: "When Apollo was worshipped in the form of a pillar, and the Dioscuri in the form of the letter H, no man doubted; when every god was worshipped in forms of immortal beauty in every city in Greece, no man believed." When Cimabue's Madonna so awakened the enthusiasm of the Florentines that the streets through which it was borne to S. Maria Novella took the name of "The Joyful Quarter," faith was unshaken, and the religious conception ruled art. When Raphael painted the Disputa with heavenly beauty on the

wall of the Sistine Chapel, Luther tells us the priests scoffed before the altar at the mystery they were celebrating.

In these three epochs of great art there was not only decay of faith, but great immorality; and national sensuality found its expression in the national art. Mr. Ruskin, referring to this, says: "No people has ever attained the highest stages of art-skill except at a period of its civilization which was sullied by frequent and even monstrous crimes"; and "The attaining of perfection of art-power has been hitherto in every nation the accurate signal of the beginning of its ruin." The cause, he thinks, is that art, in all periods of perfection hitherto, has been followed for its own sake, and was not, as in the earlier periods, an attempt to teach some true and useful thing.

The time of the perfection of art in Greece was also the time of her greatest drama and philosophy. In Italy in the sixteenth century, when Michelangelo and Raphael produced their greatest works, Del Sarto drew his perfect line, and the Venetians carried color to its perfection, Italy was as famous for her love of classic learning as for her great artists. Why then should the art more than the literature of Greece or the love of learning in Italy be held responsible for the immorality common to both countries in the culmination of their glory?

Through all this art criticism, Mr. Ruskin insists upon making art didactic; in Giotto and Fra Angelico he finds torch-bearers of morality and religion, and the decadence of morals in the perfection of beauty and expression of later art.

Taine, of the Latin race, is a much more sympathetic art critic than Ruskin, and understands the spirit of the old art as no Anglo-Saxon, prejudiced by the utilitarianism of his race, can. The Anglo-Saxon race has been great in literature, philosophy, science, and politics, but never great in art. Neither were the Romans, also a practical people, "whose genius it was," sang Vergil, "to rule the nations and give law to the world." In England the sixteenth century, the most picturesque in her history, found its expression in a great drama; while in Italy similar conditions developed a great art.

Mr. Ruskin claims that a right moral state is essential for the production of great art, and that "No false man can paint." It is true that many of the earlier painters were men of the greatest purity and piety, notable Sodoma and Fra Angelico, and we feel their saintly souls speaking to us in their Madonnas, saints, and Christs; yet such sharply defined moral judgments do not stand the tests of biography. Filippo Lippi was a man of notoriously immoral life, but in the faces of his Madonnas and angels there is the same expression of holiness and purity that characterizes Angelico's. Andrea Del Sarto was both a liar and a thief, but who can fail to be moved by the consecration and aspiration in the face of his St. John? An exquisite peace and devotion are characteristic of Perugino's Madonnas and saints, but he was parsimonious to meanness, and Vasari says his name is to be found in the criminal annals of Florence. In the latter part of his life he became a heretic, and when he was dying he refused the last offices of the church, saying, "I should like to know how one is received over there who refuses to commune here." The Madonnas painted in these days have the same holiness of expression as those painted in his days of faith; and these illustrations could be duplicated many times from the lives of the painters.

Is it not true that the beautiful is the essence of art, and that love of the beautiful and power to express it can exist in conditions of society morally wrong and in the souls of most imperfect men?

If great artists have not always been good men, neither have great writers. Emerson says of Shakspere: "He was master of the revels of mankind. . . . He was a jovial actor and manager; I cannot marry this fact to his verse." Is it not true of every man and woman to whom great genius has been given in literature or art, that the works which they have created are much greater and nobler than the facts of their lives would show *them* to have been? Often genius has been put in earthen vessels. Yet we do not question that the poets have given us in their songs the highest thought of their age as well as the divine in their own nature. We must concede the same to the artists. The art of Greece

and her literature are the glorious inheritance of the ages; the art and learning of Italy of the sixteenth century illuminated Europe. Painting, like literature, has sometimes been immoral. No one questions the beauty of Byron's verse, but many question the morality. Titian's Venus of the Tribuna, in the Uffizi, in the place assigned to it among the treasures of one of the finest galleries in the world, has been by competent critics pronounced beautiful as art. Is it moral? Would the suggestions portrayed in this picture through a much more sensuous medium than literature, be allowed expression in poetry? I think everyone will agree that any poem attempting to state what Titian plainly tells in this Venus, would be suppressed in the interest of public morals. Why should more license be permitted to art than to literature? The same strictures will apply to many of the Ledas, Danaës, and Antiopes scattered through the galleries of Europe. Symonds says: "Raphael in his Loggie has mingled with his scenes from Old Testament history scenes of more than pagan sensuality." It is doubtless due to the influence of the church, which as the great patron of art furnished most of the subjects for the artists, that in that age art did not oftener pass the bounds of decency. Many of the most objectionable pictures probably have not come down to us. Vasari says that Botticelli, one of the least sensual and most intellectual of artists, "In many houses painted roundels with his own hand, and naked women plenty." All of which simply means that artists were men of their time.

On first consideration it would seem that religious art should have greatly influenced character. That men could perform the rites of their worship before statues of the Greek and Roman gods without in any way influencing their conduct does not surprise us, for we know that in the religious rites of Greece and Rome there was no connection between worship and morality. In Christian Florence and Venice, we are surprised that prayers before altars from which looked down the mild and pitying face of the "Mother of Sorrows" and of saints famed for their lives of holiness and self-sacrifice had so little influence over the conduct of the worshippers; but we must remember that the religion of this period was a

religion of outward observances, of rites and dogmas, sentiments and emotions. Men went to the mass bloody-handed, and away from it to assassinate, pillage, and commit all atrocities; among the ignorant religion had become superstition, and by the great cardinals of the church was openly ridiculed. "Since God has given us the papacy," said Leo X, "let us enjoy it." Mediæval Christianity, as Dante had conceived it, had lost its hold on the age, and no higher religious truth had taken its place. Men turned to Greek learning and the beauty of art for their higher life, and religion became to many merely the observance of certain ceremonials and the passive acceptance of the doctrines of the church. So long as no question was made concerning her doctrines the church was very tolerant of conduct. If in the great churches of Europe the favorite altars were the same in the past as to-day, worshippers did not throng to the chapel of S. Croce, where Giotto told St. Francis's story of poverty, chastity, and obedience, or to the altars before Angelico's and Perugino's Madonnas, but before miracle-working dolls dressed in gaudy and tarnished finery.

What anyone gets out of a book or out of a picture depends to a great degree upon the sensibility and warmth of imagination which he brings to it. Mrs. Carlyle tells a story of an ignorant Scotch girl whom she took to see a famous Madonna in the National Gallery. The girl gazed at the picture apparently spellbound in admiration; then she turned to Mrs. Carlyle and said with bated breath, "How expensive!" Evidently it was the massive gold frame that had impressed her. What an artist's soul can get out of a great work of art was impressed upon me by a little incident in the Louvre before the Venus of Milo. A young man came in with two friends. He placed them where they could get the best light and view of the statue, and passed his hand with a touch in which were united reverence and affection over the curve of the shoulder and the turn of the throat, and with a look in his face that would have made him a model for a St. George said, "I could fight for her." The holiness and peace in the faces of the Madonnas appeal to the souls ready to receive their message, and doubtless many souls have been strengthened

for noble deeds and filled with patience to bear the burdens of life by the visions of heavenly love and pity which the great artists have portrayed. The cities which produced St. Francis, St. Catherine, and Savonarola were not lacking in souls both lofty and susceptible.

Great wealth in nations has always been accompanied by decline in morals, and wealth has in all ages been the first condition of art development. Art is the flower of civilization, its luxury and adornment, and in the three great periods it reached its perfection contemporaneously with the corruption and decadence of national life, and was influenced by the immorality of the time, but by no means caused or increased this immorality. Is not art, like literature, the expression of the *Zeitgeist?* A certain atmosphere is essential to the development of art; wealth is also a necessity, yet no amount of wealth, even when united with culture and humanitarianism, is sufficient to develop it without that impalpable something we call art atmosphere. Wherever great art has been produced, there have been pageantry and beauty in public life, sumptuous apparel and picturesqueness. Life has been a spectacle, as in Athens, with her beautiful public buildings, upon which was lavished the treasure of allied cities of Greece entrusted to Athens for their common defence, processions, and games in which the people saw that perfection of the naked human body which it was the aim of the sculptors to represent. In Florence picturesqueness of costume and the pageantry of daily life much influenced art; the artists painted what they saw on the streets of their cities. Art expresses best the pictorial, and life in that period was pictorial. Modern historians have not yet realized the great value of these old frescos on church, convent, and palace wall for the study of the manners and costumes of old Italian life. The great pictures of Venice reproduce the beauty and glory of the days when she was mistress of the Mediterranean, and her doges plundered the East to beautify St. Mark.

In periods of lesser art in the Netherlands similar conditions prevailed. The Van Eycks, like Simone Memmi and the Gaddis, painted allegorical and theological pictures; but in the seventeenth century, with Rubens, painting became

sensuous and revelled in beauty of color. There were no more paintings of fasting and sorrowful Madonnas of the school of the Van Eycks. The artists of Holland and Belgium painted, as artists always have, the faces they saw in their streets, and these faces were not beautiful. There was not in these countries the intense love of beauty which characterizes the Greeks and Italians, and which gives the poetic element which makes Greek and Italian art akin to music in its influence. Rubens's saints were fleshly and "full of the pride of life"; his Magdalens have never sorrowed bitterly, and they look impenitent. Rubens, like the Venetians, knew the great secret of mixing colors which glow like liquid sunshine, but Rubens is sensual where the Venetians are sensuous. In Greece and Italy, sensuality was veiled with refinement; to this is due much of the artistic perfection of both nations. When Northern nations are sensual and passionate, they express it, in painting, after the manner of Rubens, and in literature like the dramatists of the Restoration.

In France in the age of Louis XIV, art, architecture, and literature mirrored the ideal of the age. "France, c'est moi," said the monarch. He posed as a model of taste and elegance. The formal court, with its elaborate court costumes and still more elaborate manners, were all modelled after the king. Versailles, with its magnificent salons and corridors decorated with precious marble, Venetian glass, historical and allegorical paintings, Mansard's formal architecture, and Lenôtre's stately gardens, with the trees and hedges trimmed into geometrical forms, was the proper setting for this artificial court life, which was one long dress-parade. Until the Revolution French art reflects this artificiality. The allegories of Le Brun in which Louis XIV masquerades as Alexander, the portraits of Mignard and Rigaud, Coypel, who painted the ancient Greeks in silk knee-breeches, and Watteau's courtiers masquerading as shepherds,—all tell the same story of a life that was a make-believe, a civilization rotten to its core.

History plainly tells us that in all times of great art the environment has ministered to a national love of beauty, and that sensuousness, united with picturesqueness in daily life and beauty of nature, has always been favorable to painting.

But sensuousness must not descend to coarse sensuality; immorality certainly never has promoted art. If immorality and sensuality were conducive to art development, the period of the Restoration in England should have produced great art.

The greatness of Italy in art is largely due to the keen appreciation and love of the beautiful by the Italians, which to-day give the Italian peasant a graciousness of manner and quickness of intelligence very different from the stolidity of the peasantry of northern Europe. Love of beauty shows itself in everything produced in Italy from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, from the frescos to the drinking cups of Cellini and the marble chimney-pieces and beautiful doors of the old palaces. The beautiful works of art found in inaccessible mountain villages are marvellous. Italy has many towns, like Amalfi, Ravenna, Padua, Assisi, Prato, Ferrara, and Urbino, which are now but the ghosts of what they were, but which are still filled with priceless art-treasures. Pillage, war, and sale have destroyed much and filled the galleries of Europe with spoils taken from Italy, yet so much remains that it is hard to understand how one people could have created so much beauty. It is still more remarkable when we remember that during these centuries the cities of Italy were continually engaged in wars with foreign invaders, wars with each other, and civic feuds. Still, manufactures and commerce flourished, and artist, architect, and sculptor went steadily on adorning the cities; however bitter the hate between the rival cities, and however fierce the strife between the factions within the walls, they went from city to city creating beauty, honored by every city they entered.

Modern life is too complex, too utilitarian, too dominated by scientific thoughts and industrialism to find its highest expression in art. When Masaccio and Masolino told the Bible story in forms of immortal beauty on the walls of Carmine, painting had a vital influence on Italian life, and the creation of a new fresco, the building of a new church, or the creation of a new statue was a matter of pride and joy to the whole city. For in those days there was politically no Italian nation; the only national unity was in the realms of art and

letters. Italy was divided into free cities, republics, and dukedoms, in each of which patriotism and civic pride were of that personal and intense kind possible only in small communities where the artist was personally known by the whole city. In those days, when few could read, and books were the costly treasure of cloisters and palaces, and pictures largely supplied the place now filled by books, the artist was a teacher. He was consulted not only about the decoration of the city, but on its civic policy and defence; he was a man much broader in his aims than the artist of to-day. Crowe says that if Lorenzetti had lived to-day he would probably have occupied a pulpit or a professor's chair. Many artists of those days were men of universal genius, such as Giotto, Orcagna, and Lorenzetti, poets, painters, architects, and sculptors, and, greatest of all, Leonardo and Michelangelo, who took all learning for their province. Art in the sixteenth century was the interpreter of the new Humanism as well as of the old theology. Mr. Symonds says: "The first step in the emancipation of the human mind was taken by art proclaiming to men the glad tidings of their joyfulness and greatness in a world of enjoyment created for their use."

What a keen living interest art held in those days! Very different was its position from that which it holds to-day, when art has become the decoration and adornment of life, and a picture is painted to hang with hundreds of others on the wall of a gallery! In those days pictures were painted in harmony with their surroundings, Madonnas and saints over the altars of churches, and a picture like Lorenzetti's "Good and Bad Government" in the Palazzo Publico.

Science rules modern thought as completely as art and learning ruled Italian thought in the sixteenth century. Art can never be the supreme thing in modern life; it is the adornment of a civilization rich in material things, and scientific in its thinking. Symonds says: "Our deepest thoughts about God and the world are incapable of personification by any æsthetic process. They never enter into that atmosphere where alone they could through fine art become luminous."

The art of an age must embody the ideals of the age; our age is complex, filled with new theories of social and political

amelioration, and their presentation belongs to literature rather than to painting. The pictures to-day which most strongly appeal to the people are pictures in which the literary and dramatic interest overshadows the pictorial interest; they transcend the province of painting, and for that reason they fall short of the highest excellence as art. Landscape, pantheistic in its ideal, is the modern art expression; and Millais' Spring, in the Louvre, is, perhaps, the most idyllic expression in modern art. The difficulty seems to be that modern art either tries to express more than is possible within the limitations of painting, or contents itself with mere beauty of technique.

With our loss of the greatest art there have been compensations. The mediæval city, with all its picturesqueness, was a most uncomfortable as well as a most unsanitary dwelling-place; scarcely a ray of sunshine penetrated its narrow streets, which were full of filth, noisomeness, and death damps. The lower classes burrowed like rabbits in quarters where neither comfort nor decency was possible; the nobles lived in great palaces which, with all their magnificence of spacious halls, precious marbles, and beautiful pictures, possessed neither comfort nor cleanliness, according to our standard. There is no adequate way of heating or lighting these old palaces, and for four months of the year they are like cold-storage vaults, even in the mild Italian climate. Hawthorne said: "There could be no fitter punishment for the guilty founders of these old palaces than to be compelled to wander as ghosts through these long suites of rooms over the cold marble of the floors, growing chillier with each eternal footstep." Mediæval society found its luxury in beauty and magnificence; modern society makes comfort its luxury. The marble seats which adorn the old palaces are certainly things of beauty, but they are not restful seats for tired mortals. Comfort, cleanliness, security of life and property, streets paved and lighted, disease checked by sanitation, the hospital for the shrine, the schoolhouse for the monastery are our compensations for the lack of great art; and these gifts have done more to promote morality than all the art the world has ever known. Any number of beautiful things to look at, either of art or of

nature, will never elevate a people unless to the beauty be added certain material conditions essential to health and decency.

Art has a vital relation to morality, but we must seek it not in its didactic teaching, but in beauty, which always exerts a refining influence, tending to soften manners and elevate character. In Raphael's faces there is a serenity which rests like a benediction on all who surrender themselves to his influence, and this peace must have been in Raphael's soul before he could have put it on the canvas. Only weariness of spirit comes from making art a schoolmaster. A young woman was straining her eyes and fretting her soul before Tintoretto's pictures in the Scuola San Rocco. She held her Ruskin in her hand, and was evidently striving to read into the pictures all that Mr. Ruskin told her she ought. The kindly custodian, recognizing the symptoms, came to her and said: "Signora, you will never find it all; no one but Mr. Ruskin ever did."

"Everything," wrote Marcus Aurelius, "that is in any way beautiful, is beautiful in itself." "Art," says Winckelmann, "is the daughter of pleasure." Here is where the moral mission of art is to be sought—in the elevating influence of pure delight filling life with joy and beauty, and by these making the world happier and better. We should love painting, sculpture, and music for their beauty, just as we love the rose for its color and perfume, without thinking of its value for attar of roses or confection. Is pleasure, in the highest significance of the word, so plentiful in human life that those arts which give us pleasure should be lightly valued? Is it not the distinct mission of painting, poetry, and music to soothe the soul weary with the cares of life, to make a city of refuge in the realms of fancy, to give moments of delight in a world of beauty and joy where no moral judgments are demanded of us, and where poise and serenity of mind may be gained, to enable us again to enter the arena of the actual world, from whose struggle no mortal is long released. Biting cares, heavy burdens, crushing sorrows, humiliation, and suffering fall to the lot of mortals. Every joyful moment, every noble delight, is a lasting possession of the soul. A

beautiful young girl, in her freshness and purity, whom we chance to meet; the sapphire-hued Mediterranean, with its background of purple mountains melting into olive-hued hills with a foreground of orange and lemon groves, interspersed with stately palms, and over all the luminous sky of Italy, once seen remain a lasting possession of beauty. Every sunset, every sunrise, the beauty of mountain, valley, sea, and shore, every beautiful picture, every fine statue, that we have ever seen, remains as a priceless treasure in the memory; and happy is the man or woman the warp and woof of whose life hold many such memories.

In the great museum of Naples are two long corridors filled with the busts and statues of the great men of Greece and Rome. Like the statues of their gods, the marble faces of the Greeks are full of serenity and peace; care, ambition, and restless passions have traced no lines upon these faces. It is refreshing and restful to linger with these marble men who have seen no world-weariness. On the other hand, the Roman faces are careworn and troubled; they are akin to those of the men who walk our streets; struggle and disappointment are written upon them. May not the serenity which breathes through the Greek marbles have been due to the intense love of beauty which lifted the Greeks into an ideal world?

There is little place in modern life for repose or fancy, especially to the Anglo-Saxon, who is inclined to apply his utilitarian touchstone to everything. Fiction and poetry to-day, instead of giving us rest by leading us into an ideal world of beauty and peace for spiritual refreshment, worry and distress us with the same problems which face us in daily life. Our novelists no longer even pretend to invite us to a play. They proclaim at once their purpose, all in capital letters; they tells us that their aim is not to amuse or delight, but to instruct. The social evil, the labor problem, temperance, politics, theology, and evolution are now written in the guise of fiction.

In our novelists who take their art seriously pure enjoyment, rest, can no more be found than in a treatise on insanity. By this constant strain on judgment and conscience, our

generation is being driven to nervous prostration and the verge of insanity.

Let us be allowed painting and music and literary art without being compelled to weigh motives or to judge of wickedness and virtue. Leave us a little world of the imagination free from the worry of moral judgments. The painter and the musician can stand on neutral ground; they need be neither judge nor jury; theirs the privilege to express the joy and beauty of existence.

In the Louvre is a picture by Murillo of the interior of a convent kitchen, where most charming angels, with wings folded and robes tucked up, are bustling about laying tables, setting a kettle of water to boil, and carrying plates. It had been a time of scarcity for the poor monks, and during the night the angels have brought food, and they are preparing breakfast for the half-starved brothers. A most beautiful ideal of loving service; but do not let us put all the angels to serving at table. Leave to some the harp and the song.

AMERICA A POWER.

BY STINSON JARVIS.

IN the December number of THE ARENA its Editor raised a question concerning the future of the nation. "Shall the United States be Europeanized?" he asked. "As a nation we have come to the parting of the ways. . . . The United States must gravitate rapidly towards Europe, or else diverge from Europe as far and as fast as possible." He indicates four influences tending to alter the national outlook. Of these, Commerce is ranked first. Commerce, he says in effect, does not require change and progress, but only stability, fixedness, conservatism. Thus when two nations trade, the one that alters "gets in love" with the one that does not. Reference is made to the danger of self-interest supplanting patriotism while the threads of the commercial web are being woven. "As between the ship on the one hand and the Republic on the other—well, the Republic may take care of itself! That is, democracy is good enough, but trade is better."

Under the second head, Accumulated Wealth, the large financial transactions with the old world are mentioned. The third is Social Influence, and the ties created through international marriages are discussed. The fourth factor is "Government," and here it is stated that Government is "never modest, is never humble, always encroaches and enlarges, does not look affectionately at man, but always affectionately toward form and the splendor of things."

The remarks of the article which come under the last heading would probably only issue from one who could see a long way back; and if history repeats itself, knowledge of the past makes good guessing for the future. In Dr. Ridpath's writings we enjoy the advantage of being able to rely upon his historical inferences. The writer of a history of the world, perhaps the best yet produced, may be expected to have a pretty good grip on the facts of human existence; and

this point is emphasized because the present leanings and probable future of American nationality cannot be reasonably discussed without the aid of the book searchlight that reveals the human past from the Vedas down to Lecky—and this, to show that what human nature has always done, it will continue to do.

While considering the effects of Commerce, Accumulated Wealth, Social Influence, and Government, let us first inquire whether these alterative influences can be stayed or neutralized; and, if not, should the inability be deplored?

As to the first item, it would of course be idle to talk about causing cessation, and equally unprofitable to object to the interminglings which Commerce enforces. The necessary must be taken with any unwelcome features. In regard to the second heading, it is clear that the Bourse of the world has no nationality, supports neither monarchy nor republic, and is not a market for politics, though affected by political changes. It cannot be called European when common to the financiers of every country. When American capitalists enter those upper airs of finance which special education alone explains, they merely utilize the market of the world, suffering such losses as "want of confidence" may create, and seeking the gains which "stability" may protect. To ask the larger dealers to abandon the one field that is open to them is only to invite derision. In many countries there are village financiers who object to the Bourse because it always seems partly foreign. The necessities for its existence are as unknown to them as the orbits of Jupiter's satellites. But the world's quotation-house for values has no roof and is as wide as cables can make it, holding neither kings nor flunkeys, nor bowing nor scraping; nor has it Europeanized anyone. Home finance, while finding the heel of the woollen stocking insufficient as a safety deposit-vault, has proceeded beyond village methods to take the place which the importance of its wealth entitles it to, and which the abundance of its wealth requires. One might as reasonably blame the banana man for terminating the push-cart enterprise and opening a comfortable shop. It is business. It is human nature. It is progress. It is the inevitable. It cannot be stopped.

Thirdly, the Social Influence—let us not call it "Society" lest we seem to praise or blame; for this word has different meanings in different mouths. In the department stores it means "carriage company"—simply those who go shopping in carriages and wear expensive clothes. Our affair, however, is not to define "Society," but to deal with a certain natural straining which is accused of altering strictly republican and chiefly Puritan ideas. Let us call this the Hunger to be Somebody.

What records would have transmitted to us the name of Sheba's queen if she had not brought her gift to Solomon, 110 talents of gold—4,400 pounds avoirdupois? Her name became interlaced with that of a great foreigner and will live for ever. Who could now discover the identity of Cleopatra, and who would care a rap for the discovery, if she had not become familiar with foreigners of the highest social grade the world held? Where would the Pompadour have been if she had not played her cards? From Bhudda's Yasodhara down to the latest matrimonial "sacrifice," has there been any difference? Even before writing was invented the chanters passed on to us the story of Helen, as if to prevent our mistakes about the almost prehistoric human nature. Is there any quality more deep-set and ineradicable than this?

Here is an old scrapbook clipping showing a very long list of American women who married titled foreigners. Did they ever regret this? As to the husband—sometimes. As to the title—never. The hundreds of millions that have thus changed hands have been considered to have been laid out satisfactorily. Why? Because these women were human. As English or French they would have acted in like manner, though with less debate, perhaps. It is not peculiar to any one people to hunger to be somebody. It is the world-wide strain for priority, as common to the wild horse as to the simian chief—the strain that has no beginning in recorded history and herhaps continues to act as a spur after the fare on Charon's ferry has been paid—the one quality that has never changed, from the reptile up to man, and which a handful of Puritan colonists hoped to crush out from themselves and their descendants. Titles were not good enough

for the processes of the Puritan, though good enough for God's.

It may have been all wrong as an arrangement of creation, but it is a fact that the gentry of Europe became "selects," just like oysters, a long time ago; also that a title has an extraordinary value from certain points of view. It is the cheapest prominence in the market. It may give the most brainless ass a position that nothing else under heaven could provide him. But in these lines there must be no praise or blame. Right or wrong, these are unalterable facts, and they must be dealt with understandingly. Perhaps ninety per cent of American publications speak with pity of their countrywomen who marry titled foreigners; but most of these "victims" have first travelled and know the social values thoroughly well before they take the step. If they be fools, some would regret their folly, and none have returned to express a regret that they entered titled society. From a business point of view, it must be admitted that the possessors of titles hold something that commands almost unlimited price, and that they are entitled to utilize their market. As to the unhappiness which is said to follow, a fairly wide outlook tends to show that where vanity is pleased, and where both parties receive what they sought, the average of happiness is likely to be quite as great as in those cases where couples jump at "love in a cottage" and where the wife's further existence continues as the overworked and uninteresting mother of pauper children. In any household and in any nation a crisis is usually imminent when vanity has no further chance of a satisfaction; and in the marriage purchase of a title vanity secures its future in ways beyond the power of fading beauty and marital insufficiencies to entirely spoil. A title is one of the few things which age cannot wither; nor can custom stale the satisfaction of holding, as of right, a great place in the great world.

Take a chance paragraph from the morning paper: "The Countess of Craven [Mrs. Bradley-Martin's daughter] gave a New Year's ball to the tenants at Combe Abbey last night." Then follows a list of the titled guests. How many Canadian and American women will read this while thinking of the

old barrel-maker, and of the chances that come to some unknown and lucky persons? And in England, how many are devouring the news of the court and the titled people? This may all seem slightly nauseating, an effect to be expected in realistic stories, and we are dealing, for once, with facts, and, if possible, from a thoroughly cosmopolitan standpoint—a standpoint that is almost entirely unknown in American print.

Among the enlarging influences mentioned by Dr. Ridpath, some would have put this social item first, because commerce and financiers can be controlled by law, and governments may be altered; but there is no altering of human nature. Who will prevent the millionaire from buying adulation and the title that crooks the pregnant hinges of the knee? There is only one world of fashion. It recognizes only those within its own territory. Its dictum is that nobody can be Somebody who remains with the anybodies. Will a love for the tenets of a religious sect, or for the grandeur of the Jeffersonian simplicity, prevent the moneyed man from seeking a comparatively cheap prominence? How many can hope to attain a hard-earned eminence of personal character, like that of Lincoln? How many could reproduce the divine simplicity which held such a terrible capacity for compassion that it sometimes sought a humorism to hide grief? Even if other Lincolns could thus be produced, how many would make the effort unless sure that their virtues would be sufficiently known? He who can command an army of servants, who lives in princely luxury and in an American palace, does he think his bricklayer is as good as himself? Does he want the bricklayer to suggest any such equality? Has anyone remained entirely true to the earlier principles when his bank account reached seven figures?

The seven-figure man knows that the sale of American papers partly depends on their recording the doings of the rich. He knows that the discovery of his private affairs means income to them, and his life is spent in a state of barricade—a condition of things he avoids by going to countries where immunities from curiosity require less care. When the Woman's Press Club lately gave a bazaar, some unpermitted use of Mrs. Van Rensselaer Cruger's name was made, and her

indignant note to the president of the club was partly as follows: "The press of America drove Mr. Astor out of the country. Does it intend to drive out every person who can afford to go?" Here we get a first-hand expression of the feeling of "Society"—not the first regarding its conditions in the United States. The millionaire with leanings toward fashion avoids being mentioned in American papers, but for the world of fashion to know that he has entertained a grandee is a very different kettle of fish. He has already admitted that America can give him nothing but his income. He is between two poles of a territorial magnet, one attracting and the other repelling. Can there be any doubt as to his movement?

As to the fourth influence, Government, the reader is referred to Dr. Ridpath's article touching the ways in which the author shows this Government to be copying monarchical systems and wordings. While saying that it is no longer Jeffersonian he exhibits the tendencies of all governments to be carried away by a love for splendor. He might have also shown that this old hunger to be Somebody, the politician's ache to identify self with history, has already done much to alter American thought. During two terms of peculiar inertia, Mr. Cleveland gained at least the respect of those who preferred the *status quo*. Foreign courts, always reluctant to admit true statesmanship in an American, held him in extraordinary estimation because he maintained silence when others talked. And then at the end of it all he made a desperate effort to prove himself to be of spirited action by announcing a proper claim in an insulting way.

Many are crazy to make a bit of history and have their name writ large on it. The hurried advancement of the navy tells. The hammers in the navy yards mark the pulses of the unhatched Somebodies. Dr. Ridpath says the people are the safeguard—that four-fifths of the nation are still opposed to any momentous alteration; and that seems to be true of every individual of the four-fifths—until he gets rich or can handle a spoke in the wheel of state. The people? What people? Is it suggested that this country is in any way influenced or governed by the people? Why, then, did they not

elect the man who intended to really and truly represent them? The election proved beyond question that the people are helpless in the grasp of the money power. Every capitalist and manufacturer coerced the vote of his employees, and can continue to do so. The consequence is that the working people will be shut out for years from the benefits of open international competition in the markets. They know where they can buy tweed suits for twelve dollars that will last eight years, but they have to buy shoddy because the coffers of the manufacturers must be filled. The workman must buy blankets from which the wool disappears in three washings, leaving him lying under a sort of enlarged towel. He is told it is national and patriotic to agree to this and remain poor in order to give "protection" to the wealthy manufacturers. He is told of Mr. McKinley's intended "reforms." Mr. McKinley will simply produce his church-tea-party smile, and do what he is told. The "people" rule this country about as much as they rule Timbuctoo. When the electioneering mechanisms of the money power are in good running order the use of the ballot-box is about as valuable as a wet squib. Practically, the money power and the government are Siamese twins, and it is difficult to see how individual opinion in the four-fifths majority can be counted on as a power in the present condition of affairs.

The whole of the alterative influences referred to by Dr. Ridpath must therefore be ascribed, directly or indirectly, to the powers that rule, and not to the people, meaning the rank and file of workers. But this is not peculiar. It is precisely the same old thing—the rulers, and the ruled. And republics have never been anything else, except in their early and "village" conditions. The individual hunger to be Somebody and the national hunger for power have never failed to assert themselves and reduce differences in constitutions and practices to a mere choice of terms. A point to be emphasized in this paper is that this is the only form of national growth that has ever been known, and the only one that is possible.

If, then, these four great currents of alteration can only be damned and never dammed, is the fact to be deplored? Can the alterations be reasonably detested when seen to be

the usual and necessary national enlargements? With its navy present at the Portsmouth reviews, also entertaining an Emperor, saluting a Tsar, threatening a Sultan, ordering "hands off" from all the real estate in the Western hemisphere, would any old Puritan politician recognize his country if he were resurrected? With its interests in Samoa, its possibilities in Hawaii, its sympathy for Cuba, its protectorate over the whole of South America, what principle now remains of the old combination whose maxim was to be sufficient to itself, and whose ambition was to be able to explore the unknown recesses of its own territory?

Why should the enlargements be regretted when to sympathize with a natural pride in the increase of a nation's power is so much easier than to understand why an endeavor should be made to conform to the tenets of a forbidding sect whose other-worldliness was diametrically opposed to legitimate national growth? The watchword of America has been Progress, but the limit fixed by Puritanism has already been reached and greatly overstepped. Is this word to have no further political meaning?—or shall the United States improve its position among the nations whose wishes have to be consulted? Perhaps there is hardly room for debate on this point, because notice of the South American protectorate has been served on the world; and some protectorates have proved as good as a squatter's prescriptive right. This adds nothing to the hundred and forty-one millions of the pension list. Not a soldier is added to the pay-roll. It simply goes by "bluff" and the building of ships. It is cheap, and the profits are beyond calculation. It is distinctly monarchical. It knocks the Puritan's tenth commandment sky-high in not only coveting but securing all it can grab. And, hypocrisy apart, who cares whether it is monarchical, or un-Puritan, or anything else? It is good. It will stand.

During the present scramble for broken China, foreign requests have been made as to what the United States intends to do. In other words: "What portion of the old willow-pattern will America annex?" When was this ever done before? In regard to a foreign division of territory, who ever inquired as to the good pleasure of the United States until this country

exhibited its up-to-date warships off Portsmouth? How pronounced has been the "cousinship" of England ever since! For an ally is valuable when possessed of strength, and not before. Since then, how keen has hatred (jealousy's tacit admission of importance) become, when Germany and other continental countries talk of combining to teach the United States a lesson!

If, as Dr. Ridpath says, commerce makes for peace in requiring stability and security, what promise of plenty underlies the fact that the money power which rules America is distinctly commercial! For the range of the vastly wider views that are now opening out, the money power will require new men—not politicians, but statesmen who will move toward the best ultimate welfare regardless of school-taught rancors that were useful only during a "village" period of existence, and regardless of all imported hatreds that tend to interfere with good business. It may take something like a revolution to enable us to buy good materials at their cost in the most reasonable market. We who work, the great four-fifths, are not prospered by the enrichment at our expense of local manufacturers—though that, too, has had its uses. The legally protected fake goods which we are compelled to buy will have to go to the wall; for the only national prosperity is the welfare of the four-fifths, not that of the few.

But this is an internal affair, easily remedied by wise statesmanship. In any case it could only temporarily obscure the general outlook. In the chaos of divergent individual opinion, in the midst of the anarchism which wants liberty to mean license, is it not a cause for thanksgiving that the selfishness of the controlling power means security for the nation? Statesmen are at last learning the needs of the vanities of men, and the uses that are properly made of these vanities for the protection of the state, for patriotism, for the better building of the moral bulwarks. There will be names to protect, ambitions to be forwarded, alliances to be formed,—alliances capable of holding the world at bay; and thus the deliverer of the slave will give liberty to all. The nations are now bent forward, listening. And from the upper air comes the sound of the rush of eagle wings.

BROOKLINE: A MODEL TOWN UNDER THE REFERENDUM.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

AT a time like the present, when the value and utility of direct legislation are seriously challenging the consideration of our most thoughtful people, the history of the town of Brookline becomes a subject of special value to students of social progress, quite apart from the interest it holds for the general reader, as nowhere else in the New World do we find so conspicuous an example of the practicality and the desirability of the Referendum principle in municipal government, as in this prosperous village of seventeen thousand inhabitants. The fact, that the simple, direct, and ideally republican form of government which characterized the old New-England town-meeting days has successfully stood the strain incident to a rapid increase in population and to the complex and to a certain degree artificial condition of recent years, makes this experiment one of sufficient importance to warrant a somewhat extended sketch of the town which has effectually answered the most specious arguments against direct legislation in municipal government.

As far back as 1635, the citizens of Boston were wont to gaze with covetous eyes over the two miles of water then stretching westward from the edge of the Common to the forest-clad hills and fertile marshes of what was soon to be known as the hamlet of Muddy River. Indeed, it was in that year that the Rev. John Cotton, "the spiritual father of Boston," suggested that a portion of this goodly land would be an acceptable gift. The hint was taken, and a farm was allotted to the popular leader. In those days the clergymen were leaders in a much truer sense than in our time, but it is not recorded that even in the good old times there was another instance in which the flock manifested such unanimity or alacrity in following their spiritual adviser as on the occasion in question. Mr. Bolton observes that,

In looking over the old records, it seems as if every resident of Boston not possessed of abnormal modesty, asked for an allotment. Grants were made more rapidly than the surveyor could lay them out. Notices like this on the records are not infrequent: "Our brother, Peter Oliver, hath granted unto him sixty acres of land at Muddy River, if it be there to be had, of the which there is granted some marsh if there be any there, always provided that those grants before granted, are first served."*

Among the early landowners in the town of Muddy River was Robert Hull, the father of the celebrated John Hull who established the first mint in New England, and whose name is so inseparably connected with the Pine-Tree shilling. Hull was thrifty, and though he was a poor man when he opened his mint, so steady was the flow of shillings into his own strong-box that he grew very wealthy; and when his daughter married Judge Sewall, it is said that her father gave her as a wedding present her exact weight in Pine-Tree shillings. Chief Justice Sewall, who married Miss Hull, named one of his farms Brookline, an appellation which was afterwards given to the hamlet of Muddy River in compliment to the eminent jurist.

If typical New-England thrift characterized the infant town, patriotism was also much in evidence. Few villages outside of Boston entered more heartily than did Brookline into the passionate struggle for liberty which opened at Lexington.

Speaking of Lexington reminds me of a legend which well illustrates this point. As Lord Percy, so runs the story, was passing what is now Coolidge's Corner, he was glared at by some small boys, who had early imbibed the rebel spirit. The English officer, being uncertain as to the way, sought enlightenment of one of these urchins, and according to the story, received the prompt retort, "You inquire the way there, but I'll be d——d if you ever need to know the way back." It is proper to state that an interrogation point has been placed after this anecdote, and that there are those who insist that its proper place is with the celebrated "hatchet story"; but whether apocryphal or not, it illustrates the spirit which animated the people of Brookline during the Revolution.

* "Brookline: The History of a Favored Town." By Charles K. Bolton.

It is said that old Dr. Aspinwall used to tell of the precautionary measures which he took to preserve his life when leading his fellow townsmen as they chased the retreating British as far as Charlestown on the memorable 19th of April. Dr. Aspinwall, though possessing but one eye, was a capital marksman, but others of the Brookline contingent which he led forth were rarely guilty of hitting anything they aimed at, even when cool and deliberate. The good doctor, knowing their weakness, naturally appreciated the peril to life and limb of the leader of such a band. A happy thought, however, led him when he fired or loaded to invariably take the side of the tree nearest the British. He had little to fear from the random shots of the retreating foe, and by this expedient avoided the great risk of being shot in the back by his excited townsmen.

From the close of the Revolution until about a quarter of a century ago the growth of Brookline was slow but gradual. In spirit and character the town remained true to its early traditions,—thrift, public spirit, intelligence, and uprightness being prominent characteristics of its citizens. The village government was free from scandal, and while economy marked the general management, the citizens were not niggards when it came to such improvements as the general welfare demanded. Owing to the small population, however, the interesting form of government escaped the heavy strain which those opposed to direct legislation urged would be fatal in populous municipalities in our country, however successful it has proved to be in Switzerland. But during the last quarter of a century, the old-time conditions have undergone a great change; the town has increased its population, until it now contains 17,000 inhabitants. The changes incident to our modern complex life are here very much in evidence, and those various influences which, it is claimed, would render the simple and ideally republican form of government bequeathed to us by our Saxon forefathers impracticable if not impossible, are present, giving to the remarkable administration of the town of Brookline of to-day a special interest to all students of social and economic problems.

II.

Before noticing at length the government of this unique town, I desire to sketch briefly some important facts relative to Brookline, which are interesting as showing something of the character of the community which still so successfully carries on the old New-England town government, and also illustrates the liberality of the community in regard to all those things which are calculated to promote moral and mental growth, as well as other measures which contribute in a positive way toward the health and happiness of a community.

The Brookline schools afford a striking illustration of this nature, and also show how thoroughly alive the educators of this town are to the value of the broad ideals of the new education. The stagnation, or intellectual inertia, which too frequently pervades an old and conservative settlement and prevents keen sympathy or appreciation for the best which new ideals and changed conditions of society call forth, is, in Brookline, conspicuous by its absence, especially in regard to her public schools.

The wonderful revolution which has marked educational methods during recent years is appreciated by few persons outside of those actively engaged in teaching the young. Indeed the revolution is so fundamental in its character that the very theory of the true function of education has undergone a radical change. The old method, in which hard and fast rules were laid down, and the child's mind was treated much as an empty bottle that had to be filled with certain proportions of various ingredients, is giving place to a system whose first purpose is the development of a well-rounded character; an education in which the bearings of the various and many-sided facts of life and their relationship to the individual assume proper proportion in the expanding intellect of the child. The New Education develops rather than represses originality; it nourishes the mind and feeds the imagination; it gives breadth to the intellectual vision and calls into activity whatever is best in the youthful mind, and by so doing gives to life a fulness, richness, and satisfaction impossible under the old irksome and prosaic *régime*.

I think it is safe to say that the new education in actual

operation can nowhere be seen to better advantage than in the public schools of Brookline. The success of these schools is very largely due to the ability and perseverance of their superintendent, Mr. Samuel T. Dutton, a gentleman widely known in the educational world for broad ideals and practical methods. Mr. Dutton, also, has been ably sustained by a superior corps of teachers and a liberal, progressive, and competent school board; and these in turn have received the cordial support of the people of the town.

Under the well-considered, comprehensive, and orderly system pursued in these schools, the kindergarten, instead of the primary school, becomes the first inportant grade in a programme which from first to last is marked by unity and breadth of purpose; a system in which the child's mind is fed, or nourished, while it is trained. It is beautiful to see the opening mind beguiled into knowledge. It is inspiring to see a system of culture which makes the highway of learning an alluring path of pleasantness instead of a dreary waste, over which the youth is driven, and from which he can gather no beauty or poetry to satisfy the cravings of his soul.

Any one of the eleven kindergarten schools of Brookline furnishes a beautiful illustration of the progress during recent years toward the realization of a broader and truer conception of what education should be. These schools are garden spots, where life for the little ones is filled with interest and gladness,—a merry round of songs, games, object-lessons, occupations, which call the little minds into such pleasurable activity as to fill the fleeting hours with delight. Under this system, the primary schools retain much of the varied interest which marks the kindergarten; they are attractive vestibules through which the children pass to the more serious work which follows.

To fully appreciate what these primary schools are, our readers have only to call to mind their early experiences and then think of schools filled with every modern convenience, supplied with ample playgrounds and with exercise rooms in which, amid more prosaic studies, the children are taught the beauties of the floral world and the wonders of plant and animal life; schools supplied with miniature menageries, con-

taining large cages of squirrels, rabbits, pigeons, and guinea pigs, which the children daily feed and learn to love; schools at which in favorable weather the teacher often takes the classes on little excursions for the purpose of showing them the beauties of natural phenomena, and such elementary facts, relating to the earth and its formations, and to the flowers, trees, and bushes, as the small child can readily comprehend, so that, even at this early age, the expanding mind may become accustomed to drink in pure pleasure and inspiration from the beauties of earth and sky. When such points as these, which characterize the Brookline plan of primary education, are compared with the old-time dreary and irksome methods, we shall be able to form some idea of the differences between the old and the new theories of training.

Nor is the difference any less marked in the grammar schools. The keynote sounded in the kindergarten is heard in every successive grade. At each step the interest of the child is aroused, stimulated, and sustained, the imagination is nourished, and the natural inclination toward any special field of research is quickened rather than suppressed. Among the studies which receive more or less attention in the grammar schools of Brookline are arithmetic and algebra, writing, English language and literature, history, physiology, chemistry and physics, botany, ornithology, geology, a three years' course in French and a two years' course in Latin, music, drawing and painting, sewing and cooking for the girls, manual training for the boys, and swimming for both boys and girls. The teaching of swimming is an innovation, rendered practicable since the completion of the beautiful new public bath-house, completed early in 1897. Brookline is the only place, I believe, where swimming is a part of the public-school curriculum.

During recent years the high school has been brought to a high standard of excellence. Thoroughness without dulness characterizes this school, while the great purpose of developing a well-rounded manhood and womanhood is never subordinated to pedantic training. Here, as elsewhere in this system, we find a rational attempt to supply a well-defined education, which from first to last nourishes the mind, awakens

the student's interest, trains the intellect, and gives a fulness and value to life not possible under the old narrow system. The standard of excellence in the Brookline high school is such that it now justly holds a place among the best similar schools of our land.

Within a few years the attendance has grown from 100 to about 350, and the handsome new high-school building, which cost with its furnishings $225,000, is so arranged as to accommodate 500 students. It is a model structure, with special provisions and fittings for the teaching of science, art, and physical culture. And this reminds me of the fact that Brookline, through giving attention to the development of the body by healthful exercise and athletic sports, has abandoned the pernicious military drill, which is still an objectionable feature at so many schools, and which cannot fail to fill the thought-world of the young with the glamour and romantic *unreality* associated in the popular mind with the battlefield. While I imagine that as yet nowhere are the ideals of the new education fully or perhaps even approximately realized, the Brookline public schools afford a splendid illustration of the practical progress which has been made in a system of schooling which is characterized, as Mr. Dutton says, by "breadth, nutrition, interest, and correlation."

Another factor in the educational forces of this town is the Brookline Educational Society, with a membership of nearly 600. This organization is doing a noble work along sound educational lines. It was organized for the double purpose of promoting a closer bond of sympathy between the home and the school, and for a better union of the awakened social forces for definite and practical work in the uplifting and further education of the community. Many leading citizens are serving as members of the various committees on special lines of work, such as science, art, music, child study, history, physical training, lectures, and libraries, each having a definite problem to deal with in a manner that will increase the interest of the community, and in a real if seemingly indirect way, educate and enrich the lives of thousands.

Perhaps I cannot better briefly illustrate the character of the work being carried on along these various lines than by

touching upon a few undertakings successfully carried out by the committee on music. (1) During 1897 a series of young people's concerts were given on Friday afternoons at the high school. At each concert the music of some special master was considered. A brief biographical and historical sketch of the composer and his time was given, together with an analysis of his music, illustrated by some of his best works. In this manner, Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert were interpreted. These concerts were free to the pupils of the high school and the ninth-grade grammar-school and their parents. (2) Popular open-air concerts by the celebrated Salem Cadet Band were given every two weeks during July and August on the common in front of the high school. At these concerts some of the finest compositions of Wagner, Bach, Handel, Verdi, Gounod, Bizet, Rossini, and Balfe were given, the average attendance being more than twenty-five hundred people. The audiences rapidly increased in number, and I should judge that at the last two entertainments there were from three to four thousand appreciative people present; and it was a revelation to see the rapt attention given by the large standing audience to the splendid interpretation of the music of the world's great masters. It has been said that the common people do not appreciate such composers as Wagner, Bach, and Handel, yet I noticed that the generous applause of that great audience was at no time greater than after the production of notable pieces by these and other great masters. These concerts afforded the purest pleasure and brought music into the thought-world of thousands of people who have little melody in their lives. Free organ recitals in the leading Brookline churches are now being given under the auspices of the society, and great singers and musicians are from time to time employed to give the school children a taste of the work of the most accomplished artists. Though this is only a part of the work being carried on by one committee of the Brookline Educational Society, it is sufficient to give a hint of their magnificent and efficient labors.

The same liberal and far-sighted spirit which is conspicuous in the public work carried on by the town of Brookline,

is also a characteristic of the work of various associations which, like the Educational Society, are actuated by a sincere desire to uplift, ennoble, and enrich life, and are silently accomplishing much for a higher civilization. One body of this character which demands special notice is the Brookline Friendly Society. Its aim is to prevent pauperism so far as possible, by providing ways and means for the maintenance of self-respecting manhood, and by helping the poor in various ways to a better condition. In the Union Building, this society aids the support of a free reading-room, library, and gymnasium; and here we find three clubs, one for boys, one for girls, and one for mothers. These clubs are so conducted as to prove helpful to the better development of the young, as well as to afford pleasure for the members. These things show the spirit which animates in a very marked degree the citizens of this unique town.

The Brookline Day Nursery is another thoughtful and characteristic provision for the convenience of one class of citizens. Here, in a comfortable nursery fitted up for the proper care of babies and little tots under seven years old, mothers whose duties call them from home are able to leave their small children during the day. An abundance of wholesome food is provided, also cribs for the little ones, and games and entertainments for those older. All the little visitors receive excellent care until the mother returns in the evening. A fee of five cents a day pays for the service and thus removes from the mothers the unpleasant feeling that they are the recipients of charity.

Among the public institutions of which this town is justly proud, and which exercise an important influence upon the general intelligence of the people, is the Brookline Public Library, founded forty years ago with less than 1,000 books; to-day it contains nearly fifty thousand volumes. In its ample and inviting reading-rooms are found the leading periodicals of the day. There is also a room fitted up specially for the use of the children.

Another popular and unique feature of the town is the elegant new public bath-house, erected and equipped at a cost of forty thousand dollars. Here the citizens have an oppor-

tunity all the year round of enjoying the luxury of bathing and swimming; and here the young are taught to swim under the directions of efficient teachers, who are on the public-school pay-roll. This bath-house is in many respects a model. It is an ornamental brick structure containing two swimming-tanks, one of which is 80 feet long by 26 feet wide.

Public bath-houses so arranged as to be available at all seasons of the year are as yet innovations in American towns, though they are already very popular in various municipalities of the old world. From present indications it would seem that public bath-houses will soon prove as popular as are public libraries with us to-day.

Turning from the provisions which apply especially to the moral and mental well-being of the people to those general measures calculated to promote health, comfort, and pleasure, and which are so noticeable a feature of modern city life, we find this town in most respects abreast of the most progressive municipal governments of the new world. Indeed, in some respects Brookline surpasses her sister towns and cities, as, for example, in her water-supply. Here we have pure water from 150 driven wells, drawn from fifty feet below the surface of the ground and carried some distance to Brookline, where from two points it is distributed through the village. The water of Brookline differs materially from the amber-colored liquid which comes from the faucets in Boston and other neighboring cities. It is clear as crystal, and resembles in appearance the purest spring water. The system of sewage is admirable, and will compare favorably with that of the leading New-England cities; while the streets call for special notice. I know of no other spot where within six square miles it would be possible to find so many miles of beautifully shaded and well-kept streets and roads as in this town. The streets are cleaned and in the summer are kept well-watered by the village. In winter time the sidewalks are cleaned of snow by the town. These things illustrate the general foresight and consideration which mark the liberal management of Brookline, and which it is important that the reader should bear in mind when considering its municipal government.

III.

At a time when other republics have been growing more and more monarchical in character, Switzerland has furnished Europe and the world with a splendid illustration of the possibilities of government conducted on purely republican principles through direct legislation. In that country legislative changes have been more largely in the adaptation of ancient theories of popular government to modern conditions than in radical innovations. Indeed, the government of Switzerland to-day is in many respects very similar to the ancient Saxon ideals, as described by old Roman historians, but so extended and modified as to conform better to modern requirements. In the New-England town meetings we find in satisfactory operation the same principle which on a large scale is being so successfully worked out in Switzerland. Brookline, perhaps, furnishes the best illustration in America of the possibility of direct legislation in municipal government, as will be seen when we come to notice the grave and complex problems which a town of 17,000 is compelled to grapple with.

The Board of Selectmen, who are of course elected by the citizens, are the principal prudential officers of the town. They hold weekly meetings, at which they listen to the suggestions, propositions, and complaints or grievances of such citizens as desire to lay before the board matters in which they have an interest. This body also sends out the warrants, containing announcements of the various town meetings, and setting forth under separate heads the various questions upon which the citizens will be required to vote at the ensuing meeting. These warrants are placed in the homes of all voters several days before the time for the meeting, so that all citizens can fully investigate each proposition and arrive at an intelligent conclusion before the time when he is expected to express his desires. Most of the articles in the warrants are prepared by the selectmen or other town officers, although it is said that frequently other townsmen take the initiative in this matter.

A committee of twenty prominent townsmen assist in facilitating the transaction of the business of the town by examining into the requirements, demands, and propositions, and

then making a clear and concise report to the townsmen before the meeting. Sometimes there are majority and minority reports; and though the recommendations of the committee are usually accepted by the voters at the town meetings, it not unfrequently happens that the vote is not in conformity with the recommendation of the committee. This committee is unquestionably a great aid to both the selectmen and the townsmen, enabling the town to expeditiously handle its rapidly growing volume of business. The fact that no measures are voted on until the reports and warrants have been placed in the homes of the voters from one to two weeks before any action is taken on any question prevents any dark-lantern methods; and as every voter is given the opportunity to speak on any measure, as well as to vote for or against it, the town is brought under a more purely democratic form of government than can be found in most parts of our republic.

Before the annual town meeting, the heads of all departments make out and submit to the board of selectmen full and detailed reports for the past year, together with estimates and suggestions as to needs for the ensuing year. These reports, together with the report of the selectmen, are printed in a volume, which has now grown to be of almost six hundred pages, a copy of which is placed in the home of every voter. It contains the itemized accounts of all expenditures, so that, after close scrutiny of the reports, every voter can at the town meeting interrogate the officials or call for explanation, should anything in the accounts or other part of the records in his judgment call for explanation.

In so far as public servants are concerned, the town of Brookline is run on the same principles as those on which successful men carry on private business enterprises. Those officers who have proved themselves honest, capable, and eminently fitted for their duties are retained in office from year to year. Thus we find that Mr. Benjamin F. Baker, the universally respected town clerk, has held his honorable office acceptably for forty-five years. He has given the best part of a long life to the loyal service of the town which has so long honored him, and it is stated that he is the father of more measures of practical value to the village than any other

of her townsmen. In the present day, when officials are generally surrounded by an army of assistants, who do all clerical work, it is interesting to know that the town clerk of Brookline has for forty-five years preserved the custom of keeping the village records with his own hands. The treasurer of Brookline, Mr. George H. Worthley, has held his office for twelve years; and his predecessor was first elected in 1849. Except for one year, the chairman of the board of selectmen has been a member of the board for thirty years. The townsmen of Brookline have shown great wisdom in keeping politics out of the management of the municipality, and also in retaining in office those servants who have proved exceptionally able and conscientious.

Few if any towns or cities of America can show so creditable a record as Brookline in regard to honesty, wisdom, and economy in the management of public affairs, together with a broad and liberal policy touching all public provisions which affect the well-being and happiness of the community.

It has often been argued by those who distrust the people, that, while the management of a small village, especially if isolated from large cities, could be satisfactorily conducted by the methods of direct legislation, it would be altogether impracticable for a town of ten or twelve thousand people to attempt this simple and primitive method of government, as the problems would be too complex, too serious in character, and too multitudinous, and the expenditure would be so great that it would be neither safe, practical, nor possible to effectually carry out the more ideal theories of direct legislation in municipal government. The management of the town of Brookline furnishes an admirable refutation of this objection. Here is found a population of seventeen thousand persons, wholly surrounded by Boston and Newton, and confronted with the serious problems which cities of similar size have to meet. Indeed, the responsibilities are greater in many ways than those of most cities of from 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants. Take the question of expenditure, for example. The village has recently voted to appropriate $250,000, chiefly for public institutions, such as new schoolhouses and a court and police building, while the annual disbursements for public utilities

and service are very great. Then the annual school expenses are over $125,000. The care, watering, and cleaning of the streets and sidewalks, and also of the parks, and the lighting of the town cost about $150,000. The water and sewerage departments require over $70,000; the fire, police, health, and other kindred protective departments call for about $120,000. The disbursement of all these amounts is so managed that the opportunities for "leaks" usually found in city governments are not found here. The itemized bills of expenditure in the various reports, subject to the careful scrutiny of the voters, who are expected to call for explanation on any point where charges seem too large, serve a wholesome purpose.

It has been argued that the business of a city with a population of 10,000 or more would be cumbersome, that it would be impossible to carry it on expeditiously, if all the people had a direct vote on all important measures; yet here this principle has been in practical operation for nearly two centuries without any inconvenience. Though the town has increased until its population is between 15,000 and 20,000, the work is so systematized that there is practically no more difficulty in carrying on the government expeditiously and satisfactorily than in the old days when the population numbered only hundreds.

Another objection has been, that in a municipality where there is much wealth, the poor would vote heavy burdens on the town, by which the rich would have to pay enormous taxes; or that the rich would band themselves together and so use the public funds as to discriminate against the poor. In Brookline absolutely no spirit of this kind is visible; rich and poor work enthusiastically for the upbuilding of the community. The town is liberal but by no means extravagant, and there is no friction or bitterness. That there are heated and earnest discussions at the town meetings goes without saying, nor could we expect it to be otherwise; but when the vote has been taken, all parties are as one in carrying out the will of the majority, as registered in the large hall, where the poorest voter's voice counts for as much as that of the richest. When dwelling on the great success of the referendum princi-

ple in this town, however, it should be stated that the standard of intelligence is very high, and that the public spirit, or the pride in home government, is very pronounced. The best townspeople are ever ready to give their time, thought, and best energies to furthering any work which the public sentiment calls for, and to which the voters have given their approval.

From what I have seen and learned of the actual working of the referendum principle in municipal governments here and elsewhere, I am convinced that it is not only practical, but imperatively demanded by present conditions if a truly republican form of local government is to be preserved, and if an economical, honest, and disinterested public service is to take the place of ring and boss rule. This is one of the most serious problems which confront urban populations, and I believe that in the village of Brookline will be found a lesson worthy of the thoughtful consideration of serious people. If Brookline has any special message to give to sister municipalities, I think it may be summed up in this sentence: Stimulate public sentiment and the local pride of the citizens in the home government; maintain a high standard of intelligence in the community; and in regard to municipal affairs let the watchword be, Back to the people.

THE ETHICS OF APPLIED MEDICINE.

I. THE MEDICAL TRUST.

BY PROFESSOR T. A. BLAND, M. D.

AMONG primitive peoples medicine and religion are one, the priest and physician being the same person. The medicine man of the Indian tribe is the prophet, priest, and physician of his people.

In the prescientific period of all peoples, health is supposed to be a blessing and disease a curse direct from the gods. Prayers and sacrifices are the means by which the gods are placated. The priest professes to sustain intimate relations to the gods and to have great influence with them. The laity believe this.

When a race progresses out of absolute barbarism, the people begin to doubt the pretensions of the priests, and to question whether or not there may be some relation between disease and physical causes. Medicine and religion begin to be divorced, and the priests and physicians henceforth constitute two classes. The priest professes to understand spiritual things, and the physician assumes to understand physical science. The first is now the physician to the soul; the other is the physician to the body. The one is a doctor of divinity, the other a doctor of medicine. They each constitute a special class or profession, and assume to possess special and exclusive knowledge in their lines, and to be entitled to special privileges and honors. They enforce these claims by the power of organization. They understand the force of the maxim, "In union there is strength."

During the period known as the Dark Ages, one church and one school of medicine held undisputed sway over Europe, and religion and medicine were alike in being base superstitions. Luther started the Reformation that in a measure has disintegrated the church. A century later Paracelsus started a medical revolution which overthrew the Galenic

school and established the present orthodox, or allopathic, sect. Galen claimed to be eclectic, and he used vegetable medicines only. The school founded by him had degenerated greatly; hence Paracelsus had good ground for his denunciations of the practice of that day. But the allopathic school, founded upon his teachings, has been a greater curse to the world than the one he denounced in such strong language.

This "school" of medicine is founded upon the theory of "*Contraria contrariis curantur*," the English of which is, that the way to cure *one* disease is to create *another* disease of a different sort! Mercury, arsenic, antimony, and other mineral poisons were the leading remedies, supplemented by opium and other poisons from the vegetable kingdom, aided in their deadly work by the murderous lancet and the horrible Spanish-fly blister. This was the *popular* medical practice of this country during the early years of the present century.

It was about the year 1812 that Dr. Rush began a lecture to a class of medical students with this startling utterance:

> What have we, the medical profession, done for the world? I will tell you what we have done. We have multiplied diseases and increased their mortality.

Thirty years later, Dr. Drake said to his class in the Ohio Medical College:

> If any of you entertain the idea that medicine is a science, I am here to tell you that you are laboring under a delusion. Medicine is not a science in any true sense. It is a system of empiricism founded upon a conjectural hypothesis. If you are not a natural physician, all that books and colleges can do for you is to make you a learned quack. Your diploma will simply be a license to commit murders.

The theory of the old school of medicine remains the same to-day. The coal-tar antipyretics, chloral hydrate, antitoxine, *et id omne genus*, of its present materia medica, are as deadly in their effects as the poisons these drugs have replaced, and they are equally unscientific. Moreover, it is a fact that all the old poisons are still used, though in smaller doses and in different forms. For example, corrosive sublimate has superseded calomel in most cases, and sulphate of morphia, an alkaloid of opium, is used instead of opium.

About a century and a quarter ago, Dr. Brown, an eminent

Scottish physician and medical professor in the University of Edinburgh, presented a new theory of disease and cure, which became quite famous under the title of the Brunonian System. Brown said that the *vis medicatrix naturæ*—the "healing power of nature"—is the true curative force, and that the physician should work in harmony with this force. He denounced the common practice as murderous. Dr. Rush accepted Brown's theory. Samuel Thomson, whether or not he ever heard of Brown, founded his system of practice upon the same theory. The Brunonian System is represented to-day by the physio-medical school, which ranks in numbers fourth among the medical sects, the eclectic being the third, the homœopathic second, and the allopathic first.

Homœopathy is founded upon the doctrine of "*similia similibus curentur.*" That which, given to a well person, produces certain symptoms, will counteract those symptoms if given to a sick person.

Eclectic medicine has no creed. The school was founded by physicians of the old school who had lost faith in the theory and practice they had been taught, yet who were not prepared to adopt homœopathy or physio-medicalism. The word "eclectic" is from the Greek, "I choose." The eclectic physician is free to choose. He is bound by no creed; he is not limited to any system of practice.

Physio-medicalism, as its name indicates, is a system of medicine based on physiology. It regards disease as physiological action under abnormal conditions. Nature is always striving to maintain the human system in a state of health or to restore it to that state. The physician, therefore, should be the assistant of nature. This school repudiates poisons of all sorts, vegetable as well as mineral. Its materia medica contains a large list of non-poisonous vegetable medicines; it employs electricity, magnetism, etc.

The Galenic, or regular, school of the olden time, preserved the Hippocratic oath, and each member of the medical profession was obliged to take that oath, by which he bound himself under fearful penalties to hold inviolate the secrets of the profession, and to be true to his professional brethren under all circumstances. The orthodox school of to-day has the

essential principles of that oath embodied in the code of medical ethics which governs all the societies and colleges of that sect, and by which every physician of that sect must be governed, on pain of being branded as a heretic and quack, and of being expelled from his medical society.

It is by this code of ethics that the allopathic physicians of the present day are held in a cabal against all other medical sects. They are forbidden by the code to counsel with physicians of other schools, or to extend to them any professional courtesy, or even to recognize them as physicians. Under the influence of this code, the regulars, so-called, persecuted the Brunonians, Homœopaths, and Thomsonians, during the early years of this century, so violently and viciously, that the common people became aroused to such a point of indignation that they took the matter into politics, and between 1830 and 1836 all the mandatory medical laws in this country were repealed. From that time until the period of our civil war, medical practice was absolutely free. During this period, homœopathy, eclecticism, physio-medicalism, hydropathy, and other reform systems of practice flourished to such an extent that the allopathics perceived that unless this rapidly rising tide of medical progress could be checked, it would engulf them. Their sole hope lay in their ability to secure the enactment of restrictive medical legislation in the various States.

The times for doing this were auspicious; an epidemic of monopolistic class legislation had struck this country, and this terrible economic disease has raged with unabated fury from the war period to the present time, and it is still raging. Congress and various State legislatures spend most of their time in passing bills which are prepared and pressed by paid attorneys and other lobbyists, and which are in the interest of corporations, trusts, or other combines that can afford the expensive luxury of such legislation.

In all cases in which it could succeed without aid, the allopathic medical ring proceeded alone; but where the original promoters of the enterprise failed of their purpose, they invariably made overtures to their old foes, the homœopaths, to join them in a medical trust, outlaw all the other medical sects, and secure to the two sects a legal monopoly of the prac-

tice of medicine. To the disgrace of the homœopaths they joined the trust in various States.

In some of the States the eclectics were dangerously strong, and in such cases they too were invited into the trust. And although a vast majority of eclectics are unalterably opposed to all restrictive medical laws, yet occasionally a president or secretary of an eclectic medical society has been found to join the ring, and, so far as he can do so, commit his society to the interest of the trust, and aid in securing a legal monopoly for the *three* medical sects to the exclusion of all others from the privilege of practising the healing art, unless by a special permit from a board composed of physicians of the three sects constituting the trust.

Under the operation of the laws thus procured it has been declared a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for a physio-medical physician to cure a patient with his non-poisonous vegetable remedies; for a disciple of Priessnitz or Father Kneipp to cure a sick person with water; for a vitapathist to heal the sick by the magnetic power that the Nazarene used so successfully in his day; or for the mental healer or Christian Scientist to practise his system for the relief of human suffering.

The pretended object of this medical legislation is to protect the people against quacks. But the real purpose is to protect the physicians who are in the trust from competition with all types of medical reformers, and to enable the members of the trust to charge what they please for their services. The pretence of a wish to protect the people from quacks is refuted on its face, for medicine not being a science, all physicians are quacks. Some are more learned than others, but in the expressive words of Josh Billings, one might with propriety ask, "What's the use of knowing so much, if what you know ain't so?" The absurdity of this pretence is also shown in the fact that none but members of the medical trust ever ask for such legislation. The people at large are opposed to such laws, as is shown by their demand for their repeal in the thirties and by the petitions for their repeal now which are being presented to the legislatures of the various States every year.

Not only are the people at large opposed to such class legislation, but many leading physicians of all schools, including the allopathic, condemn it; and the ablest and most popular medical periodicals of that school, and of the homœpathic, eclectic, and other *new* medical schools, denounce such laws as paternalistic class legislation, inimical alike to freedom and progress. Dr. Rush said: "Laws restricting the practice of the healing art to one class of physicians and denying to others equal privileges, constitute the Bastiles of our science;" and he added, "They are relics of monarchy, vestiges of despotism; hence wholly out of place in a republic."

Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, of the Harvard Medical College, said: "I am so much disgusted with learned quackery that I have some sympathy with ignorant empiricism;" and he threw the weight of his great influence in favor of the repeal of the old medical laws.

In an editorial on "Paternalism," in the *Medical Brief*, the most popular medical periodical of the old school in the world, I find this strong utterance (see p. 384, March, 1896):

Class legislation, the perverted child of a depraved father, what shall we do with this monster? He threatens to become an old man of the sea on the back of creation. Class laws are made for the benefit of the mediocre, the feeble-minded. The strong do not clamor for law; strength is naturally independent.

In another issue (see p. 50, Jan., 1894) the writer says:

Class legislation is indicative of degeneracy. It is an evidence of selfish egotism and unblushing effrontery. The specious premise that medical legislation is for the welfare of the people is shown to be false by the fact that such requests do not come from the people. To hedge around the practice of medicine with humiliating and expensive restrictions is to announce that certain members of the profession, confident that individual merit would be insufficient to retain them a fair share of practice, desire to limit competition by legislation. Class legislation is an appeal from right to might, and in its train come anarchy and revolution. Let the medical fraternity strive for success upon the basis of individual attainments, and they will not need to appeal for a protection which is degrading and deteriorating in its ultimate workings.

That eminent writer, Dr. J. W. Lockhart, says:

There is growing up in this country a medical oligarchy more dangerous to liberty, more bigoted and intolerant than the Roman hierarchy in its palmiest days. This oligarchy is not the rank and file of the profession, but the self-constituted nabobs, aristocrats, medico-political lobbyists.

Says *The Medical Sentinel:*

These are more dangerous to the profession and the public than all the quacks that ever existed. In this connection note the fact that the so-called quacks of yesterday, the homœopaths, eclectics, etc., are the consorts of the medical lobbyists of to-day.

A U. S. Army surgeon writes me this:

The scoundrel who denies to others the rights and privileges he claims and enjoys himself, is unfit to be recognized by the medical profession.

J. J. Lawrence, A. M., M. D. (see *Medical Brief*, July, 1894, p. 18), says:

Class legislation is one of those noxious weeds which cast their deadly shade between the life-giving sun of individual liberty and the plants which droop and die for lack of its invigorating warmth and light.

A whole number of THE ARENA might be filled with similar quotations from physicians and medical periodicals, and another number with quotations from Herbert Spencer, John Ruskin, Wm. E. Gladstone, and others eminent in philosophy, science, literature, and theology. But we have reached the limit as to space, and can only add that such legislation violates not only the principles of the Declaration of Independence, but the plain provisions of the Constitution. There can be no doubt that, if any one of the restrictive medical statutes should be brought before the United States Supreme Court on a test case, that tribunal would, as in a somewhat analogous case, decide that the legislature had transcended its power as a lawmaking body, and that it is the duty of the Court to declare the act unconstitutional, and therefore null and void.

It is not probable that the people and the progressive physicians will wait for this. The days of all sorts of trusts are numbered. The people have been patient and long-suffering. But the time is near at hand when they will decide that forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. If this paper shall help in even a small way in arousing the attention of the people to the evils of the medical trust, the purpose of the writer will have been accomplished.

II. LEGAL RESTRICTION OF MEDICAL PRACTICE.

BY WILLIAM R. FISHER, A. M., M. D.

THE attack which Doctor Bland has made upon the medical profession of the United States lacks the elements of sincerity and directness. He wages war like the Indian, who lurks in the shadow and trusts to the ambush rather than meet his opponent face to face in the open. He prefers innuendo to a downright accusation, and ambiguous phrase to direct statement. He charges the medical profession with the formation of a Trust, and then shrewdly leaves the public to infer all sorts of evil consequences which, in reality, have no existence. If his paper were to make its appearance in a periodical which circulates solely among physicians, it would receive no attention whatever. Every professional reader can easily see through his plausible sophistries. But through THE ARENA he will reach a mixed audience of all sorts and conditions, spreading all over our land, and therefore it is important that his assertions should be answered, his misrepresentations should be corrected, and the true reasons which have led to the enactment of laws for the restriction of medical practice should be plainly laid before the people.

In considering Doctor Bland's paper the reader should keep clearly before him the main issue which the author sets out to establish: namely, the existence of a Medical Trust which has been created since the termination of the civil war. All irrelevant matter should be put to one side and not taken into account. In this way the first half of the article can be promptly disposed of. The rambling introduction, which deals with the medicine of antiquity and the quarrels of diverse schools of medical thought, has very little bearing on the point at issue, although Doctor Bland makes use of it as a screen to hide the real ground of his attack. His pretended sketch of the history of medicne is ludicrous in its inaccuracies. To be told that Paracelsus—the prince of quacks, notwithstanding Robert Browning—has founded a school of

medicine upon the theory of "*contraria contrariis curantur*" is absurd enough; but the Doctor's translation of those Latin words is really more ridiculous than that of the boy who rendered "*arma virumque cano*" as "the man with a dog on his arm." Even historical facts are distorted. Luther (1483-1546) and Paracelsus (1493-1541) were contemporaries, yet the Doctor gravely tells us that they lived a century apart. His assertion that "Luther started the Reformation" is about as accurate as if he had said that George Washington started the American Revolution.

The reader should also set aside the latter portion of the article, which relates in a vague sort of way to "class legislation." Here, as usual, Doctor Bland prefers to deal in generalities. He takes good care not to tell us to what "class" he is referring and about what "legislation" he is complaining. Certainly his few quotations, of questionable origin, standing alone without their context, tell us nothing about the Medical Trust. "Doctor Rush" was not declaiming in the year 1812 about the same grievances that the anonymous U. S. Army surgeon of our own day is supposed to be finding fault with. We must be thankful to Doctor Bland for not continuing his "quotations from Herbert Spencer, John Ruskin, W. E. Gladstone, and others," for the views of these personages upon the condition of legislation in the United States, as regards the practice of medicine, would probably have been as vague and irrelevant to the point at issue as those which he has seen fit to print. Class legislation forsooth! Some class legislation is most salutary to the public welfare. The gentlemen who wear striped clothing and march with locked step to and from their cells object most strongly to legislation which affects their class. The "bunco-steerers," "green-goods men," and sharpers generally protest against it.

> No rogue e'er felt the halter draw
> With good opinion of the law.

Clearing away the immaterial portion of Doctor Bland's paper, let us take up the small part that remains and see what the Medical Trust really is. And, first, let us glance at the conditions which existed before our civil war, when "medical practice was absolutely free." That was the time when al-

most anybody could practice medicine, without let or hindrance. Even in the best colleges the course of study was very meagre when compared with the curriculum of the medical student of the present day, and an individual, bent on getting the title of Doctor of Medicine merely as a cat's-paw for raking the chestnuts out of the fire, could readily obtain it at very little cost of time or money. It is true that in many States there were no legal regulations for medical practice, but in others there were laws which required each candidate to attend two full courses of lectures before a diploma could be conferred. It was intended that two years should be taken up with these studies. But, to make matters easier, some of the colleges arranged their terms of lectures for the summer months, while others held theirs during the winter; and, by availing himself of this convenient plan, a so-called student was able to attend the two courses of lectures which the law required and yet become M. D. within one year. Although this subterfuge was disgraceful, there was at least a pretence of study on the part of the candidate for a degree. It remained for some unscrupulous knaves to develop a scheme for the disposal of medical diplomas without even this pretence. And this could be done in some of our States, where the methods of the legislative bodies were so lax and careless that designing men were permitted to obtain charters for colleges and to use them as diploma mills. They became so bold and impudent as to offer openly for sale medical degrees without requiring the attendance of the applicants upon any sort of instruction. Even the diplomas of dead men were fixed up and sold again for use by unprincipled buyers. For a consideration a person could go on making shoes for man or beast, could work on the farm, edit a newspaper, or follow whatever calling he might desire, and yet obtain the title of Doctor of Medicine without having opened a medical book or studied a case of disease at the bedside. The whole country swarmed with ignorant, presumptuous, and often unscrupulous medical frauds. Europe also contributed a large number of medical scamps and tramps, who, having been driven out of their own countries, came here to swell the ranks of those who preyed upon a confiding and credulous public.

Such was the condition of affairs in the good old times before the war, and such is the condition to which Doctor Bland with a great outcry about tyranny and liberty, evidently would like to have us return. The inevitable result of such a low standard of medical education and morals was to bring discredit upon the medical profession to that degree that American physicians and surgeons received no recognition beyond our own borders. Good, bad, and indifferent were lumped together, and an American diploma was worthless in foreign countries.

It was at this time, according to Doctor Bland, that the Medical Trust was formed. He tells us that it had its origin in the attempt of the dominant school of medicine (designated by him at different times as regular, orthodox, Galenic, allopathic, old-school) to protect itself against the "rising tide of medical progress" on the part of the homœopaths, the eclectics, and minor medical "sects," during the happy days of freedom. These "flourished" to such an extent that they threatened to "engulf" their great opponent. He then proceeds to tell us that a Trust was formed where the losing side was able to take in the victorious opposition and still maintain the mastery of the situation! If this be true Wall Street has something yet to learn about Trust-making from the doctors.

The object of the Medical Trust, he says, is to restrict the number of physicians and to prevent the public from availing themselves of the services of "all types of medical reformers." Who are these medical reformers that are debarred from practice? In what does their reform consist? Doctor Bland does not tell us that; but once more, with misty verbiage, he clouds his real motive and leaves the uninitiated reader to infer that a majority of physicians are seeking by unjust laws to injure many worthy members of their own profession. Nothing could be more foreign to the truth. A combination of physicians does exist, and it is much more extensive and far-reaching than Doctor Bland is willing to admit. It does not suit his purpose to let the people know how widespread is its influence and how beneficent its purposes. He does not tell them that it represents an overwhelming array of the rank

and file of the medical profession—the army that keeps up a ceaseless fight against disease and suffering. He does not let them know that everyone who is ready to enlist in the good cause may fight under its flag.

This combination did not have its origin in the low and mercenary motives which Doctor Bland chooses to ascribe to it. When the medical profession was at its lowest grade, owing to the absence of proper legal restrictions, a resolute attempt on the part of a few to better the deplorable conditions was met with hearty approval. Happily for the good name of our country and the welfare of our people the true men and women of the medical profession have not been influenced by the motives which appear to actuate Doctor Bland. The movement for reform in medical education began at once to enlist the sympathy and support of high-minded physicians in all the so-called schools. Little by little the work has gone on. To further its advance old quarrels have been reconciled and opposing interests have been conciliated to a degree that at one time seemed to be unattainable. Men who a few years ago were wrangling among themselves about theoretical questions, have agreed to set aside their differences of opinion that they may join together in a practical effort to raise the standard of medical education in the United States to the high position which it holds in other civilized countries.

This united action on the part of the physicians, irrespective of the schools, to elevate the dignity of their calling and to protect the public from half-educated doctors as well as unprincipled quacks, Doctor Bland sees fit to call "The Medical Trust." He is at liberty to call it what pleases him, but it will take more than a slurring epithet to stir up popular prejudice against legal restrictions which have been enacted in the interests of the people.

The legal requirements for the practice of medicine vary a good deal in the several States and Territories of the Union.* Much has been accomplished to improve the condi-

*"State Requirements for the Practice of Medicine." By Charles McIntyre, A. M., M. D., Easton, Pa. 1897; "Bulletin of the American Academy of Medicine," February, 1898.

tions which formerly obtained, and there is good reason to hope that a time will come when a uniform system of laws will govern medical practice throughout the country. The tendency is upward. At the beginning of the present year the territory of Alaska was the only portion of the United States where there was no law of any kind touching this subject. The conditions are not much better in Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Nevada, and Wyoming; for, in each of these, a mere registration of any sort of a diploma, with a county clerk, is all that is required to enable anyone to enter upon the practice of medicine. Idaho remains in this lowest rank on account of a technical error which prevented the adoption of the excellent medical law that her legislature attempted to put into operation last year. In California, Kentucky, Nebraska, Ohio, South Dakota, and Texas there are State Boards of Examiners whose duty it is to examine the diplomas of all applicants for the right to practise. They may reject diplomas for cause, but they are not authorized to test the qualifications of applicants by examination. The next class, in order of advance, comprises Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin. In these the holders of certain specified diplomas are admitted to practice without question, and other candidates for the privilege may obtain the right by passing an examination. Lastly comes a list of twenty-seven States that have adopted the best system that has yet been devised: Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Washington. The details of the methods employed vary to some extent, but the essential features of the laws are the same. All candidates, without regard to particular schools or systems of practice, are required to submit to the same educational tests. Diplomas must be submitted to the Examining Boards as evidence of study, and in addition every candidate must undergo an examination.

This system is rapidly growing in favor, for under its rule all are treated alike. Four States have adopted it during the past year, and it is to be hoped that it will ultimately be in force all over the Union. When a uniform system of laws shall govern medical practice throughout the country, these State examinations may no longer be necessary; for a diploma issued in any one State will then command unquestioned respect everywhere. But now, while the differences in the requirements of the several States are so great, and while the "old-fashioned" diplomas are still in use, such examinations are necessary in those States which have adopted the high standard of education for medical practitioners.

It appears then that the restrictive medical laws relate alone to matters of education, and do not deal with particular theories of practice or systems of treatment. The law simply requires each physician to qualify for professional work by public examination as to general knowledge and proficiency, and commands that no others shall practise medicine professionally. But Doctor Bland asserts that,

> Under the operation of the laws thus procured it has been declared a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for a physio-medical physician to cure a patient with his non-poisonous vegetable remedies; for a disciple of Priessnitz or Father Kneipp to cure a sick person with water; for a vitapathist to heal the sick by the magnetic power that the Nazarene used so successfully in his day; or for the mental healer or Christian Scientist to practise his system for the relief of human suffering.

This is a bold statement. It is the kernel of his article: all the rest is merely husk and padding. Upon this he relies to rouse up popular resentment and to prejudice legislators against the cause of the higher medical education. Here, again, with ambiguous phrase, yet showing plainly the animus which has prompted him throughout his crafty attack, he seeks to mislead the unguarded reader into a pitfall of deception. This skilfully constructed paragraph is intended to convey to the popular mind the impression that legislative acts have been passed, at the instigation of an intolerant, bigoted, and persecuting combination of medical men, to define what remedies may be used by physicians and to restrict them in their methods of practice. He does not say this openly, but it is easy to see what he intends his readers to

infer. He gives no reference to any statute in any State in the Union to bear up this pretence, for the very good reason that there is no law in existence anywhere in this country which restricts a physician in the legitimate exercise of his profession in any way, concerning the use of any remedy, medicine, or method of treatment. For every physician is left in perfect freedom to choose and use whatever means he thinks will best serve the interests of those who are under his professional care. Any and every remedy may be used, if used with knowledge, sincerity, and honest purpose. The law compels no one to employ a physician, but it prohibits everyone from assuming the office of a physician without due preparation and the license of the state. The law prevents by fine and imprisonment, if need be, the untrained enthusiast, the crank with only one remedy for every disease, and the cunning quack, for the same reason that it restrains an ignorant man from undertaking to manage a steam-engine: namely, for the protection of human life. But every qualified physician, no matter what the nominal adherence to this or that "school" or "pathy" may be, is absolutely free to do that which he or she is bound by conscience to do: to use that means, for the relief of suffering and disease, which knowledge and experience may teach each one to be the best. To further this end, let the people welcome restrictive legislation which aims to drive out ignorance, superstition, and imposture, and hasten the time when a liberal education shall be the criterion of every physician in the land.

Ignorance is the curse of God;
Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF CONVICT LABOR IN MASSACHUSETTS.

BY DR. JOHN THOMAS CODMAN.

INTO the councils of the staid old Commonwealth of Massachusetts the Governor has flung an apple of discord that will stir up more controversy among the people than anything that has come before them of late years; for, mixed up with its prudential and financial considerations are humane and social ones about which men have differed and quarrelled for centuries, and over which battles have been fought and may yet be renewed before their final settlement. But if the questions involved are to be settled at some time, no loyal citizen of the State should quarrel as to the nearness of the hour at which he may be called on to array himself on the side he thinks right, and cast his ballot for that measure which he believes to be the most just, rational, and humane. Then, without further delay, let the question be settled by sober thinking, cool reasoning, wisely, and without appeal to passion or prejudice.

In questions of state policy, broad and comprehensive views should be taken. Individual bias should be laid aside, and the good of the whole community, not that of any one class, be put uppermost. This is claimed to be a progressive age; but there can be no progress without change, and every change will incommode you, or me, or some one else. Let us argue, then, not from any fancied hurt to ourselves, but from the average gain to the body politic.

With labor irritated by lower wages occasioned by the ever-increasing number of labor-saving machines, by the multiplicity of combinations made to economize time, by being forced to keep pace with the relentless and rapid motions of iron and steel automatons, the laborers have been seemingly finding themselves more and more bound as in the coils of an enormous python that embraces not only one man and his sons, but whole households of sons and daughters of toil. So

sensitive have the laborers become, so surely seems it to them that slipping away from them are not only all the prizes of life, but even the chances of earning what they have ever considered their right, that is, a full cupboard of plain food at all times, that they have felt obliged to drive all intruders from those fields of labor which they have considered their own.

Everywhere is labor striving to drive out competition. At our seaports stand the minions of the law, keeping a sharp watch that the ambitious poor from other countries shall be excluded from this land, which to them and to us once seemed "God's acres," but which is now designated by us as "*our own* country." All along the frontier stand guardsmen keeping back the sons of Confucius. The Argus eyes of toil have sought out and found competitors in the prisons of the land, and the toilers demand that they shall have the work which men who have violated the law have been doing.

Listening to this demand the Massachusetts legislature has of late years passed laws annulling the right formerly given to make contracts for the employment of the prisoners in our penal institutions. Such contract labor is now forbidden, and all contracts have been closed except those not yet run out—all but for cane-seating chairs and making umbrellas. To have been consistent the State should have closed them all. Then it could have been said that the prisoners were entirely without employment. Now it can be said that they have something to do; they can cane-seat chairs and make umbrellas—the 3,000 prisoners who are, or were, working at remunerative wages during the past years all cane-seating chairs and making umbrellas! What a competitor it makes of them in those lines of business! At a glance it will be seen that such labor is a mere subterfuge for genuine employment, and that the vast majority of the prisoners can have nothing either useful or remunerative to do, but must remain in sheer idleness locked up with their uncomfortable thoughts.

In the Annual Report, for 1897, of the General Superintendent of Prisons of Massachusetts, Mr. Frederick G. Pettigrove makes this important statement:

> It is difficult to find new work, and it seems likely that, unless some

public employment is provided, it will be utterly impossible to keep the prisoners out of idleness. It is not necessary to repeat the arguments that have been published year after year against the policy of making the prisons a refuge for idlers. Every person will admit that some form of work is absolutely essential to protect the interests of society. Aside from any humane consideration for individual prisoners, there is the strongest possible reason for keeping them at work in order to avoid doing a great injury to the community. If men are made worse by being sent to prison, a great harm is done to the state; and they will be made worse if a former habit of idleness is encouraged and strengthened, or if that habit is formed by a hitherto industrious man from the condition of the prison to which he is unfortunate enough to be committed.

This then is the problem presented to the State legislature: how to employ the unemployed prison-bound men and women who languish in health and spirits in our penitentiaries.

A glance at the map of Massachusetts will show that the State has in its southeastern portion a long peninsula of low land, sandy and marshy, interspersed with ponds and creeks, and somewhat sparsely populated. This peninsula, which is sixty-five miles long, makes a long, narrow arm from one to twenty-five miles wide that stretches far to the eastward and then bends northerly at an irregular elbow, the peninsula embracing a large body of water, and forming a southern and eastern barrier to the Atlantic Ocean, behind which are the calmer waters of the great bay. This bent arm is Cape Cod. At the western extremity of Massachusetts Bay lies Boston, sheltered by many islands and headlands that make its beautiful harbor. It is a long sail around the Cape, oftentimes rough, foggy, and dangerous, especially in the winter season. In twenty-seven years, from 1843 to 1870, 1,444 vessels were wrecked. Six hundred lives and millions of tons of coal have been lost along Cape Cod. Products pass around it to the north and east every year, and the tonnage is met by return cargoes weighty and valuable. Why not cut a canal across the narrow Cape and save a large outlay of lives, of time, and of merchandise?

Again and again has this question been asked. Numerous surveys have been made, plans have been drawn, and labors have been commenced, but timid capital has as often asked, Will it pay dividends commensurate with the risk run? and has as often failed to respond to calls. This question of doubt

still remains; but were the State to wait for all its improvements until these could pay to private speculators the price asked by capital, it would be a laggard in the march of improvement. Thoughtful men, with the Governor in the lead, have put the two problems together and have asked the legislature the pertinent question, Why not have the State employ idle prisoners in this important work, and with their help make this long-desired improvement?

There are many reasons why the State should build such a canal besides the shortening of the distance from one great commercial centre to another. It would afford a convenient shelter for storm-driven vessels, lessen the cost of transportation, and be of great advantage in time of war. Suffice it to say that the State needs it, and that it would be for the sure advantage of the State to build it. For more than two hundred years the project of the canal has been mooted in the commonwealth. The distance gained between Boston and New York would be from ninety-six to one hundred and forty miles. In the year 1870, 40,000 vessels passed around the Cape in daylight.

But the question of its cost is one that legislators should consider. It is a crime when they put their hands into the pockets of the people—the State treasury—and recklessly take money for any purpose,—a crime of the same character as that perpetrated where an individual deals unwarrantably with private funds. In no way could the canal work be done more cheaply than by using the proposed laborers, for in that way a large saving of the people's money could be effected.

The proposition made to the State legislature is a novel one in Massachusetts. In that State all forms of the public exposure of criminals were long ago relegated to darkness. The pillory, stocks, whipping-post, chain-gang, and the burnings have been discarded, and that last remnant of barbarism, rope-hanging, has been driven from gallows hill and the public common to behind the stone walls of county jails.

Honestly, the new proposition strikes many with horror. Even the thought of working criminals on the highway roils up the blood of some of the descendants of the Pilgrims. Visions of emaciated men dragging ball and chain at their

ankles, while a taskmaster stands over them with a whip-lash and pistol ready to beat or shoot the unwilling captive of the law if he breaks for liberty, already haunt their dreams by night and their thoughts by day, and they fear that there may be a backward march of the people towards the olden days when black slavery soiled our nation's flag. Such fears are vain; that past condition has gone forever. When Massachusetts gives her criminal wards an occasional glimpse of the clear sky, the blue waters, and the green grasses, and a chance to toil instead of the sorrow of idleness, social insanity, and the gray walls of dingy prisons, it will be a great, an immeasurable step in the progress of humanity, especially if she does it under proper safeguards and as a reward for good behavior elsewhere.

From the statement of plans unofficially made before the joint committees of harbors, public lands, and prisons, on February 8th, 1898, it appears that Willard Howland, petitioner, said that he would not employ the dangerous classes, but rather those whose offences were comparatively trivial,— those, for instance, who are sent to Deer Island for periods of from thirty to sixty days. Mr. Howland believed in creating a sentiment which would lead to the voluntary offer of labor by the convicts; he did not think it would be wise to change legislation so as to force a sentenced man to labor whether he wished it or not. He also said that he would not have men sentenced to labor on the Cape Cod canal, but would hold out to them the opportunity for such labor as a reward for good behavior while in prison.

To those who object to the sight of criminals working in open daylight, let me say that there can be no harm in it. Would to God that every criminal could be shown at such work, every drunkard, every pander to vice and crime. With these men exposed to the daylight I believe that the indifference which society now manifests towards the woes of others would soon begin to abate. Is the experience the State has had with open barrooms of any value? Would it be well to put up the shutters again and cover up the sin? No. It was the beginning of an ideal society, when "all things that are hidden shall be revealed."

Opposition strong and inflexible will come from the so-called workingmen. You should not, they will urge, give work to criminals when honest men are wanting it. This will be the rallying cry, but it will be no new one. Indeed, this was the main objection at the bottom of the movement that deprived the prisoners of work. There is a semblance of truth in it, and to many it appears to be the strongest argument against the employment of convicts. On the other hand, however, though the employment of all the idle workingmen in the State, by the State, would add to its wealth in an astonishing degree, neither the State nor the people are yet prepared for so radical a movement. The position of the State authorities appears to be this: they have been given charge of the indigent, the paupers, the insane, and the criminals. It is their duty to take care of these classes and to protect them to the best of their ability; to do nothing that can injure them in any way, and to deal righteously with them. Nothing has been done for centuries to alter or impair this relation; rather has it become stronger with time. But no change of the ordinary policy in relation to the physically strong man who happens to be out of work is recognized. He must hustle for himself, fight the wolf of hunger himself, and keep an eye out for that chance to get rich which is said to come to every man once in a lifetime. Therefore the State may have a right to give work to criminals, when it has not as yet the power to give it to all men out of work. This, I maintain, is just. The State, however, has no right to injure its honest citizens by giving to criminals work which those honest citizens need.

But the State has a right to *make* work for any or all of its inhabitants, honest or criminal. And here is where the petitioners for the employment of prisoners on the Cape Cod canal have justice on their side, for the work the prisoners are to do will not be done by anyone else. Time has proved this, for one hundred years have passed since the first application for a charter by private persons, and the canal is still unbuilt; and the prospect of its being constructed by private enterprise seems more remote than ever. Whereas, if at the end of a specified period—two years, or ten, or twenty—the

State becomes the owner of a valuable ocean-way built by convicts who otherwise would have been idle, there will be a clear gain. To whom? To the State and to the very same poor men and others who now oppose the State's building it in this way. That is, the canal will become a part of the untaxable property of all the citizens, workingmen included, and the profits arising from its use will go into the coffers of the State.

The proposition, in brief, is this: given a certain number of idle men whose labor costs nothing, can the commonwealth make valuable use of them? Given a number of slaves whom their masters must keep at the expense of the community, can they be employed so as to defray the cost of their keep and yet not bring their labor into competition with that of free men. They can, and the Cape Cod canal is the work to try the experiment on. For the time being a convict is a slave of the State. He has been deprived of his liberty and his citizenship, and only at the end of his convict term does he become free and have his citizen rights restored.

But to adopt the proposition the State must change its former policy; it did in fact change it when it cast out its former contract system, and this is now necessitating other changes. It must broaden its views on the subject of the labor of its wards, and indeed on the whole subject of the unemployed. The State represents an enlarged family. Given, on the one side, a number of its children out of work and asking simply for food and shelter, and, on the other, a nation with unlimited food acres and unlimited wants,—did we but look at this subject with clear eyes and from a universal standpoint, we should see that the laborer earns more than his paltry keep, and that his surplus earnings beyond that cost are a clear gain to the State, and it would be not only one waterway that we should be building, which is a necessity, but roads, parks, gardens, gymnasia, bath-houses, vessels, and other things convenient and luxurious which should belong to a rich state as honestly as they belong to private individuals, because they would in the end cost nothing.

Few of our people seem to care to understand these problems. The study of the present one will be a great help towards the solution of the greater problem, What shall the

State do in the future with all its idle workers? Meanwhile this present subject looms up before the people. Will they decide it with cool, clear-headed judgment? Alas, it is to be feared they will not, for already, before the details of the plan have been presented to the State councils, some of the newsmongers are manufacturing prejudice in advance, and forestalling public opinion by articles written against the supposed plan. It will be an evil day for the commonwealth of Massachusetts should honest endeavors for the good of the State's prisoners, and, through them, of the State itself, be turned into partisan channels, and there suffer shipwreck. Let us hope that wiser counsels will prevail.

THREE EPOCHS OF DEMOCRACY AND THREE MEN.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

DEEP down among the forces and principles which control human society is one profound problem which civilization has not yet been able to solve. It is the question of Democracy *versus* Empire. Which shall it be?

This all-important issue turns upon a fundamental difference in the beliefs and desires of mankind. There is one human theorem which runs in this wise: Man is a being to be governed. His faculties and activities are of a kind to lead him to self-destruction *unless* he be curbed in and repressed by some force outside of himself and greater than himself. Man is not a spontaneous and original *source* of power and authority, but is by nature only a *subject* of power and authority. For this purpose came he into the world. He was designed not for himself, but as the material for the building of a structure. He was made to be organized into a society—a state—by a force outside of himself. Over this society and state a government must hold the sceptre. This government is something from without. It does not have its rise in the purposes and desires and free wills of men themselves; but it is an entity contrived and set over them. It is not an earthborn but a heavenborn institution. It is not a man-created but a God-created concern existing in itself and for itself as an end.

Therefore—continues the Imperialistic theorem—government is best when it keeps mankind in order; that is, when it keeps them down. It is greatest when it prevents the natural expansion and inborn activities of the race. It is not only a self-existing, but also a self-perpetuating fact. It is a sacred thing; for it teaches mankind to say that it is sacred. Its sacredness is written in books. Even in enlightened ages it continues to say that it has a divine origin and a divine right to exist.

This "divine fact" called government is generally resident in the will and caprice of a person called a king; but it may exist under any other garb and mask. It may call itself a prince, an emperor, a czar, a shah, a mikado, a sultan, a president, a speaker of the House of Representatives. Whatever it is, and in whatever shape it comes, whether it be angel or devil, its peculiarity is that it exists and maintains itself and exercises its authority *outside of and upon* the people who are governed.

The theorem continues thus: Government is not of the people, but apart from them. It begins not in the hearts and hopes of them, but in its own passions and ambitions. It is a thing of crown and sceptre. Sometimes the crown is visible, and sometimes it is invisible. Sometimes the sceptre is of iron, sometimes of gold, and sometimes of bamboo; sometimes it is a gavel! We may sum it all up by calling it the imperial principle of human government.

Did space permit I should glady summarize the work of this montrous thing among the nations of the earth. History is replete with the story of the abuses, cruelties, and tyrannies of the fact called government. It is composed also of the ignorance, superstition, and horrid profanation of the truth done in the name of government. It is composed of the mockery and shame and blood reflected from the face of government. It is composed of the idleness and gluttony and war with which government has been mostly occupied. It is composed of the inhumanity and cunning and mock-religion which government has practised. It is composed of the insatiable ambition and gilded pretence and pampered obesity which have been the most conspicuous signs of government. Government has killed one-third of mankind, starved another third into spectres, and reduced the remaining third to slavery.

The other opinion of human society runs precisely counter to the first. The Democratic theorem regards man as a governing and not as a governed creature. It sees in mankind the ability and purpose of self-direction. It looks upon every man as a self-controlling creature. It sees in him the germinal forces out of which all of the civilized and progressive

forms of society have sprung. It beholds him as a sensible being capable of attending to his own affairs. It regards him as intelligently concerned about his own business and able to manage his own business, or to appoint some one to manage it for him without the interference of any. It considers man as the greatest fact, and indeed the only important fact in the world. It looks upon the outspread domains of the civilized life as only the scene of man's spontaneous activities.

Democracy regards a man as of more importance than any temple or palace that was ever built. It contemplates the human being as the very first concern, and all other facts as secondary. It confides in man to construct a society and to administer it according to the suggestions of the society itself. Of government as an extraneous entity—as a fact imposed upon the race without the race's consent—it knows nothing whatever. Of kings and princes and czars and emperors and all their retinue this theory takes no cognizance—except to recognize such monstrous facts as somehow obtruded into the otherwise happy sphere of human life.

Such is the theory of Democracy. It asserts self-government as a function, a prerogative of every man and of all men. The majority is its method; but every man participates. Democracy teaches that every tribe of human beings is capable of conducting its own affairs, and that even barbarians emerging into the civilized life emerge best and most rapidly under the action of the very laws that are in themselves. Democracy holds to the evolutionary process. It has a substantial faith that a man concerned about his own welfare will do his best. If he wants to learn anything, he will try to learn it; if he needs experience, he will seek it. If he blunders, he will get the consequence. If he succeeds, he will take the credit. If he makes for himself a great and prosperous society, that society will belong to him and to his fellows "by entireties," as they say in a certain kind of deed.

Democracy holds that it is capable of taking care of itself. It asserts its right to have whatever it produces. It is quick to claim the fruits of its ambitions, and is brave enough to take the bitter medicine of its own follies. All that Democracy asks is a free field of action and exemption from the

spoiler's hand. All that it asks is that it may have a place to work in, to think in, to grow in—a place from which, as a vantage-ground, it may conquer nature and subject the otherwise uncurbed passions and impulses that are in itself. As for kings and emperors—as for every form of arbitrary rule and every political contrivance which sets itself up to exist without labor and to support itself by the spoliation of mankind—Democracy will have nothing of it.

This principle has been the social and political torchlight of the world. Everything that is great and worthy in the public history of mankind—great and worthy in the sense of being a spiritual and regenerative force—has sprung from the principle of Democracy. The Empire never made anything. The Empire tends constantly to destroy all things that are worthy of preservation. It begins by destroying man. It takes his body and uses it for the concrete under palaces and temples. It robs the nations in order to amass a treasury, and sacrifices millions in order to erect a tomb. Democracy, on the other hand, strikes a spark in the human heart. The spark becomes a feeble light and then a glowing coal. The coal warms and presently flames through all the faculties. Then is seen on the human brow the light of prophecy, and then are heard on the human tongue the cadences of oratory and the magnificent hexameters of the epic. Democracy has been the social and germinal life of whatever is good and inspiring in civilization, and the Empire has been the bane and destroying force in every age of the world and in every condition of mankind.

Between these two theorems of human society there is a great gulf. The Democrat and the Imperialist differ from each other by a whole horizon. It is doubtful whether they have any character in common. I am not sure that they can ultimately coexist in the world. It seems to me that the strife between these two, the battle of the Democrat and the Imperialist, is a joust to the finish—a fight that can end only in the extermination of the one or the other. For myself, I am willing that it shall be so. I cannot see any good to arise from the long continuance of a dubious and uncertain contest and the balancing of irreconcilable forces. No hypocritical

treaty of compromises between these two antagonists, standing as they do stand face to face on the battle plain of human history, can bring a permanent peace.

Behold these two—the Democrat and the Imperialist! Their swords are drawn; they look each other steadily in the eye. In the deep-down consciousness of each is a knowledge that either one or the other must go to the wall. Be it so. Let no man suppose that a stable equilibrium will ever be obtained in the world until the world shall be either democratic or imperial. The world will be ultimately either China or Greece. It will be either Persia or Switzerland. It will be either the dominion of Genghis Khan or the dominion of old Ben Franklin. Be it so. Let the world belong either to Genghis Khan or to Franklin. Let it belong either to Tamerlane or to Lincoln. Let it be either Hindustan or Kansas.

One of my objects in presenting this paper is to insist that all intermediary and go-between philosophy, all halting between the principle of Democracy and the principle of Imperialism, shall get out. Let every creature who will try to patch a compromise between them get up from his place in the Senate house of Liberty and like Catiline sneak away. No man can be a Democrat *and* an Imperialist. No man can serve God *and* mammon. It is the language of the old Hebrew book. No man can have two masters; he will love the one and hate the other. It is high time that the social and political nondescripts who spend their time in trying to make one thing out of another thing, who try to evolve a self-existing government that shall get up galvanically and live and devour like the monster of Frankenstein, should rise and depart forever.

Let us have done with this infantile method of looking at human affairs. If we have become men let us agree to be the one thing or the other thing. Let us agree to be either Democrats or Imperialists. Let us agree that Democracy shall be established and accepted in one country and in all countries, or let us agree to have back the good old Thing, and accept that as the best we can do. Let us agree, in a word and finally, that man is capable of governing himself, and that he *shall* govern himself; or let us bow our heads and agree that

he is not capable of self-government and that he shall not try. Let us agree to have a Democracy which is actual in its ends and aims and methods, which assumes all responsibilities and blinks none; or else let us go back to some good ancient wooden-headed imperial sire who will wear a crown and carry a sword and do the business for us.

For myself, I believe that Democracy is born; and I agree with Carlyle that Democracy being born will, like a whirlwind, envelop the earth. My reason for this faith is that, with the variable progress of human society, whenever a strong and capable race tends for a while in the direction of Imperialism, it weakens; then suddenly recovers itself by the shock of revolution and goes back to the democratic basis. Then it begins the battle over again. For a while the regenerated society remains free and sublime. Then it begins to get strong and commercial and autocratic; and with that it seeks to strengthen the thing which it calls its government. It begins to glorify its government, and to praise the government for what the government does not do, but is rather done in spite of its menace and pressure.

Time and again this aspect of affairs has returned to plague and perplex mankind. Time and again some race has revolutionized itself and started on a new and glorious career of evolution—all this only to be thwarted and brought back again to those very abusive conditions which had been reformed or wholly cast away. Then the whole work has to be done anew. There is an epoch of agitation. Reform begins to cry aloud, and then the existing order begins to lie. The outcry on the one side and the lying on the other continue until the clash comes. A storm of violence ensues, and again Democracy emerges, and for a season enjoys the air, the sunshine, and the rain.

What I have thus far presented is introductory to some reflections which I wish to offer to the readers of THE ARENA on three epochs in the history of American Democracy, and to three personal forces which have appeared in leadership in the times referred to.

In the first place our old American colonies were democratic. Every one of them was established by people who

had broken with the existing order and had crossed the sea to get away from it. Our old thirteen seashore republics were created by men. They were built out of the nature of things, on the bed rock of humanity and equality. There was even an element of fraternity among our fathers. If their local prejudices separated them, they were nevertheless within their various communities bound by the strong ties of brotherhood. All of the attempts at aristocratic organization among them were imported from over the sea. In a few cases big constitutions were prepared and shipped across; but the colonists looked upon these paper models with the same derisive interest which they would have had for Burmese elephants browsing in their tobacco patches.

Meanwhile the humble fathers went to work and laid the foundations of a true republican democracy. On this they built; and at length when they had made something worth having, and when the mother country undertook to get that something away without an equivalent, our patriot ancestors revolted, and fought, and won their independence. Memorably, when the fathers undertook this work they prepared a Declaration setting forth the indisputable rights of man. They issued a document which was fit to be the admiration of the world. There has never been prepared and given forth another such parchment of human freedom and hope.

Our Declaration of Independence had absolutely the true ring. In most particulars it was radical and thorough. They who prepared it declared the rights of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but they failed to discover the intolerable abuses that would ultimately arise from the feudal system of land tenure in America. Failing in this respect the committee said nothing about it; hence "all our woe, with loss of Eden." But we succeeded in gaining our independence, and after the treaty of 1783 our subordination to a European power was not any longer to be apprehended.

Almost immediately after the acknowledgment of American independence a reaction came on in the colonies against that very democracy which had been the inspiring force of the revolution. The old European instincts in the people, developed through several centuries of monarchical training and

now relieved from fear, revived somewhat, and the American planters of the South and the merchants of New England began to agree that a return through certain stages towards a moderate monarchy would be a salutary thing for the new nation. It was under the influence of these sentiments that the new Republic was formed. The reviving sympathy for monarchy and the satisfied instincts of democracy came together in the compromise of 1787, and the American Union was the result.

This American Union was neither the one thing nor the other thing. It was a halt between the two. In it democracy found a measure of expression. In it also the principles of a latent imperialism were scattered as seeds to grow or to wither according to the exigencies of the future. During the first two administrations these seeds of so-called "strong" institutions were cultivated more than the germs of democracy. It could hardly be said whether Washington was more of a democrat or an aristocrat. He had in him both elements and both instincts. That he was a patriot to the bone and marrow of him let no one question. But federalism as a principle tended away from democracy and towards the centralization of authority. Federalism tended to usurp. It tended to make government an entity; to impose it as a garment on the people to whom it was to be fitted according to the will and purpose of the governing power. True, men are not always conscious of what they do. Indeed they are seldom conscious of what they do. Neither should an after age judge the men of a former age with severity, but rather with abounding sympathy and confidence.

The Federal fathers got a dread of democracy at the close of the century whose last quarter they had made glorious by a successful revolution. Just one hundred years ago these Federal fathers were doing their best in the new American Union to trammel up the work of democracy, to regulate it, and reduce it somewhat to the European patterns of politics and progress. True it is that under such direction as that of the first President this work could never do great hurt. The sterling patriotism and unblemished purity of Washington sufficed to hold back the monarchical tendencies from fatally

infecting our new institutions. Under his successor, however, the reins of this restraint were loosed a little, and the last administration of the old century was an epoch altogether unfavorable to the democratic cause.

It was at this juncture that that remarkable personage, Thomas Jefferson, reappeared on the scene. He came back out of officialdom to be an expositor of the very principles which he had so fearlessly set forth in the immortal document a quarter of a century before. Whatever had been the intervening vicissitudes, Jefferson had changed not. Whatever had been the timeserving and twist of the rudder, Jefferson had neither served nor twisted. He had kept his helm set through all the breakers. Through the political fogs that covered the sea his eye saw ever the headlight of the Navesink. As a leader of the old war-worn democracy of the Revolution he came forth in a contest for the *restoration* of that democracy to the foreplace in American affairs.

The political contest of 1800 had this significance: it was a field battle of democracy with the centralizing tendency of the new government and of the party with whom this tendency was the prevailing motive of action. There has never been in our country a more important decision recorded at the polls than that by which Thomas Jefferson, in the first year of the century, became President of the United States. It was a fitting thing that the writer of the Declaration of Independence should at last, in his democratic way, ride up to the presidential mansion, like the plain man that he was, hitch his own horse, and make ready, without the presence of a cavalcade of office-seekers, to take the oath and enter upon his duties as chief executive of a democratic nation.

Thomas Jefferson was perhaps the most rational democrat that ever lived. He had in him the true mixture of sentiment and fact; the true combination of political theory and practical adaptation. He was a man of the people. Though well-bred and well-educated, though well-practised in the duties of professional and public life, though well-trained with public experience in his own and in foreign countries, he nevertheless remained to the day of his death both the exemplar and the champion of true democracy. Before his presence the

sham respectabilities of political life went back abashed. He arrested with a strong hand the centralizing tendency. The sprouting germs of monarchical institutions ceased to grow in the chill of his aura. There was not very much of "your excellency," and "your honor," and "your highness" in Jefferson's administration. He regarded himself as the representative of the people. He was the unfaltering defender of both the principle and the fact of local self-government. He inculcated constantly the doctrine that the general government is a government of delegated powers. Whether these powers were delegated by the States or by the people of the States he did not much concern himself to decide. But he did decide that the American system is a system of authorities, derived, not from its own inherent right to exist, but from the power by which it is constituted; namely, the American people.

For eight years Jefferson conducted the administration on this principle. By the close of the twentieth year of the republic he had completely arrested the evil tendency which had appeared. Than this no man ever performed for his people a more salutary office. No man ever stood in the breach and took more bravely the contumelious blows of his adversaries than did Thomas Jefferson, the Father of American Democracy, in the eight-year period of his presidency. By this policy he gave democracy in these States a respite and new life. He prevented the government from gravitating further in the direction of European sentiments and methods. He stayed the fight; he restored the respectability of those radical forces which had prevailed at the outbreak of the Revolution, and without which the Revolution never could have been. He went out of power with a consistent and glorious record. His genius made him conspicuous among the leaders of the age of Revolution. His patriotism has remained unchallenged to this day. His democracy has never been questioned. His hatred of imperialism was as profound as the salt sea. His antagonism to all monarchical institutions was as fierce as his exposure of the sham and despotism of those institutions was scathing and unanswerable.

Jefferson was a logician. He went down to the bottom of

things. He would have bed rock on which to stand. He made humanity the basis of his theorem and the motive of his political life. Among the sons of men none other ever so ably and radically defended the doctrine of human equality. He possessed the sentiments of Rousseau, combined with the logic of Franklin and the patriotic devotion of Washington.

The fame of political leaders is generally evanescent. A majority of those who have led in the civil contests by which the current aspects of public life are determined have tumbled from the pedestals on which the passing times once placed them, and on the morrow, they, like the image of Dagon, lie prone and broken in the corridors of History. In many cases the character and work of such leaders have been changed from brightness to blackness in the crucible of subsequent analysis. But it is not so in the case of Thomas Jefferson. There he stands in the retrospect. There he is, whether in memory or in bronze. There he is, tall and serene, looking through the shadows of the nineteenth century, clear-eyed and certain even as in the days of his vigorous youth when he penned the immortal Declaration, or in the days when he rescued the new Republic of the United States from the reactionary party, then in the ascendant, and restored it to the rough but generous embrace of the old-time vigorous democracy.

The impulse and direction given by Thomas Jefferson to American institutions could not be immediately arrested or reversed. It is always the policy of the beaten past to wait for a season until its resources can be accumulated and new measures devised for conquering the future. Those epochs in which human affairs have been beneficially revolutionized have always been followed by periods in which the past, lying in its tent, awaits the opportunity to come forth and again contend for its lost empire.

The period of such waiting is generally an epoch of apathy and indifference. The past has to wait for a knowing and experienced generation to ebb away and for a new, inexperienced, and credulous generation to come in its place before the work of reaction can be successfully undertaken. In the vocabulary of the past progress means retrogression. Such

progress is best effected in a gentle and unostentatious manner. The past, taking advantage of the public unconcern, reinsinuates itself with the sentiments and purposes of men, whispering to them in their hours of reverie vague traditions of the good times gone by when the people had a noble and heroic king for their ruler and when the disturbances of liberty were unknown. By and by when this fallacious tradition humming in the ears of men has put them to sleep, the Past creeps out cautiously and begins to bind the giant people with withes, and then in the hour of awaking to say: "The Philistines be upon thee."

From Jefferson and democracy we went to Madison and war; from Madison and war we went to Monroe and peace; from Monroe and peace we went to Adams and intrigue; and from Adams and intrigue we went to Jackson and our second democratic revolution. In the interval between 1809 and 1829 the United States had passed from patriotism to finance. The old generation had talked about love of country. The new one talked about business. The question had been political liberty; it now was the tariff and the distribution of the funds. The fathers had considered the best method of escaping from the dominion of Great Britain. Their descendants talked about the best method of getting under the dominion of a bank. The Past, despairing of getting a crown of tradition and heredity on the brow of the American ruler, sought to substitute a crown of money. The sceptre of royalty was to be replaced with a sceptre of banknotes. Organized political society was marshalled forth for the purpose of securing an abdication of the people and the apotheosis of a central financial institution. Public liberty was to be replaced with a corporate despotism. The unstable glory of a democratic republic was to yield to the stable splendor of a money autocracy which should henceforth dole out political liberties to the people in the homœopathic manner. Too much might impair their vitality by making them free! The new order was determined that the American democracy should not take *so much* of the rights of men as to injure the constitution. The "public credit" was henceforth to be the criterion of patriotism, and the bank counter was to be a bureau of political

information at which the people might learn how much liberty is safely consistent with cent per cent.

It was in this conjunction of affairs that the second great democrat appeared in the arena. Let us agree that old Andrew Jackson was a character. The hard discipline of his youth put iron into his bones and a measure of savagery into his disposition. Imprisonment, starvation, and smallpox had unfitted him for blandishments. Lack of opportunity prevented him from being a gentleman, and ignorance of political economy prevented him from being a coward. The man who showed his soldiers how a major-general can thrive on acorns was not likely to be charged with dilettanteism in society.

To us it seems that such a man was providential. Considering the time at which he came he was too good to be an accident. Things were getting into the old rut again. The Virginian dynasty had made a smooth groove, and a new Republic, now beginning to expand not a little to the West and Northwest, was sliding down the groove in a manner which the political jargon of this day would define as "highly successful." The Past had got ready its scheme for making the American Union to consist of two ingredients—apathy and business. Jackson was prepared to make it consist of two ingredients—honesty and patriotism. According to Jackson a fight was better than a fraud, and a straight bet was more honorable than a profitable lie. Jackson's manner of life had led him to suppose that manhood is more than bookkeeping, and that honest profanity is superior to hypocritical prayer.

Great was the change in the temper and manner of government which ensued in 1829. If Jackson had not been a thorough man of the people his administration might have become a menace to public liberty. His arbitrary disposition and military autocracy might well have been dreaded if they had existed in a breast which was not aflame with patriotic devotion. The seventh president was an example (perhaps the best in history) of the conservative and corrective power of democracy over itself. A study of Jackson's life is sufficient to demonstrate the universal salvation of man by his own efforts when he is let alone. The cant of the Imperialists is that

if men be let alone they will destroy themselves. But why should they destroy thmselves? Why should a free man make his own quietus? Is it less painful to be cut with one's own hand than with the hand of another? Will a man not bleed if he be wounded by himself? Will he not be blinded if he put his own eyes out? Will he not starve if he do not feed himself? Will he not be frozen and buffeted if he recklessly expose his body to the elements? Will he not drown if he plunge foolhardily into the sea?

The fact is that man, poor animal that he is, has the savor of life in himself. He bears in his breast the undying germs of political and social regeneration. He does not get his power of rectification and reform outside of himself, but he gets that power from the altar of his own soul. This is what democracy signifies. The right and duty of man government springs from the fact of the capability of all men to attend to their own affairs and to do it better than any other can do it for them. In the general work of social and political organization experience keeps a school; and it is a school worth all the other schools which philosophy and history have invented.

There is in this world one method by which men may learn government; and that is by trying it for themselves. There is one method by which they may remain forever ignorant of government; and that is by letting some one else perform the duty. Andrew Jackson learned all that he knew in the school of experience. He studied men and affairs because he was in contact with both. He became an adept in the promotion of liberty because he perceived the danger to which liberty was exposed in the tendencies of his time. He learned what many men have not yet learned; that is, that liberty is always exposed unless man himself walks up and down in the manner of a sentry day and night before the portal of her palace. Jefferson never uttered a greater truth than when he declared that *eternal* vigilance is the price of liberty.

Andrew Jackson had the power of grappling men to him with hooks of steel. They who followed under his banner were the common people. They who were arrayed against him were the incipient classes. In the fourth decade of our century the prolific germs of the corporate life were already

scattered in our soil. True, they were to lie dormant for a long time before they could grow and overshadow the field and suck up with their rank power the life sap of the more wholesome vegetation that was springing around the roots. It is easy in the retrospect to see the rudimentary outlines of those very organizations which have so greatly afflicted us a half a century later. Jackson's battle was with the same old snake's-nest. The eggs and the new-hatched serpents were all there, but they were not then big enough and strong enough to hiss at and defy the nation. For the time being the rough Old Democrat put them down. He drove them back into the dark, cold hole where the old mother snake had hid herself from the light of day. And so the world wagged on for more than twenty-five years, and then plunged into the vortex of civil war.

To my mind there is no paragraph in human history more provocative of indignation and tears than that which recounts the selfish intrigues and cold-blooded machinations by which the tremendous volume of patriotic sacrifice and devotion—swelling up and breaking in long lines of foam in the days of our mortal trial—was diverted from its purpose in the twenty-five years following our Civil War, poisoned with the malevolent sentiments of the money power, and made at last the subservient force in the attempted destruction of American democracy and the institution on its ruins of a base imperialism of wealth. We shall not here repeat the melancholy story. Let us go forward at once to the year 1896 and look calmly over the landscape of American life, noting its aspects and analyzing its conditions.

By this time the party of Lincoln and Sumner and Lovejoy had become the party of Pierpont Morgan and Lazard Frères. Chase had been succeeded by Sherman, Thaddeus Stevens by Thomas B. Reed, and Horace Greeley by Thomas C. Platt. From being the party which used the Declaration of Independence as the corner-stone of its platforms, the Republican organization had become a party having the *Banker's Magazine* for its handbook and Wall Street for its corner-stone and cope. The moving force which had inspired a million soldiers to do battle for the stars and stripes was no

longer the soul of old John Brown, but the snarl of Shylock. In place of an army of boys in Blue had arisen a horde of railroad wreckers, stock-gamblers, and gold-cormorants moving under the dictation of Rothschild and the Morgan syndicate. This malevolent combination of forces, historical and personal, had invaded not only the Republican party but also the party which still defined itself as Democratic. It had obtained the mastery of both parties; for it had the leaders of both in its clutches. The combination believed itself invincible. It had invented one lexicon of lying phrases with which to delude the masses, and another lexicon with which to terrorize them. To this combination all seasons and all conditions were as naught, provided only that it might continue to prevail and to reign. One administration succeeded another; but they were all alike.

Such had been the power of the money intrigue that already in 1878 it was able to compel the President to veto a bill made deliberately in the interest of the people and ratified by a majority of more than three-fourths of both houses of Congress. The money power cares nothing for majorities—except to despise them. The Garfield-Arthur administration dragged through in the same spirit which had characterized that of Hayes. Then came the accession of Cleveland. The people supposed in electing Mr. Cleveland to the presidency that they were electing a democrat. They had tired at last of the other kind and thought they were making a change.

The money power meanwhile chuckled at the exhibition of the popular credulity. The money power knew its men. Under his eight years of authority and the four years of the intercalary administration of Harrison the American Republic was purposely steered every day further and further from the will of the people, and nearer and nearer to that harbor in which the universal plutocracy expected to cast anchor. At the end of the second administration of Cleveland that power had no doubt that it would be able to continue to reign as before.

It was in this spirit that the Republican convention of 1896 was held. It was in this spirit that the Democratic convention of that year was undertaken. The plutocratic syndicate had

no doubt of its ability to regulate the former, and little apprehension that it could not control the latter. Such was the condition of affairs when the Chicago convention assembled.

To the amazement and horror of the political bosses there were seen and heard ominous signs of rebellion and revolution. When the Democratic forces gathered, the premonitory throbbings of revolt broke into tumultuous insurrection, and all the intrigue and blandishment and threatening which the money power was able to put forth could not prevail over the determination of a roused-up people.

Finally, while the convention was under way, a well-known young statesman, knowing no fear and having the God's truth of the whole matter in his breast, stood up and uttered it with that eloquence and power for which he had already become famous as a champion of the people's cause. From that hour the spell was broken. The shadows of doubt began to lift from the landscape. There was a universal rally of the discontented people to the standard of the young Nebraskan who, Lincoln-like, had set up his flag of patriotism on the illimitable prairies.

On that day the third great epoch of democracy in the history of our country broke into dawn and sunrise. Never was there so salutary a chill sent to the bones and marrow of the money power as in that summer of 1896. Then it was that the old methods of assault were revived and new methods of falsehood still more virulent were invented to defeat the purpose of the people. A vocabulary of epithets was found, and a system of propagating untruth was devised as universal as it was base.

By common consent Patrick Henry, who delivered an audacious paragraph in the old Virginia House of Burgesses, had been regarded as an orator and a patriot. The outbursts of James Otis had been passed to his credit, and he had become a historical character as the orator of the revolutionary dawn. The utterances of Franklin had been recorded. Jackson's sayings, even his favorite oath, had been accepted as evidence that the soul of the man was fit for great leadership. But when William Jennings Bryan sprang up before that enormous concourse and with greater oratorical power than any

of these poured out his patriotic appeal and concluded with the immortal declaration that the money power in America should no longer press a bloody crown of thorns on the brow of labor, and that man should no longer be crucified on a cross of gold,—what did the paid organs of plutocracy and all the parrots cry out? They said that William Jennings Bryan was a boy; that he was a declaimer; that he was a mere mouth of sounding demagogy; that he was *vox et prœterea nil;* that he was a blatherskite, a fool, a demagogue, an ignorant mouthpiece of anarchy and communism, a firebrand of disorder, a disturber, an enemy of the public peace, a foe of the national honor; and so on to the end of their unutterable rot and contumely.

The simple fact is that the unanswerable oration of William J. Bryan before the Chicago convention was one of the few inspired utterances of the human soul rising to a great occasion, and pouring out the vehement river of truth. Bryan was on that day a chosen instrument. Whatever providence there is in human affairs was then and there displayed. Whatever rectifying power there is controlling the malevolent conditions of this mortal life was then and there conspicuously exhibited. To be sure, the individual man is nothing. To be sure, the Power which is over all things is everything. There are times when the Universal Thing will express itself. Sometimes the expression is by means of the silent grief of the soul; sometimes it is by the pen; sometimes by the sword; sometimes by cataclysm and uproar and the downrushing of institutions; but when the Universal Thing will find a *voice,* then must a man also be found to cry out.

This is not an age of man worship; it is an age when will and reason and moral force are beginning to be recognized and demanded in the affairs of men. William J. Bryan came upon the stage in answer to such a call, and without declaring himself as such he became the third conspicuous leader of American democracy. What Jefferson had done in the Declaration of Independence, and what Jackson did in his rough battle with the insidious enemy in the fourth decade of the century, that did William J. Bryan fifty years later when he vaulted like an athlete into the wild arena, drew his sword,

and stood defiant, blazing with wrath in the very face of an enemy that durst not attack him with anything but contumely and falsehood.

Aye more; this man Bryan does not suffer by comparison with his two great predecessors. I speak of this matter with no disposition to flatter the living. Flattery is not a mood of this office. Much less have we a disposition to disparage the dead. To us, with our views of history and with our notion of the process by which human affairs are evolved out of a worse into a better condition, it matters little what man may be chosen and what man be left. But it is the literal truth of history that William J. Bryan is in the category of the great. He is so because he is a true leader of the people. The lot has fallen upon him. This condition has come to pass not of his own will and ambition, but out of the exigency of our times. We have come, at the close of the century, with the revival of the democratic battle, to have a leader worthy of the cause. It was necessary that this leader should be an unblemished man. It was necessary that he should be an American to the centre and soul of him. It was necessary that he should be courageous—brave as a lion to his principle and himself, devoted to the cause more than to his own ambition, reckless in attack, and yet skilful and cautious and wary lest he slip in the battle.

It was necessary that our new leader of American Democracy should be at once a man of the people and a gentleman. It was necessary that he should have big hard hands and a brain as cool as that of a farmer. It was almost necessary that he should be an athlete with iron in his blood and bones, with big lungs, and a clear, calm face that would quail before nothing. It was desirable that our leader should be a scholar and a thinker as well as a man of the common lot. It was necessary that he should have such intellectual strength and poise as to make the enemy afraid of him. It was necessary that he should have the audacity to go forward crying out from day to day, uttering his thought and proclaiming the principles by which the American democracy shall be restored to power, and yet retain that mysterious elevation and serenity of character upon which all real leadership depends.

Seeking for such a man in such a place, History found William J. Bryan in 1896, and she made him the standard-bearer of the American people in their unequal battle with the organized cohorts of the money power, marshalled in the cause of centralization and imperialism.

The third epoch of democracy dates from the year 1896. We are only in the dawn of this epoch, but the day will come with the close of the century, or with the new century which lies just beyond. The battle is on. It is hard for the people to clutch the stone walls of power with their naked hands and pull them down. The money power has fortified itself. It has built great entrenchments outside the works. There are long moats full of dirty water and planted with *chevaux-de-frise*. There are a hundred paid generals with burnished hoods and big plumes and fashionable swords at their sides. There are arsenals and munitions of war.

Against all these the people have only their own patriotic purposes and the truth for their weapons. They have hardly an organized society. Until recently they have been fighting in three or four different armies and without any profound unity of purpose. This folly, however, is passing away. There is a concentration of the American democracy and a unification of all powers into one power against the common enemy. That enemy, having partially accomplished his purpose—having got his status fixed so that he can denounce the assailant as an enemy of the public peace, a foe of the national honor—would now lie still, hoping that the rising wave of democracy will recede like a tide into the sea.

The hope of the enemy is vain. The tide will not recede. On the contrary, the tide is rising and roaring along all shores. We know our purpose and we intend to accomplish it. We intend to accomplish it at the ballot-box. The ballot-box is our appeal. The ballot-box is not subject to injunction! We intend in the great contest that is now on to make a new declaration of independence. We intend that all men shall be, as they were created to be, equal. We intend that they shall have their unalienable rights. We intend that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness shall be, as Jefferson's immortal pen declared them to be, the inheritance of all men

and all women born under the folds of the stars and stripes. We intend that the pure, sterling democracy of Andrew Jackson and his epoch shall be again honored and made sacred in this republic bequeathed us by our fathers. We intend that the tremendous revolution started in 1896 shall rise into a tumult of patriotism and fire and shall sweep all before it. We intend that the New Democracy of Man shall plant its triumphant banners upon the ramparts of every State, from the pine forests of Maine to the beach of Coronado. We intend that the under man shall rise and stand; that his equality shall be again proclaimed in the United States of America, and that it shall be his inheritance forever. We intend that the patriot and statesman, William Jennings Bryan, shall be, as he deserves to be, the President of the United States; and that under his wholesome and patriotic administration a new century of peace shall be ushered in, in the splendor and revival of which the evil powers which have dominated American society for the last quarter of a century shall wither and perish from the earth.

A MESSAGE FROM BEYOND.

BY GENEVIEVE CLARK.

CHESTER HARLAND and I were classmates in college and as different in character and disposition as fast friends often are. Harland had a provoking way of winning all the prizes and walking off with all the honors —as it appeared by sheer good luck, for he was never known to study. Indeed, I never knew Harland to exert himself in a given direction a sufficient length of time to justify the smallest portion of the success greeting all undertakings with which he was identified. His championship of a cause seemed to have a talismanic quality, the potency of which none ventured to dispute. How far the prestige of three or four successive triumphs may have unconsciously strengthened a species of suggestion reacting upon him in full telepathic force was a matter which we did not then take into account. Had he been less what he was—brilliant yet unassuming, and a thoroughly good fellow withal—there might have been occasion for that sort of jealousy which has disabled many a good contestant in life's race. Harland was, in fact, so manifestly beyond our ken that we yielded to his various successes, wonderingly at first, but later as a matter of course. He took no credit to himself, alleging that all things in which he displayed particular aptitude were the result of inspiration, and attributing the mystery to some occult power, in the investigation of which he was all too actively engaged. It is given to friends to see the weaknesses of friends and to be forewarned of pitfalls surrounding one naturally so gifted and lovable as Chester, and I—a serious, plodding medical student—found myself quite unwillingly analyzing certain of his qualities, which, while desirable in a gentleman, might be a hindrance to him as a man.

It required a great deal of urging on his part to induce me to attempt psychic investigation with him, for, while I was prone to accept the phenomena, I had a distinct repugnance

to their being assigned to any apparently supernormal cause. None are free from that weird and often entirely latent suggestion of what is possibly true; and, while I was aggressively indisposed to believe in communication with spirits of the dead, there was a subjective admission (unconscious yet potent, as I know now) of the possibility that the soul, freed from its mortal coil, might still exist as an entity striving to establish with friends still in the flesh a relation which, in the present state of spiritual evolution on earth, apparently leads nowhere. Not only was solution hedged about with the intangible to such an extent as to preclude the possibility of obtaining major or minor premise, and unexplainable in view of that settled law and order with which the dead have never been known to interfere, but it was abhorrent to me to contemplate those I had loved and lost moving as silent astral bodies, unperceived but perceiving, unknown but knowing,—spectres fenced about with limitations the more inexplicable because to them the mystery of death stood revealed.

That the process of the soul's evolution might be continuing, according to natural laws, in the disembodied,—following out the order by which our fleshly habitation crumbles to became part of that earth in the economy of which nothing is lost,—and that the ghostly visitant might be undergoing experiences as fraught with doubt and fear as my own, did not once occur to me. Theology had fixed in my mind the belief that existence after death necessarily involved a solution of earth's problems at one fell swoop. That if the dead wished to convey a message to me, they would be limited by my own incapacity to comply with conditions necessary to that end, did not appeal to me as evident. Gibbon, in his "Decline and Fall," illustrates an analogous instance: "Christian geography was forcibly extracted by texts of scripture, and the study of nature was the surest symptom of an unbelieving mind. The orthodox faith confined the habitable world to one temperate zone, and represented the earth as an oblong surface, four hundred days' journey in length, two hundred in breadth, encompassed by the ocean, and covered by the solid crystal of the firmament." So-called Christianity had engendered certain prejudices, and had led me to accept half-truths which

not only blinded me to life's true meaning (since the lessons learned in childhood are never forgotten), but made it exceedingly difficult to accept nature's law as the most satisfactory study—that undeviating law which runs alike through physical and astral state, and which, though possibly taking new forms, exists as one harmonious whole throughout the innumerable worlds of the universe.

Harland and Miss Annette Wilson (to whom he was betrothed) accompanied me to the first spiritualistic séance I ever attended. Annette was a bright, enthusiastic, earnest girl to whom life was an unopened book. Both of poetical temperament, they were mutually as profoundly attached as any lovers I ever knew. The misgivings I had as to their fitness for each other had reference rather to the similarity than to the peculiarity of their temperaments. Their mutual interest in occultism was a bond of sympathy the importance of which might easily be exaggerated. It was impossible to disbelieve Annette when she declared that by an effort of the will she was able to follow Chester's movements when absent, for she was truth itself; but it occurred to me that this transcendent ability to see indefinitely into space and through brick walls might possibly have its disadvantages on the uncertain sea of matrimony.

She was as anxious as Chester that I should be convinced of the truths of psychic phenomena, and it was largely through her wish that I at last consented to attend a séance. It was my theory that the messages purporting to come from the dead had their origin in a method of thought-transference, the workings of which were equally mysterious to the medium and the sitter; that there was no well-authenticated instance of information being conveyed which might not have had its source in the subconscious suggestion of the latter.

I felt, therefore, that I had proved my case when, submitting to the medium a single test question (among many casual questions the answers to which amounted to little or nothing), I received no satisfaction whatever from the "spirit world."

Leaving the house three-quarters of an hour later and immediately restating my theory to Chester, he turned on me with a sour smile.

"You are satisfied, Fred—quite naturally. You went into that room confident that you could hypnotize the medium. Not remaining passive in compliance with the conditions, you gave the suggestion that the medium could not answer that question. . . . As I said just now, you went for fraud, and that's what you got. If a man gets what he goes after in this world, he ought to be satisfied."

I laughed, not disliking to see him nettled or to think that his faith might be shaken.

"You admit, then, that the basis of the mystery is in suggestion?" I cried, thinking to gain the first proposition for a syllogism.

As he turned his head away impatiently, Annette leaned toward me.

"You miss the point, Fred. The medium never promises satisfactory sittings unless the subject consents to remain passive. That, you admit, you did not do. I do not understand the essence of the conditions any more than I am able to reason why the positive and negative poles are necessary to generate an electric current, or any more than I can explain what was always a great mystery to my parents, namely, the fact that I could dance almost as soon as I could walk, and that, too, without any instruction, and, so far as any of the family knew, without ever having witnessed dancing in any form. . . . We cannot understand these things. It seems to me, however, that since human beings have lived for thousands of years on this earth ignorant of physical forces in the very atmosphere, it is just possible that a few mysteries may yet remain unsolved. . . . No, I cannot see that you have proved anything."

I had, however, satisfied myself.

Less than two years after this, Harland and Annette were married, Chester having in the meantime qualified as a lecturer on scientific subjects. When I inquired quizzically whether he included psychology in the exact sciences, he became profoundly serious and was on the point of admitting that he did.

His health giving out that winter, he came to me for treatment. This surprised me, as I had supposed that his leanings

were toward Christian Science. He was quite a reasonable patient, and during his convalescence (he was suffering from an incipient nervous disorder) we enjoyed together many pleasant readings and mental rambles. I was amazed and, I need not say, alarmed that he persisted in assigning his brilliant platform utterances to an extraneous influence. The gradations by which he had arrived at this belief were by no means so illogical to my mind as the belief itself, and I soon discovered that, given a premise, he was able to reason with acumen to any absurd conclusion, yet that, having accepted a conclusion, he was quite unable to go back of it into the broad field of generalization where he might compare premises. This process, indeed, would have necessitated a recognition of material attributes, which, from the very nature of his genius, Harland could not appreciate. Owing his popularity and success to implicit obedience of intuition, and attuned by instinct and temperament to a prejudice against objective reasoning, how could he recognize, as such, a forewarning that the physical would inevitably demand compensation for the neglect from which it suffered? Already I was beholding the effects of spiritual dissipation in Chester's deep-sunk eyes, his frantic impatience with detail, and his almost insane contempt for the necessities of the flesh. Opposed to my influence against this, was the far more potent suggestion of Annette, who—herself straining to the same dizzy heights—could not serve as ballast to her husband's dangerous flight into the spiritual.

Gradually, after Chester's recovery, I lost sight of them, though occasionally as the years went by I heard of him as a brilliant but erratic orator, crowding immense auditoriums, and commanding the highest prices, the spoiled darling of the ladies and the wonder of all men. Our dissimilarity of tastes and interests tended continually to widen the distance, geographical and otherwise, which separated us, and yet I did not intentionally lose track of him. Certain that such a career must end in disaster, it did not astonish me to hear that he promiscuously annulled contracts when it did not suit his pleasure to fulfil them, and was as a consequence mulcted of heavy sums in lawsuits.

At last I heard of him no more. In the zenith of his popularity he was suddenly swallowed up in obscurity; and the pathetic aspect of his case was the indifference of that public which had followed like a whining cur at his heels, content with the crumbs of praise he scattered, but which now only shrugged its shoulders and declared his day gone by.

One evening, seven years from the last time I saw Chester, several friends of mine and myself occupied a box off the stage of one of the best known theatres in this country. The play was "A Night in Andalusia." The first act was somewhat of a farce, and as the second bade fair to be, I entered into a discussion with one of my companions concerning a *coup d'état* in which it was rumored that the then Governor of the State was concerned.

Our thoughts were suddenly forced elsewhere, when, in time to a furious drum-beat from behind the scenes, a laughing girl sprang lightly out upon the stage. Behind her came a young man in a green-velvet, gilt-adorned jacket, with knee breeches fastened to his variegated hose with buckles that glistened in the light. The girl wore the fantastic costume of an Andalusian peasant, her slashed and spangled gown terminating below the knees in a gorgeous golden fringe. . . . I looked and looked again, but could not satisfy myself. . . . Where had I seen that woman's face before?

Simultaneously she saluted the audience with a rattle of her castanets, and it broke into applause which continued for some seconds, during which her partner in the dance that was to be, struck an attitude, waiting, while by some unfathomable expressiveness in her movements she suggested the heights of excitement and the depths of languor.

They were enacting a pantomimic love-drama. About him she swayed, with merry eyes, eluding him at first, dipping her arms in the windings of the dance, the suppleness with which she controlled and brought into rhythm all parts of her body contributing a dainty sensualism to the effect. Round to the centre she moved, alluring, contradictory, tantalizing; then forward again, he, as she glided near, scarce touching the floor in the wild whirlabout, and exhibiting by his postures and the alternate slowness or quickness of his step the

gradations from natural ardor to a pursuit colored by opposition. Then, before anyone had time to see whence they came, rainbow draperies were dipped into one maze of color, through, around, and under which these lovers danced as it were to madness.

The effect was electrical. The audience stood up. The excitement continued, ladies leaning forward with quick, ingenuous interest, then sinking back into their seats and shading their eyes.

As the dance continued, there was an almost repulsive fascination in it. The end was one breathless *trémoussement*, the girl standing still, smiling, but panting for breath. The curtain was rung down amid applause which verily shook the rafters. It drew up again instantly with brilliant lights on the tableau.

"My God, Fred," I heard one of my friends say,—and for the first time I was conscious that I was making my way out of the box,—"your face is like a sheet! Are you ill?"

I waved him back.

"No, it is nothing. . . . Let me alone for a few moments, can't you? . . . I beg your pardon. . . . Will you take my excuses to the rest? . . . I will be back directly."

I made my way to the greenroom. It was some moments before the boy to whom I had intrusted my card for delivery to "the lady who had just been dancing" (I felt I could not make use of the flippant *nomen et omen* which appeared on the programme) returned to say that I would be received.

I was shocked at a nearer view of her, for, in youth and freshness at least, she had appeared in the dance the old Annette of my boyhood days. Now I saw leaning against a mantel, rouged and half-besotted, a coarse picture of a wizen old woman!

"Annette!" I exclaimed involuntarily, and stopped short.

She still held my card, but bitter lines about her mouth and a hard look in her eyes were the only signs of any emotion evoked by a memory of me—that, and the shattered glass at her feet. But my presence apparently overcame her, for the tears started suddenly to her eyes as she exclaimed:

"You care enough to come here to see me! . . . Thank

you." She held out her hand. . . . "Wait a moment. . . . I've nearly finished here for to-night. I don't come on again until at the close. . . . We might walk a little in the fresh air. . . . This room is stifling. . . . My God," looking me up and down in anguished contemplation, "you don't look a day older—and how Chester has changed!"

I had it in my mind to say, "And how you have changed!" but I did not, and followed her silently down a private exit from the stage into the street.

Loungers gazed with lazy curiosity after us—the woman in fantastic costume, and I in full dress—as we moved down a side street. We had walked without speaking what seemed a long time when suddenly she stopped before a stairway.

"No one will know you here," leading the way up the steps into a Chinese restaurant, and a moment later ordering "tea" of the Celestial who approached us. . . . "The crowd doesn't come in until midnight." She brushed off our chairs with her handkerchief. Then we sat down.

"Chester still living, Annette," I ventured, "and you reduced to this!"

"Oh, God alone knows where Chester is," she sighed; "and I don't know as to being reduced." With as few words as possible she told me that her husband, requiring stimulus as time went by in order to continue his work, had little by little fallen a victim to drugs. Some years since it had been necessary to confine him in an inebriate asylum. It was believed that he was incurable, though he had been twice released on the doctor's certificate that he had fully recovered.

My fears, then, were well-grounded. That career, so brilliant, which had wasted its energies in attempts to transcend the knowable, had been shattered ruthlessly in its early bloom!

"Do you remember, Fred" (Annette's voice broke in bitterly on my reminiscences), "how you talked to us that winter Chester was so ill; how vainly you endeavored to convince me that the path we had chosen was ruinous? . . . Well, I have lived to be sure that you were right. After I realized it, I tried to hold Chester back. Half the misery in this world hinges on the possibility of a man's gaining by privilege, good

luck, etc., what no one ought to have except through hard work. When a man is particularly favored by fortune, he is apt to think himself a special exhibit of the Almighty, and exempt from the moral law and order, not less than from the physical. . . . It was late in the day for me to mend matters, but I recognized that people living in this world must have something practical to keep them down. . . . So I took to dancing for a living." She laughed as if she traded in wit.

"But why," I cried, my heart going out to the hapless Harland—"why such a dance as that? It is not worthy of you. . . . Oh, Annette, you are his wife."

"I'm not so sure about it's being unworthy of me," she retorted, coloring. "I tried the other extreme and found I wasn't worthy of it. It is difficult to please some people." She cocked her head on one side and tried to look arch.

"But that foreign dance, how did you learn it?"

"Instinct!" She laughed, probably at the amazement on my face as she spoke Chester's favorite word. "Seriously, no one told me how. I saw it done once or twice in Andalusia, and my feet knew right where to go the moment I stood up to try." Suddenly she spoke of Chester again, but in a different tone and with great tears rolling down her cheeks. She had not seen him for two years, though, on hearing six weeks previously that he had again been released from custody, she had written to him affectionately, bidding him come to her.

Shortly afterward I left her at the door of the theatre, and, sending a message of apology to my friends within, hailed a cab and was driven home.

The next few days marked the breaking out of an epidemic in a quarter of the city where my practice was extensive. Returning home about midnight, some days after my encounter with Annette, I sank into an arm-chair near the fireplace, utterly exhausted but not intending to fall asleep. As the gas was turned low, however, it is probable that I was dozing when I was startled by a dazzling light shining with painful force upon my face. For a moment I was blinded by the glare, and, uncertain to what it might be attributed, shaded my eyes with my hand when—as if out of a cloud of yellowish-blue vapor—I saw Annette coming toward me. I held

my breath and leaned forward, while great beads of perspiration started out all over me.

"Annette," I exclaimed, springing up, "for God's sake"—

"Chester is on a ship coming across the ocean. . . . I have seen him." (She named the vessel.) "Meet him at the wharf next Wednesday, tell him to return by the next steamer to our daughter, whom he has deserted in France."

She was gone with the words.

Cursing myself for a fool to allow my nerves to get into a condition where they might play me such tricks, I staggered to the gas-jet and turned the light on at full blaze. Then I tried to reason myself into a state of mind where I could admit the vision to have been an hallucination. So determined was I to disbelieve the evidence of my senses in this instance, that I had an uncomfortable shock next morning when, on taking up a newspaper, I saw announced in flaring headlines an account of Annette's tragic death. She had left the theatre at eleven o'clock in a cab, which had collided with a street-car; she had been thrown out and instantly killed.

For days thereafter I was haunted with the suggestion that I must comply with the request conveyed in what I still doggedly persisted in calling a dream; but so at variance was a serious interpretation of it with all the experiences of my life that I resisted until Wednesday morning, when, realizing that the ship was due at noon, I was seized with an unaccountable impulse to verify Chester's presence on it. I do not remember that I was at all startled or surprised to see him, four hours later, descend the gang-plank—and this notwithstanding the fact that his appearance was so altered that ordinarily I should not have recognized him. He made his way straight through the throng and grasped my hand. Neither of us spoke, but I turned at last with blinded eyes to lead the way to my carriage. He seemed to take it as prearranged that he should follow the course of conduct laid out by me.

"Fred," he said that evening after dinner as we sat together before the fire in my library, "you did not need to tell me that Annette was dead. I felt her presence near me the other night—unless I am going mad again, as perhaps I am. Nevertheless, I knew that she was dead."

"You used to say, Chester, that there is no death in the sense in which the term is commonly understood."

There was a silence.

"I know I did; I know I did. But I have reached a point where I can't distinguish between glimpses of the life beyond and a fearful trickery of the mind. . . . My cursed egotism ruined her life. . . . She warned me, you warned me, everybody warned me. . . . I don't know now whether you are a man or a cloud, and it seems to me that there is nothing left of me but my hands." He rose suddenly and went about the room gesticulating frantically.

"Chester,"—I went over to him, placed a hand on his shoulder, and looked squarely into his eyes,—"Annette came to me the night she died."

Slowly, with wide-opened, startled eyes, he pushed me to arm's-length.

"You—you—you who never believed?"

"Even I. . . . She came to me. I am perfectly convinced of it."

"It is true, then, though you did not believe? . . . Tell me now; it is not all a madman's fancy. . . . You saw her. . . and. . . and"—

He looked at me with strained, beseeching earnestness.

"Yes, I saw her. She told me to meet you at the ship; she said you were not to continue the journey you had in mind, but to return by the next steamer to your daughter, whom you had deserted."

He continued to look at me. Slowly his arms dropped to his side, and gradually, as he grew pale, that unnatural look died out of his eyes. I led him like a little child to a chair, into which he sank, covering his face with his hands. Soon he grew more calm.

"Fred, I thank you. My life has been a series of tragic mistakes. I felt that if there is nothing beyond, few things matter; if there is, I might still be able to fight my way better there. . . . I suppose there is some wise reason why it is not to be. I intended to settle some matters here which would have secured my daughter a competence. . . . Then," he wrung my hand, "I purposed taking my life."

EXPLANATION, AND AMENDE TO MR. NIELS GRÖN.

In THE ARENA for July an article appeared entitled "Points in the American and French Constitutions Compared," by Niels Grön.

Late in the year, the editor of THE ARENA received from Mr. John Joseph Conway, editor of *The Daily Messenger* of Paris, a letter in which he alleged that the article in THE ARENA by Mr. Grön had been written by himself; that Mr. Grön had obtained possession of it and had published it under his own name without Mr. Conway's permission.

Acting upon this information three paragraphs were inserted in THE ARENA for December, under the title, "How to get an Article into a Magazine." In this Mr. Grön was represented as having purchased from Mr. Conway an article which he offered under his own name to THE ARENA, thus putting himself in the character of a plagiarist. Soon afterwards the editor of THE ARENA received from Mr. Grön a letter written from London in which he denied the charge made by Mr. Conway and requested a retraction. Since that date I have called upon Mr. Conway for the letters of Mr. Grön bearing on this subject. I find that Mr. Grön did procure an article from Mr. Conway some time in 1896, and that he used the facts contained in that article in preparing his contribution which was published in THE ARENA; but the evidence does not show that Mr. Grön plagiarized the article from Mr. Conway or from anyone. It shows that he used the Conway paper as a study in the preparation of his contribution; but there is no evidence to show that the Conway article was copied by Mr. Grön or improperly used in the preparation of the contribution published in THE ARENA. Mr. Grön is therefore entitled to the disclaimer which he makes, and this explanation and amende is made by THE ARENA to the end that Mr. Grön shall not be disparaged unjustly by our former publication.—EDITOR ARENA.

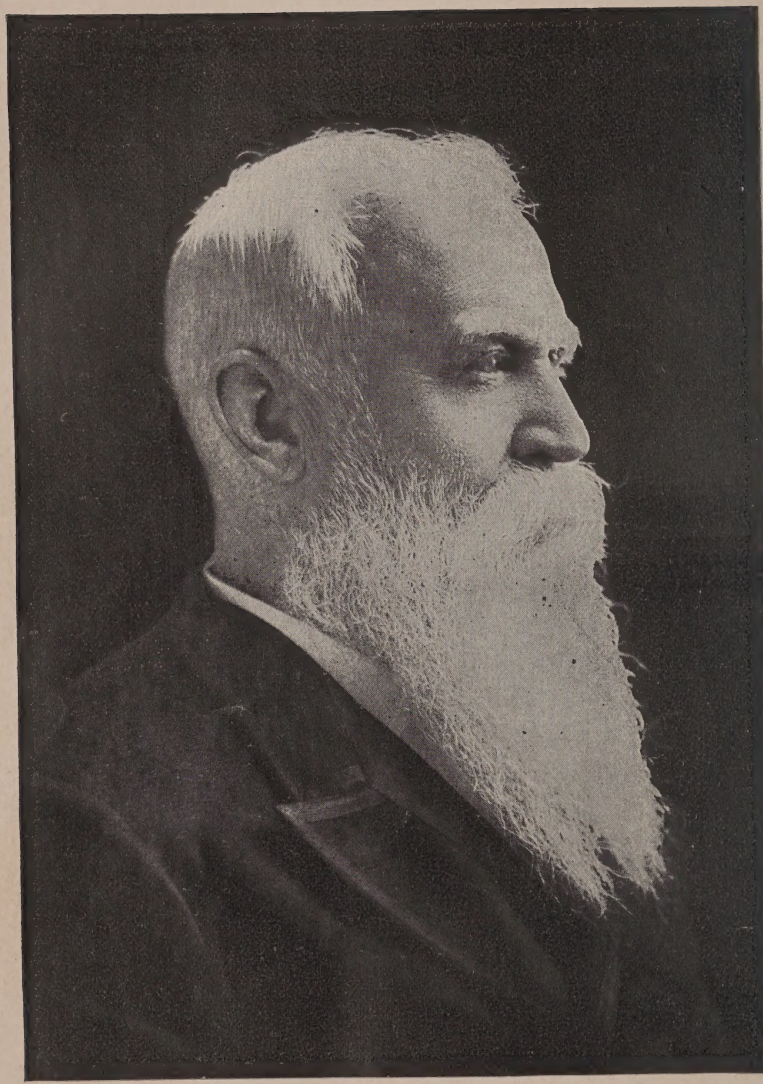
THE BEAUTY OF A BOND.

IT would seem that *The St. James Gazette* has let a bird fly. It is not often that an organ of the goldite empire is caught off guard. When such a phenomenal thing occurs, one is led to believe that the organ on the night before has had too much wine. That *The St. James Gazette* could so forget itself makes us astonished.

The occasion of the extraordinary break referred to is the recent assignment to Great Britain of the exclusive privilege of taking the Chinese loan without competition. The British government has been unusually anxious to get this loan "in the interests of trade." *The St. James Gazette*, doubtless in the state of mind indicated above, divulges the scheme as follows:

> Let us suppose, in the first instance, that the rate agreed upon be 5 per cent. This would not be exorbitant when the ordinary rates of interest in China are taken into consideration. Our procedure would be simple. The Bank of England would invite tenders for £14,500,000 Consols at 2½ per cent, redeemable in twenty-five years from the date of issue. The length of the term offered would ensure a premium of, at least, 10 per cent. Taking the price, then, at £110, we should obtain the sum of £15,950,000. The deficiency of £50,000 is insignificant, and could be made good by any one of half a dozen obvious expedients. Under this arrangement we should be borrowing £14,500,000 at 2½ per cent, and lending £16,000,000 at 5 per cent. The difference between the interest we should disburse (£367,500) and the interest we should receive (£800,000) would be £423,000. If this sum were invested every year for twenty-five years at compound interest, it would produce at the end of that term £14,688,000. But the chief matter remains to be stated. When we had got all our money back, China would still remain indebted to us to the full amount of the original advance—£16,000,000. This outstanding liability could, at the choice of the Peking Government, either be liquidated in cash or released in exchange for such fixed or other concessions as might seem equitable to both parties.

Let us explain the beauty of this business. The poor laborers of China will be obliged for 25 years to pay to Great Britain, in interest only, $4,000,000 annually without reducing the debt by a single farthing. That is beautiful to begin with. The $4,000,000 will be taken by the English bondholders and loaned to the British laboring men, who will pay another $4,000,000 a year for the privilege of having money enough to buy their groceries. At the end of the 25-year period, China will still owe the British bondholders the $80,000,000 just the same. That is the essential beauty of it. Eight millions a year laid upon the laboring-men of China and Great Britain for 25 years! Two hundred millions of interest in all, and then 80,000,000 of principal just as good as at the start. I have not seen a better example than this of the splendid workings of the international bond system. The only question is how long the laboring-men of the world are going to stand this sort of business. But then *The St. James Gazette* ought never to have given the thing away!



Hon. WILLIAM M. STEWART,

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEVADA.

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into *the arena*,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—*Heine*.

THE ARENA.

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THE GREAT SLAVE POWER.

BY SENATOR WILLIAM M. STEWART.

THE changes which have taken place in the nineteenth century are so vast, complicated, and important that they not only pass comprehension, but bewilder the imagination. During the first three-quarters of the century which has nearly passed, the progress of human liberty and freedom from the shackles of slavery advanced without a parallel in the history of the human race. Chattel slavery was abolished in the United States, and the right of man to equality before the law was vindicated. The French Revolution, which was in progress at the beginning of the century, not only broke up the greedy, vicious, and cruel aristocracy of France, but inspired all Frenchmen with an independence and love of liberty which happily are not yet extinguished. The chains of feudal bondage which marked the contrast between fallen Italy and the splendors of ancient Rome were shattered, if not broken, by the gallant Garibaldi and his patriotic associates.

The Anglo-Saxon colonies of Canada and Australia have grown great and powerful under the new policy of Great Britain, which she was f[illegible]ed to adopt by the lessons she received in the war of the Rev[illegible]on, when she was taught that it was unsafe to enslave people of the Anglo-Saxon race. In short, between 1800 and 1875, the condition of the masses of all Europe, with the few exceptions hereafter mentioned,

gradually improved. The benign influence of the growing sentiment against slavery even reached the Tsar of Russia. The ownership of or property in man was abolished, and the condition of the serfs was vastly improved. Tyrannical and bloodthirsty Spain lost control of Mexico and South America, where her deeds of oppression, cruelty, and extortion will ever be remembered. Unfortunately, she is still allowed to carry on her wicked work of robbery and murder in the island of Cuba, where nature has bestowed her choicest gifts to promote the happiness of man. The natural consequence of this progress of freedom has been a marvellous development of the arts, sciences, and letters. Modern improvements, discoveries, and inventions and a higher education mark the power of the human race when free from the trammels of poverty and the chains of slavery.

Amid all this glorious success and human progress it is painful to be compelled at the dawn of the new century to call attention to the organization, growth, and marvellous success of a dark conspiracy to enslave the human race. The nineteenth century was ushered in amid the clash of arms between all Europe and France, led by the greatest of all great generals. England's isolated position secured her from invasion by land, and enabled her, with the assistance of the shattered powers of the continent, to destroy the great Napoleon and assume the leadership of the nations of the earth. The supension of specie payment and the exercise of her sovereign power forced into existence a copious circulation of money, and the vast expenditures of the war involved Great Britain in a debt of four thousand million dollars. Prices rose, business was active, the commerce of England expanded throughout the world, and amid such activity and such enormous financial operations opportunities were afforded for the quick acquisition of wealth rarely if ever enjoyed in any other country or in any other age. These rare opportunities were utilized by the genius of Baron Rothschild, the brightest and ablest member of the most remarkable family of financiers which the world has ever known. He formed a syndicate which operated in government and private securities with a skill and energy without a parallel, and with such re-

markable success as to make Rothschild the financial king of the British empire after Napoleon's fall at Waterloo.

The financial ability of Rothschild was, however, signalized most by the combination which after the close of the war he formed among the statesmen of Great Britain. The Shermans, the Clevelands, the Harrisons, the Carlisles, and the Hannas of our day are but reproductions of the statesmen to whom the destinies of England were entrusted in 1816. Under the false and hypocritical pretence of "preserving the inviolability of contracts" and "maintaining the honor of the country," the four thousand millions of public indebtedness and three times that amount of private indebtedness, worth at the time forty cents on the dollar in coin, were converted into gold obligations, and their value was more than doubled, while the property of the masses was cruelly confiscated. The vast wealth-power thus consolidated into a great money syndicate has prosecuted with unrelenting vigor a scheme to rob and enslave mankind. The success of this moneyed aristocracy is now beginning to seen, felt, and realized. It has done the great commission business of the world in making loans to governments and corporations. There has been no year in the last half century when the public journals have not informed us of the vast operations of the Rothschild combination in negotiating loans. Their scheme has been guaranteed against material loss by their policy of acting as middlemen in placing loans among the people and retaining enormous commissions. They have also directed and shared with the English officials, who were in fact their associates, in robbing Ireland and enslaving the miserable Hindus and Egyptians.

The Crimean war, the war of the Rebellion, and the German, Austrian, and French wars involved vast expenditures, excited private enterprise in the building of railroads and the like, and thus created enormous bonded obligations payable in gold and silver, the money then current in the civilized world. The United States emerged from four years of a gigantic conflict which shook the civilized world from centre to circumference, a reunited, invincible, independent, and conquering power. The disaster of the Franco-German war

culminated in rëestablishing a republic in France. Everything seemed pointing to the overthrow of the satanic power of the Anglo-Rothschild syndicate, which was levying tribute upon the commerce of the world and holding in abject bondage more than three hundred millions of the Red Men of the East. The United States was the greatest military power on earth. Her armies were invincible, and she possessed the only navy in the world worthy of the name.

To overpower the United States, hold the Republic of France in check, and continue the prosecution of the design for the establishment of financial slavery of the world was the new problem presented to the genius of the Rothschild combination. The keen eye of the almost omniscient financiers soon discovered politicians in power in the great republic as pliable and as blind to the sufferings of their fellow men as those whom they found left in power after the great Napoleonic struggle. The plan which had formed the foundation of the great wealth of the Rothschild combination in 1816, by converting paper debts worth forty cents on the dollar into gold obligations, was secretly and clandestinely repeated in the United States and continental Europe in 1873 by demonetizing silver and thus in less than twenty-five years doubling the purchasing power of gold and increasing the burden of all contracts more than 50 per cent. The United States by that means was deprived of her bounteous supply of money metal and compelled to look to the great financial syndicate of England to furnish money for this government and all the vast enterprises of our great country, when it was the duty of Congress under the Constitution to furnish the people with a circulating medium. The financial dependence upon England secured by this infamous transaction through the treachery of our public men has robbed the great republic of its proud position among the nations of the earth and destroyed its influence to succor and encourage free institutions throughout the world.

The hands of the United States being thus bound, the Rothschild combination has proceeded in the last twenty years with marvellous rapidity to enslave the human race. The chains of feudal slavery have been riveted and fastened upon

India, and three hundred and fifty millions of human beings are now suffering a more degraded and abject slavery than ever existed or ever was supposed to exist by the abolitionists themselves in any part of America. The inhabitants of the land of the Nile are now suffering from the British lash upon their naked backs to make them contribute in taxes, to Rothschild's greed, seven dollars an acre annually for every acre of land cultivated in bleeding Egypt. Japan rose from semi-barbarism and astonished the world by assuming the importance of a first-rate power through the advantages of cheap silver and the difference of exchange which it produced. In the spring of 1896 Japan realized the source of her progress and attributed her marvellous success in war, in commerce, and in the acquisition of wealth generally to the use of silver as money, while the Western world was suffering from falling prices, bankruptcy, and decay by adhering to the shrinking volume of gold. Unfortunately for Japan, Shermans and Clevelands were found in that country also, who in the fall of 1896 betrayed her and, by false reasoning and what other means the world may never know, induced her to adopt the gold standard and plunge into bankruptcy. She is now a bankrupt appendage of the British Empire, and will sink back into the miserable condition from which she so recently emerged. The Chinese, although they have been made cowardly and unpatriotic by the misgovernment of the Mandarins, are a most marvellous race in trade and finance. They could not be induced to follow Japan and voluntarily commit financial hara-kiri, as the gallant but vain Japanese were induced to do. Consequently, the great Rothschild syndicate which now commands all Europe has undertaken the gigantic enterprise of dividing up among the Western powers the ancient and populous empire of China. When that shall have been accomplished China will be taxed, impoverished, and enslaved after the manner of British slavery in Egypt and India.

The accomplishment of these gigantic schemes and the final subjection of Europe, Asia, and Africa to the rule of the money power depend upon concentrating wealth, building up aristocracy, and destroying democracy, particularly in the

United States. It is conceded that this can be done only by contracting the legal-tender money of the world to gold alone, and thus, by falling prices and hard times, cutting off or removing from the masses all opportunity to acquire wealth and independence. The truth of the proverb, that starving men never have maintained and never will maintain a republic, is well understood by the enemies of freedom and human rights. The only fear which this wicked combination of men who are now controlling the destinies of Europe and Africa and dividing up Asia have, is that the American people may yet be aroused and assert themselves by the use of the ballot and thereby regain the financial independence of the United States, which would be a deathblow to the scheme of universal slavery.

IMMORTALITY: ITS PLACE IN THE THOUGHT OF TO-DAY.

BY WILLIAM HENRY JOHNSON.

ADDISON'S line, "Eternity, thou pleasing, dreadful thought," includes the most opposite phases of contemporary opinion on the subject of a possible continuance of personal consciousness after death. Between these extremes there is an almost infinite variety of affirmation and negation.

"If a man die, shall he live again?" is a question that is asked only by men that have reached some degree of intellectual civilization. They must have begun to philosophize on the conditions of human existence. "The dread of something after death" first comes when men have begun to reason. To question the reality of this awful "something" marks a still further advance. That is to say, the mental attitudes of various grades of humanity are three: the lowest, a mere animal existence, without thought of anything beyond; the next, that in which man's experiences, rightly or wrongly interpreted, lead to a conviction of continued existence; the last, that in which he reviews and questions this conclusion. Only a few degraded tribes are in the first; the majority of savages and barbarians in the second; the civilized races in the third. With the first we have, manifestly, no concern. But the second is deeply interesting, and we shall, it is hoped, spend a little time not unprofitably in considering it.

To a race in its infancy movement and life are synonymous. Our Aryan ancestors held every moving object, as clouds, winds, rivers, to be possessed of a life as real as their own. Out of this belief grew their nature-worship, which, in its turn, formed the groundwork of the classical mythology. We do not apprehend to what extent the poetical fables of the

old Greek world, many of surpassing beauty, are rooted in the literalism of an age of children, until philology comes to our aid. According to the legend, Athene was born from the forehead of Zeus. By itself, this is meaningless. But when we learn that in the Sanskrit Ahanâ means the dawn, we have the key. The dawn rises from the brow of Dyaus-Pitar, the Sky-Father, whose very name is perpetuated in the Greek Zeus Pater and the Latin Jupiter. The Erinnyes, avenging Furies of the Greeks, are a natural evolution from the Sanskrit Saranyû (another name for the dawn), which reveals the evil deeds of darkness. The pramantha, the homely mechanism by the aid of which the Aryan housewife made a fire on the hearth, is forever glorified in the Greek legend of Prometheus stealing fire from heaven.

Quite naturally the American aborigines mistook the first ships which they saw for winged prodigies of the deep. Probably, if we could ascertain the mental condition of a horse trembling at the first sight of a steam-engine, we should find a vivid impression of its being menaced by a dreadful monster. That is to say, all movement suggests to the untutored mind the presence of an active principle, life. The savage is conscious of a something within him that governs his actions —the will. A like invisible something is supposed to dwell in other living beings, movement being taken as evidence of life. There is the germ of the idea of soul. It is not, at the first, conceived as distinctly human, but as pertaining to all that moves. The fetish-worshipper goes even further and imagines a spirit in sticks and stones.

Again, the savage cannot distinguish between facts of consciousness and outward occurrences. He sleeps. In his dreams, he hunts, fights, meets his friends, some of them long since dead. He awakes and finds himself in the same place in which he lay down. But these seem to be real experiences. The belief inevitably arises that the spirit within him can go out of him and act for itself. The difference, then, between a living man and a dead man is, simply, that the former breathes and moves, by reason of the spirit inhabiting the body, while the latter is still and breathes not, because the spirit has finally gone out of him. Of this simple stage of

thought our colloquial speech reminds us in the expression, "to come to one's self." The real self is supposed to have gone out and to have returned. Hundreds of skulls, bored, undoubtedly for the purpose of facilitating the egress of the soul or its return, if it should be so minded, attest this crude notion. This childlike conception of the soul, as a real but immaterial entity, underlay all the thinking of ancient peoples on this subject, and it explains their funeral customs. It was not in idle compliment that food was placed and drink poured out at the graves of the departed. Their spirits were supposed to be sustained by this nourishment, in like manner as the gods partook of sacrificial offerings. The customs of many existing races furnish the key to the notions of prehistoric men. The slaughtered animals, slaves, and wives are intended to provide the dead chief with the means of enjoying the same comforts and maintaining the same dignity in the other world as he formerly possessed in this.

This conception of the soul and its destiny was a natural, perhaps unavoidable, inference from familiar facts of experience. It was common to the childhood and youth of the race. Among some peoples this notion remained undeveloped, their chief attention being fixed upon the present existence. The early Hindus apparently had little thought of a life beyond the grave. Among the Assyrians and Babylonians the belief in a future state of being did not figure prominently, and seems not to have been carried beyond a vague idea of a gloomy underworld, where departed spirits dwelt in shadowy inactivity, flitting hither and thither like bats in a cave. The same remark would probably hold good of their kindred, the Phœnicians, and certainly of another allied race, the Hebrews. The earlier Greeks entertained similar notions. To the Homeric warriors there was nothing attractive in the thought of the dark nether-world, where the souls of mighty heroes, banished from the sunny haunts of men, dwelt as pale and impotent shades.

While there was much variety of belief and custom among the ancient peoples of whom we have knowledge, the underlying idea was always the same, that of the soul as an entity, in general shadowy and impalpable, but under certain condi-

tions becoming visible, as when Æneas meets the shade of his beloved Creusa, just slain, and thus first learns of her death. After a prophetic communication, in which she predicts for him a high career and a "royal spouse," she "vanishes into thin air." Sometimes we find a departed soul haunting with mournful plaint the vicinity of the unburied body, until, the latter having received decent interment, it is soothed to rest. In general it may be said, in the vigorous youth of a people, its warrior age, the thought of futurity has little prominence, and remains in an undeveloped state. A florid eschatology is one of the sure indications of a people having leisure, an influential priestly class, and a growing literature of the imagination. One of the earliest flights of the human fancy, when it begins to try its young wings, is always into the regions of the dark unknown, peopled, it is supposed, by the shades of departed generations. The subject has a natural fascination, and the works of genius which assume to portray the state of the dead have exercised tremendous power over the living. When will Dante cease to be read with wonder and shuddering? The mysteries of "the dark Plutonian shore" will probably for a long time to come hold the human imagination under a weird spell. Of the remark, that under conditions of leisure, of priestly domination, with its sure attendants, a high ritual and a youthful, fervid imagination, the simpler elements of the belief in continued existence are apt to be wrought into great variety of fanciful detail, we have notable illustrations in the Egyptians and the Persians, instances the more important for us as indicating the main sources of the traditional Christian eschatology.

Differing widely in the general feature of their religions, they agreed in the exaggerated importance given in both systems to the concerns of futurity, and in the minute detail with which the whole scheme of disembodied existence was elaborated. Among the Egyptians there grew up a "Ritual of the Dead," mapping out the soul's journey after its release from the body, a sort of spiritual Baedeker, and furnishing a convenient guide to the questions and proper answers of the Judgment. The ideas of an award dependent on the good or evil deeds of the earthly life and of a place set apart for

the blissful occupation of the righteous, while for the wicked dire puishment was reserved, took clear shape in the literature and monuments of a people whose chief interest in this world seems to have centred in preparing for another.

Similar tendencies manifested themselves among the Persians. In ancient Iran the ideas of future existence and of rewards and punishments were developed to the highest degree, and with a sternness which would be wholly impressive were not its ethical value fatally impaired by the constant admixture of ritual and ceremonial considerations. Probably, the austere Puritan conception of life as a ceasless labor, to be wrought "as in the great Taskmaster's eye," and unending battle with the powers of evil, owes more to the unrestrained imagination of a long pre-Christian era than the blind bard would have cared to acknowledge. Why one branch of a certain stock should have developed the Hebraic view of life, strict and gloomy, devoid of æsthetic sense and hating art, while another branch should have given its name to the Hellenistic view, careless, happy, rejoicing in every form of beauty, and dowering the world with immortal gifts, must remain a problem. Or shall we suppose it to be solved by difference of environment, the one dwelling in the very thick of nature's fierce battle between burning heat and piercing cold, the other making its home where a hundred bays mirror the blue sky, and, from among waving fields of grain and terraced, vine-clad hills, rise snowy peaks, a sunny, joyous land?

It would be a serious mistake if we should suppose our spiritual ancestors of Palestine to form an exception to the rule which has been stated. If the contact of the Hebrews with the Egyptians was as close as their story represents it to have been, it is a marvel that the subject race borrowed nothing from their masters on the subject under discussion. Or did hatred of their oppressors beget a repugnance to ideas which they had developed to a very high degree? At all events, the fact remains that "the chosen people" are the most striking example of a race, by no means in abject savagery, remaining for centuries devoid of a belief in a future life. For hundreds of years, if there was any trace of such an

opinion, it was of the faintest, for it finds no place in their writings or laws. The earliest reference to a disembodied state, the story of Saul's visit to the witch of Endor and of the apparition of Samuel, shows that the notion existed only in a very crude form, the basis of necromantic practices. To whatsoever extent it was held, it certainly did not go beyond the Homeric conception of a dark, cold, and cheerful underworld, where the dead wandered about inactive, without pleasure or hope. "Their belief was the same as that of the Babylonians and Assyrians in the old home in Mesopotamia" (Prof. C. H. Toy). Down to the time of the Exile (B. C. 585) this was the case. Few and faint were the references to disembodied existence even in the most devotional books, as the Psalms. When the prophets wished to move the people to reform abuses, they appealed, not to the fear of punishment or the hope of reward in a hereafter, but to promises of national prosperity or the dread of national disaster. Israel may be said to be the best instance on record of a people governed by prudential considerations based on things visible and tangible. The effort to read a hope of immortality into their earlier writings, that is, all the pre-exilian literature, is like the similar attempt to inject the 19th-century Anglo-Saxon ideal of personal purity into a law of the Decalogue wholly designed to protect men in their legal rights over their womenfolk.

But after the exile in Babylon all this was changed. There and then the captive race came under the influence of conquerors, who gave to the notions of a future life, of rewards and punishments therein, and of angels and demons, a prominent place in their belief. To the Persian this world was the battle-ground where the unseen spirits of good and of evil waged ceaseless warfare. His whole life needed to be ordered with reference to this environment. The Jews, whose national pride had received stern lessons in disaster, were in a receptive mood. Before them were the ancient temples of Babylon, served by hosts of ministering priests, a powerful and enviable hierarchy. Active around them were the ideas of their masters, the followers of Zoroaster. The result was natural and inevitable. Israel's pride of temporal dominion

was forever broken by defeat and dispersion. But a new hope dawned in the minds of the leaders. Why not make the rebuilt Jerusalem the seat of a great spiritual empire which should rival the power of Babylon?

From this period dates the theological development of the Jews. The same people whose hopes and dreams of glory had been so exclusively earthly, became zealous expositors of the mysteries of futurity. They had come to Babylon a band of broken exiles. The "remnant" returned to Jerusalem a Church. A graded priestly caste, living at its ease and ruling the state by spiritual terrors; a sacrificial system; ornate ritual services; the elaboration of a code in which the present life was subordinated to a future; legions of angels and demons, ministers of grace or of doom—all these followed as matters of course.

Not the least noteworthy part of their achievement was the success of the Jews in delivering to the world this product of natural causes as a revelation from God. As such it has been accepted by all the generations of Christians, who have inherited the ideas of the race among whom their religion had its rise. That the belief in immortality was, however, not universal among them, is shown by the Book of Ecclesiastes, which declares that "a man hath no preëminence over a beast. . . . All are of dust, and all turn to dust again." The Book of Job also debates this question, and there occurs the query, "If a man die, shall he live again?" In the time of Jesus the small but powerful sect of the Sadducees, which included a large proportion of the ruling class, distinctly denied a future life and the existence of angels and spirits.

On the other hand, the Pharisees strenuously maintained the orthodox theology derived from the Persians, and their belief may be regarded as the representative one at the opening of the Christian era. That the followers of Jesus, at the first merely a devout Jewish sect, and of the humbler and least intellectual class, retained the ideas on this subject prevailing among the mass of their countrymen, was matter of course. When, with the widening of the new religion by the influx of non-Semitic converts, these tenets received supposed confirmation from Greek philosophy, the place of im-

mortality as a fixed part of the Christian tradition was assured. Such it has remained down to our time.

The spectacle of the Western mind, with its naïve literalism, affirming in hard and fast dogma, as the very and eternal truth of God, poetic images and dramatic pictures evolved long ages ago from the rank growth of the Oriental mind speculating on things unseen and unknowable, is one of the curiosities of history. Dreams of the old, old East, glorified by the genius of Vergil, Dante, and Milton, have taken deep hold of the Christian consciousness, and, stiffened into rigid tenets, have bound in fetters the lusty limbs of the young West. What poets saw in fancy, theologians have proclaimed as fact; and the affirmations of creed-makers on a subject lying beyond all human ken have been as robust as the bitterest enemies of religion could have desired.

Now the inevitable reaction has set in. The traditional belief is undergoing rapid attenuation and, in some quarters, disintegration. Forces are at work which have affected the old dogma more seriously in twenty-five years than all the thought of all the ages since man began to think. Science has entered the field,—not merely physical science, but the scientific method applied to everything; and, as a consequence, what men believe is called on to justify itself to the reason. The significance of this new attitude of the general mind will, of course, be more apparent after a few years, when the older generation will have passed away, and the "new learning" will make itself felt universally in minds educated in it. Already, however, the signs of change are multiplying rapidly. The creeds retain their letter, but the old meaning is dashed out of them by their own expositors. Clergymen who, reciting the Apostolic Creed, proclaim, Sunday after Sunday, "I believe in the resurrection of the body," carefully explain in private that this clause does not signify the rehabilitation of the flesh, but the continued existence of the soul in a "spiritual body." Few ministers, none of note, preach those torments of hell which, in an earlier day, pictured by stern "ambassadors for Christ" like Jonathan Edwards, were so potent in persuading sinners to "flee from the wrath to come." A more reasonable type of religion is com-

ing into vogue. Revivalism, with its senseless appeals to the emotions, has seen its day; and the progressive education of the ministry is reflected in a more enlightened kind of religion among the people.

In producing these changes, familiar to all, two main influences are at work. The study of biblical criticism, accustoming scholars to trace the process by which the Jewish and Christian books came into existence, and to investigate their date, origin, and purpose, inevitably undermines the old method of proving doctrines by texts, quoted as oracles. By no means to be overlooked in this connection is the influence of the almost new comparative study of religions, which received a powerful impetus from the great gathering of representatives of all the historic faiths of the world at Chicago in 1893. The immediate result has been a better understanding of the real nature and meaning of beliefs dear to hundreds of millions of our fellow-creatures, and the reckless consignment of these myriads to everlasting woe seems, to say the least, inconsiderate. Ideas lose their sacrosanct character as exclusive "revelations" to a favored race, when they are found imbedded in "pagan" religions antedating Christianity by many centuries. In view of such facts, the monstrous intolerance which once condemned these beliefs in mass, as devices of Satan to delude and damn men, is well-nigh impossible; and the habit of mind is growing which enables persons to approach the Bible, not as a homogeneous message from heaven, instinct with one purpose from cover to cover, but as the venerable literature of a people's development, as diverse in its several parts as "Lalla Rookh" and the "Ode on Immortality."

The most potent factor, however, in the rapid emancipation of the Christian world from servile dependence on ecclesiastical interpretations of life is the spread of scientific ideas through popular education. The public school is the mightiest, even though unconscious, foe of supernaturalism. Elementary scientific knowledge is teaching the rising generation to recognize this as a world of growth, not of miracle. The child who has learned in school that the Colorado River has cut its cañon, of 3,000 to 6,000 feet deep, by a natural

process, in the lapse of vast ages, will smile at a puerile cosmogony. Further, as man's close relation to the whole animal kingdom comes to be understood, it will be seen that no destiny after death can be postulated for him to which the humblest living thing has not an equal right. On the whole, the mass of the people are steadily progressing from the antiquated thought of miraculous creation to that of orderly and unending evolution.

Under the influence of these disintegrating forces, the belief in soul, as distinct from body, and in its separate destiny is in a state of great confusion. Roughly divided, there are, we may say, three classes: those who, adhering to the old ideas, believe in immortality as a teaching of "revealed religion"; those who justify the belief on other grounds; and those who either are agnostic on the subject or wholly deny the reasonableness of such belief.

Of the first class and of the forces acting upon it enough has already been said. Within the second are many persons who cling reverently to this ancient tenet of the creed of Christendom, chiefly because of the tender associations connecting it with some whose memories they cherish, and because they have been educated to regard a future life as the only fitting crown of our mortal existence. Of this sentiment the writer would speak only with the deepest respect. A numerous body of persons who have utterly relinquished the old scriptural literalism on the subject still find arguments for the soul's continued existence in various considerations, such as these: the ancient and almost universal nature of the belief; the supposed demands of a divine order of things; the alleged incompleteness of human life without such a continuance; the dignity and capacity of our nature; the yearnings of the soul for the infinite; the indivisibility of consciousness; the conservation of forces; a supposed consciousness of an immortal nature.

To touch, even most briefly, on these points would prolong this article beyond all reason. It may be remarked, however, that the argument from the wide extent of the belief, if it proves anything, proves too much. Not only do savages believe in a soul in man; they equally endow all animals,

sometimes even stocks and stones. Some of their funeral customs are such as scarcely to commend their belief as rational and worthy of being quoted by civilized folk.

No enumeration of this kind would be complete if it omitted the large number of persons who hold that spiritualism furnishes a demonstration of continued existence after death. An opinion which has the support of such men as Wallace and Crookes, however fantastic it may seem, is scarcely to be mentioned with disrespect. Nor can we omit that intelligent group who, not content with St. Paul's threefold division of man into body, soul, and spirit, believe that we are beings of sevenfold organism. Of course, in this view, what we call death is a trifling incident, as it disposes of only one-seventh, and that the least valuable part, of the man. No doubt those who accept this teaching have other warrant for it than the dicta of mahatmas.

The last class is that of those who either are agnostic on the subject, denying that we can know anything with certainty about it, or reject the doctrine with emphasis. Of these some object that it is immoral in its tendency; that it gives an abstract, mystical, other-worldly character to that which should be intensely practical,—religion; and that, by its treatment of this life as a mere vestibule to a vastly more important one, it leads men to neglect the welfare of their fellows, while they devote themselves to the pursuit of personal salvation. Others take the ground that it encourages indolence in the easy assumption that we have an eternity in which to work out our destiny. To some the yearning for immortality seems a selfish craving for the perpetuation of mere personal idiosyncrasies. To others the doctrine seems monstrous arrogance, in the assertion by man for himself alone of the high destiny of survival:

> 'Tis a great fuss, all this of Thee and Me;
> Important folk are we—to Thee and Me;
> Yet, what if we mean nothing after all?
> And what if Heaven cares naught for—Thee and Me?

In an age so tinged with pessimism as ours it is no matter for wonder that not a few regard the idea of an existence prolonged after death, not merely with scornful incredulity, but

with absolute abhorrence. Life is, in their view, a weary coil, to be endured with so much of dignified patience as we may command, and to be laid down with gladness. The reader will not need to be reminded that the ultimate release of the soul, tired of the struggle of existence, in the blissful unconsciousness of Nirvana is the hope that inspires the hundreds of millions of Buddhists. Their thought finds wide response among us in minds revolted by a cheap and easy optimism. One eminent man, who did noble work while his day lasted, put himself on record as knowing "no adequate compensation for an eternity of consciousness."

For such minds sufficient is the philosophy of the Persian poet (Le Gallienne's version):

> Oh! what is man that deems himself divine?
> Man is a flagon, and his soul the wine;
> Man is a reed, his soul the sound therein;
> Man is a lantern, and his soul the shine.
>
> Would you be happy? Hearken, then, the way:
> Heed not to-morrow, heed not yesterday;
> The magic words of life are Here and Now—
> O fools! that after some to-morrow stray.

But the wine of this feast has been reserved for the last. In 1887 a religious periodical asked from a number of the most eminent scientific men in this country and England an expression of opinion as to the bearing of science on the doctrine of personal immortality. As a result, there was published an array of contributions from men of great eminence, the like of which certainly never has appeared in any other ephemeral form. Such a symposium is worthy of being put forth in a separate publication. The writer regrets that he can lay before the reader only a few sentences carefully selected from each article, so as to give, as nearly as possible, the gist of each contributor's thought.

In distributing the several writers into classes he has placed among the believers in immortality everyone who could possibly be so ranked, even when he obviously held some view very different from the commonly accepted meaning of that word.

A. Those who more or less unequivocally affirm immortality.

James D. Dana, LL. D., of Yale College: "I am strongly of the opinion, that there is nothing in science or in any possible developments from investigations of Nature, against immortality."

Asa Gray, LL. D., of Harvard University: "In the interpretation of Nature there are two consistent hypotheses, that of theism and that of non-theism. The former of these is the best I know of for the interpretation of the facts; the latter does not try to explain anything. Immortality of the personal consciousness is a probable, but not an unavoidable, inference from theism."

Edward D. Cope, A. M., Ph. D., of Philadelphia, writing of the results of scientific research, says: "There is evidence in support of the idea of immortality, as well as evidence against. And any positive evidence must be regarded as of far greater value than negative evidence in this question, as in all others. . . . We thus render probable the existence of a supreme mind, which is immortal; and from that premise we may infer that, under proper conditions, our own minds are or may be immortal also. . . . We cannot be sure of retaining our personality intact, although a great change might not be any cause for regret."

Josiah P. Cooke, LL. D., of Harvard University: "I believe that the existence of an intelligent Author of Nature may be proved from the phenomena of the material world with as much certainty as can be any theory of science. . . . Moreover, I am persuaded that science confirms and illustrates the priceless truths which Christ came on earth to reveal; but I do not believe that the unaided intellect of man could ever have been assured of the least of these truths."

John William Dawson, LL. D., Principal McGill University, Montreal: "What shall we say of this instinct of immortality handed down through all the generations of prehistoric and savage men? Is it a mere fancy, a baseless superstition? Is it not inseparable from the belief in God, whose children we are, and who can transfer us from this lower sphere to better mansions in his own heavenly home?"

T. Sterry Hunt, LL. D., F. R. S.: "I think the arguments from the facts of modern science are rather contrary than favorable to the doctrine of a future life. Nevertheless, I believe in a conditional immortality, an eternal life begun already in this world, which is not man's birthright, but the gift of God."

Benjamin Apthorp Gould, LL. D., Cambridge, Mass.: "That a profound and unbiased study of any branch of natural science should lead to disbelief in immortality seems to me preposterous. . . . Assuming the existence of spirit, as distinct from matter, it would be absurd to suppose it limited by physical laws, except in so far as it might employ matter as an implement."

Rev. Thomas Hill, D. D., Ex-President of Harvard College: "I would emphatically affirm that every discovery in science is a fresh demonstration of the immortality of the soul."

Asaph Hall, LL. D., Washington, D. C.: "So far as I know, the facts of modern science do not make it more difficult to believe in the immortality of the personal consciousness. . . . I think the soul of man, being capable of such flights of imagination and such trains of reason, shows itself worthy a continued existence. Such considerations do not amount to a proof; but they strengthen my belief in immortality."

Elliott Coues, M. D., Ph. D., Washington, D. C.: "There are no facts known to modern science which make it difficult to believe in the survival of individual consciousness after the death of the body. On the contrary, what is positively known of the constitution of human beings approaches nearly to a demonstration of the fact that what St. Paul calls the 'spiritual body' is a substantial entity, which the death of the natural body does not destroy. . . . There is much in the discoveries of psychic science to convert the belief in immortality into knowledge."

Daniel Coit Gilman, LL. D., President Johns Hopkins University: "I do not hesitate to express the conviction that man's consciousness of his own personality, with its freedom and its responsibility, his belief in a Father Almighty, his

hopes of a life to come,—will stand firm, whatever discoveries may be made of the evolution of life, the relation of soul and body, the nature of atoms and of force, and the conceptions of space and time."

B. Those who are agnostic on the subject.

Herbert Spencer, England (communicated by Rev. M. J. Savage): "I told him that I wished him, first, to give me his opinion as to the bearing of science, and particularly the theory of evolution, on the question of personal immortality, and, secondly, his own individual belief." "As to the first, he said he thought it did not touch the problem either way, but left it substantially where it was before. As to the second, he said he was inclined to doubt. That is, he was not aware of anything that he could regard as satisfactory proof."

Charles S. Pierce, Member of the U. S. National Academy: "Those of us who have never met with spirits or any fact at all analagous to immortality among the things that we indubitably know, must be excused if we smile at that doctrine. . . . On the other hand, I do not see why the dwellers upon earth should not, in some future day, find out for certain whether there is a future life or not. . . . If any one likes to believe in a future life, either out of affection for the venerable creed of Christendom or for his private consolation, he does well. But I do not think it would be wise to draw from that religious or sentimental proposition any practical deduction whatever."

The late T. H. Huxley, England: "With respect to immortality, as physical science states this problem, it seems to stand thus: Is there any means of knowing whether the series of states of consciousness, which has been causally associated for threescore years and ten with the arrangement and movement of innumerable millions of successively different material molecules, can be continued, in like association, with some substance which has not the properties of 'matter and force'? As Kant said on a similar occasion, if anybody can answer that question, he is just the man I want to see. If he says that consciousness cannot exist except in relation with

certain organic molecules, I must ask how he knows that; and if he says it can, I must put the same question."

C. Those who think the question wholly outside the pale of science, though, personally, they believe in immortality.

Rev. F. A. P. Barnard, S. T. D., LL. D., President of Columbia College: "After mature reflection, it seems to me that science has nothing whatever to say to the question. The only basis of our faith in immortality must be found in revelation."

Alfred Russell Wallace, England: "Outside of modern spiritualism, I know of nothing in recognized science to support the belief in immortality; and though *I* consider spiritualism to be as truly an established experimental science as any other, it is not recognized as such."

Charles A. Young, LL. D., Princeton College: "I think it must be frankly admitted that what is known about the functions of the brain and nervous system does, to a certain extent, tend to make it difficult to believe in the immortality of the personal consciousness. The apparent dependence of this consciousness on the health and integrity of a material structure like the brain renders it, *a priori*, more or less probable that consciousness could not survive the destruction of that organism. I should consider the question out of the pale of science altogether. I think it is true that certain scientific facts and general laws, such as the indestructibility of matter, the conservation of energy, and the apparent sameness of physical law and material substance in all parts of the universe which we can reach with our investigations, make it easier to accept the idea of human immortality than it would be if no such facts were recognized."

J. P. Lesley, State Geologist of Pennsylvania: "Science cannot possibly either teach or deny immortality; but every man of science must acquiesce in the fact of the general conviction and in its probable ground in some persistent part of our nature. Whether we own this persistent part, not in severalty, but in commonalty with all other men,—in other words, whether we are only *individuals* as to our will-power, or soul, and *not individuals* as to our other powers, and so, in

fact, are parts of God,—is quite another question; and its answer will give another aspect to the question of man's immortality."

D. Those who deny immortality and consider science as supporting their position.

Joseph Leidy, M. D., LL. D., University of Pennsylvania: "Personal consciousness is observed as a *condition* of each and every living animal, ranging from microscopic forms to man. The condition is observed to cease with death; and I know of no facts of modern science which make it otherwise than difficult to believe in the persistence of that condition, that is, the immortality of the personal existence. I apprehend that the theory of the conservation of force gives no support to the doctrine, for the consciousness of the animal is only a manifestation of force which ceases with the death of the animal. While I have no disposition to deny what we have been taught,—the doctrine of the immortality of the soul,—in my personal experience I have not been able to discover the slightest natural evidence of its truth. I can conceive of no adequate compensation for an eternity of consciousness."

Simon Newcomb, LL. D., the Naval Observatory, Washington, D. C.: "No one now living has had any experience on the subject in question; and, even if we admit the hypothesis of immortality, it is difficult to see how we could ever reach any proof of it derived from experience. Our nervous systems are so constituted that they can perceive only the material in form; and thus, even if disembodied spirits exist, there is no way in which they could make their existence known to us. When it was held that man and the lower animals were separated from each other by an impassable gulf, existing from the beginning, it was easy to imagine for them destinies which had nothing in common. A consciousness which can survive the material organism and a consciousness which cannot, are of two distinct orders, between which no connecting link is possible. If man, as now constituted, is only the last in a series of forms of organic existence, starting from the lowest, and if consciousness itself has been a gradual development, akin to that of awaking slowly and gradually from a

profound sleep, then it seems difficult to assign any link in the series at which we can suppose so great a break to have occurred as is implied in the passage from mortality to immortality."

Lester F. Ward, A. M., Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.: "It is a universal induction of science that modification of brain is accompanied by modification of consciousness, and that destruction of brain results in destruction of consciousness. No exception to this law has ever been observed. . . . It follows that, so far as science can speak on the subject, the consciousness persists as long as the organized brain, and no longer. . . . Immortality can have no claim to the consideration of rational beings, unless it means absolute independence of time and causation. All things that have a beginning must have an end. A phenomenon that is assumed to begin at some given point of time and to continue thenceforth forever, is to the logical mind, and especially to the scientific mind, a palpable absurdity. Therefore, for immortality to be believed in by rational beings, it must be shown to embrace an eternity *a parte ante* as well as *a parte post.* Science postulates the immortality, not of the human soul alone, but of the soul of the least atom of matter. The immortality of science is the eternity of matter and its motions in the production of phenomena."

Edward S. Morse, Ph. D., Salem, Mass.: "I have never yet seen any sentiment or emotion manifested by the species man that was not in some degree, however slight, traceable in animals below man; and immortality of the personal consciousness for one would, to my mind, imply immortality for all, to the bottom round. I have never yet seen anything in the discoveries of science which would in the slightest degree support or strengthen a belief in immortality." Quoting Prof. Huxley, he continues: "Cinderella is modestly conscious of her ignorance of these high matters. The great drama of evolution, with its full share of pity and terror, but also with abundant goodness and beauty, unrolls itself before her eyes; and she learns in her heart of hearts the lesson, that the foundation of morality is to have done, once and for all, with lying, to give up pretending to believe that for which there is

no evidence, and repeating unintelligible propositions about things beyond the possibilities of knowledge."

Probably, the most enlightened attitude of religious minds at the present time can be no better expressed than in the words of Prof. J. Estlin Carpenter, of Manchester New College (Unitarian), Oxford, England. This ripe scholar closed a course of twelve lectures at the Harvard Divinity School, in 1894, in which he treated the subject of immortality from every conceivable point of view and with the most exhaustive research into the beliefs of all races, with the conclusion that there is no ground for dogmatic statement, since immortality is not capable of proof, but is a subject of personal hope or aspiration. He quoted with disapproval a saying of Miss Cobbe, that man must be immortal, or God is unjust. We are not warranted, he said, in resting our conviction of the moral order of the universe on such an assumption.

While not everybody will be prepared to accept George Eliot's thought of God, Immortality, and Duty, "how inconceivable is the first, how unbelievable the second, yet how peremptory and absolute the third," few, probably, will dissent from her exquisite prayer:

> O may I join the choir invisible
> Of those immortal dead who live again
> In minds made better by their presence;
> . . . . the choir invisible
> Whose music is the gladness of the world!

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MONETARY COMMISSION.

BY HON. GEORGE A. GROOT.

Gentlemen of the Monetary Commission:

YOUR note dated October 23, 1897, stating that Hon. George F. Edmunds, Chairman of the Monetary Commission of the Indianapolis Convention, had directed you to send to me certain interrogatories which you enclosed, relating to "Metallic Currency," "Demand Obligations," and "Banking," was duly received, and I take pleasure in replying to the questions seriatim. I strongly conjecture that my views will not meet with the approval of your committee, and perhaps it will be a waste of time for me to answer your inquiries. I begin, however, with the questions under the head of—

METALLIC CURRENCY.

1. Should or should not the silver dollars and silver certificates be redeemed on demand in gold? If redeemed, what reserves should be provided, and how?

ANSWER. They should not. Silver dollars should not be redeemed in silver dollars or in gold dollars, or in any other kind of dollars, any more than gold coins should be redeemed in silver dollars. Silver dollars, like gold dollars, are coined by the government to be used by the people of this country to facilitate the exchange of property and products of labor therein, to pay for their services, and to pay their taxes. For all these purposes silver dollars are just as valuable as gold dollars, and will perform and do perform within this country the same work that gold money performs. It is senseless to talk of redeeming one kind of money with another kind, when each has the same power to pay debts, public and private, as the other has. The silver certificates should be redeemed in silver dollars and retired from circulation; that would put the silver dollars in circulation. The government is not organized for the purpose of carrying on the warehouse or storage business. At present it is quite extensively engaged in that

business. The silver dollars for which silver certificates have been issued are stored in the vaults of the government. The silver certificates are merely warehouse receipts. These receipts should, when received by the government from any source, be destroyed, and silver dollars should be substituted therefor. If this were done it would be but a short time before the silver certificates would all be redeemed, and the silver dollars in the Treasury would be circulating among the people instead. The silver certificates are made receivable by law for customs, taxes, and all public dues, but are not a legal tender in payment of public debts other than those due to the United States; nor are they a legal tender for private debts; and while outstanding they are a debt owing by the United States to the holders thereof. The silver dollars, for which the silver certificates are issued, are stored away for the purpose of being paid out to those who present any such notes in sums of not less than $10 to be redeemed. The only reason why the certificates are not presented for redemption is because they are more convenient to handle.

2. What, in your judgment, would be the probable amount of silver dollars and silver certificates presented, if direct redemption were enacted?

ANSWER. Nobody can tell. It is safe to say, however, that the moneymongers would be active in securing as many silver dollars and silver certificates as they could in order to exchange them for bonds, if bonds were to be substituted therefor. They are, as a rule, in favor of increasing the public debt so as to afford them an opportunity to secure a permanent investment for themselves and thereby enable them without effort to live in ease and comfort at the expense of those who produce the wealth of the nation.

3. To insure the permanent inviolability of the gold standard, what legislative measures would you recommend?

ANSWER. There is no such thing as a "gold standard" or a "silver standard," or any other standard of money. Money is money, whatever it may be made of. Money may be made out of standard gold or standard silver, but to say that there can be a standard of money is to state a thing that in the very nature of things is impossible. If it be desirable to go to

what is more properly called a gold basis, and thereby "insure the permanent inviolability" of that basis, the thing to do, and the only thing to do, is to demonetize all the silver money that has been coined, retire from circulation and destroy all of the evidences of debt which have been issued by the United States and by the National Banks for the purpose of circulating and performing the function of money, and use gold only for money. All the promissory notes which have been issued by the United States and by the banks thereof, which circulate and perform the function of money, are not money, except such as are used by common consent, with the exception of such notes as are by law a legal tender for debts, public and private. All such notes and the silver certificates can by proper legislation be destroyed without increasing the national debt. This can be done by providing that as fast as any of such notes or silver certificates are received by the government in payment of public dues they shall be destroyed. When they are all destroyed "permanent inviolability of the gold standard" will be absolutely insured. This is the only method by which it can be insured. In such case the only money that would be in circulation would be made out of gold. Can there be any doubt that the "gold standard" could then be maintained inviolate?

4. For the purpose of facilitating the use of existing silver currency what do you recommend as the smallest denomination of United States notes and banknotes which should be put into circulation?

Answer. If you mean by "existing silver currency" the silver dollars which are in the Treasury, for which certificates have been issued, then my answer is set forth above. If you mean by "existing silver currency" the silver that is in circulation, then there is no need of facilitating the use of it, for it is used now to the fullest degree. The people are not finding any fault with the silver currency. The only fault they find is that it is exceedingly difficult for them to buy it. The more there is of it in circulation the easier it will be for them to purchase it, and the greater the difficulty will be for the usurer to loan it. The people are hungry for money; they are so hungry that millions of them are perishing, financially, for want of it. The people are not particular concern-

ing the material out of which money shall be made; they are anxious for money, and they desire an abundance of it. They are not hungering for what is called "credit money," that is, notes issued by the government and by the banks, which, when issued, circulate and perform the function of money. What they want is the substance, not the shadow. I am forever opposed to the issuing of any notes by the United States or by the banks thereof to be used as a medium of exchange. He who is in favor of issuing such notes, either has no comprehension of the money question, or he is in favor of robbing the people of the United Staes through the channels of usury.

DEMAND OBLIGATIONS.

1. Do you consider that there are any dangers arising from allowing the United States notes to remain as a permanent part of our circulation?

ANSWER. I do not, providing our financial affairs be administered according to law, which during the past several years has not been done. It were better, however, if such notes could be retired from circulation as rapidly as they are received by the government in the ordinary course of its business, and destroyed, and in place thereof be put an equal amount of coined paper money; that is, units of account, coined out of paper.

2. On what grounds, if any, would you favor the gradual but entire withdrawal of the Treasury notes of 1890 and of the United States notes?

ANSWER. I would require all such notes, as fast as they are received by the United States from any source whatever, to be retired from circulation and destroyed by the government, and that there be substituted therefor an equal amount, dollar for dollar, of coined paper money; that is to say, there should be coined out of paper in denominations not greater than $20, or units, an amount of absolute money equal to the total amount of the Treasury notes of 1890 and of the United States notes, and as fast as those notes are received by the government coined paper money should be substituted therefor. That this can be done there is no doubt, since Congress alone has the absolute and sole power to manufacture money out of anything it sees fit. It is a fact that must be conceded

that paper is the best material out of which to make money from every economic point of view.

3. If it shall be decided to retire the United States notes how can it be done without adding to our bonded debt?

Answer. This question is substantially answered in the answer to the preceding question. Whenever a note is received by the government in payment of taxes or public dues, in its place should be put an equal amount of units, or dollars, coined out of paper. Said paper money should be a legal tender for debts public and private, the same as the money that is coined out of gold and silver. To the extent of the amount of said notes received and destroyed the debt of the United States would be liquidated, and there would be no need whatever of issuing any bonds therefor. National bonds mean national bondage, and the more of them there are outstanding the greater the bondage! He who is in favor of the issuing of national bonds is in favor of putting in bondage the people of the United States, and must by all right-thinking persons be regarded as a public enemy.

4. How in that case can provision be made for maintaining an adequate amount of currency available for purposes of business?

Answer. The money coined out of paper and the gold and silver money would to the extent of the amount thereof in circulation be available at all times for purposes of business. All of the money that is in circulation now, including such as is composed of the promissory notes of the government and of the banks, is available for business, and always will be as long as it circulates.

Under present conditions the best method to be adopted "for maintaining an adequate amount of currency available for purpose of business" is to increase the quantity of money in circulation to not less than $100 per capita. This can be done by opening the mints to the free coinage of silver at the rate established by the law of 1837. There should be coined in addition thereto out of paper an amount of dollars, or units, equal to the total amount of all the evidences of indebtedness issued by the United States and by the banks thereof which circulate as money, and which are outstanding; and as

fast as any of those evidences of debt are received by the Treasury or come into the possession of the United States, they should be destroyed, and coined paper money should be substituted therefor and paid out by the government. Such coined paper money should be a legal tender for debts, public and private, the same as gold and silver money now is, and in no sense should it be a promise to pay money. It should be provided that any person who shall bring to the mints gold or silver bullion to be coined into money shall receive for his bullion the money made out of the metal he brings or coined paper money, at his election; and there should be kept on hand at all times an adequate supply of coined paper money to be exchanged for gold or silver bullion. When coined paper money is received by the bullion owner in lieu of his bullion, the bullion should become the property of the United States, and should at once be coined into money and used by the government to pay upon its coin obligations as they mature.

There should also be coined out of paper as many dollars, or units, as the total amount of the bonds of the United States that are outstanding, which money should be used to pay the principal of, and accrued interest upon, said bonds whenever they or any portion of them are presented to the Treasury to be exchanged therefor, and the bonds received by the United States should be destroyed. If the total amount of gold, silver, and paper that is put into circulation under this plan do not equal $100 per capita, then there should be coined an additional amount out of paper so as to furnish to the people that amount per capita.

It will be said that money coined out of paper will be fiat money, and, therefore, it would be of no value. All money is fiat money; that is, all money that has power under law to pay debts, public and private, is fiat money, and if money do not have that power it is valueless as money.

It will be said also that this would make money cheap. It would be cheap as compared with the value of money now. The trouble now is that money is too dear by reason of its scarcity, whereas it ought to be cheap, so as to raise prices and thus enable the debtors to get out of bondage, and the pro-

ducers of wealth to have increased opportunities in the struggle of life.

5. If it be thought inexpedient to fund the United States notes, how can they be redeemed with an assurance that bank currency will take their place?

ANSWER. I am opposed to bank currency of any kind, and no right-thinking person who has any regard for struggling humanity should entertain for a moment any proposition that favors the issuing of bank currency or any other kind of currency that is a promise to pay money to be used as a medium of exchange.

6. Meanwhile, what security or gold reserves would you recommend?

ANSWER. I am opposed to "gold reserves" or any other sort of "reserves" as a security for money. Money needs no security. Money is always secure as long as the government which manufactures it exists. Destroy a government, and the money that it manufactures, whether it be gold, silver, or paper, is destroyed. The material will remain, but its money function will be destroyed. The material may be valuable as a commodity, but as money it would be absolutely worthless.

7. In case provision should be made for the retirement of United States notes, how could their presentation for redemption be best secured?

ANSWER. I have substantially answered this question in the foregoing answers. If it be desirable to retire the United States notes and substitute nothing therefor, then they should be destroyed as fast as they are received by the United States in payment of obligations due to it. To retire them in any other way except to substitute absolute money therefor would be a fraud upon the people, and he who proposes any other method is unworthy of being a citizen of the republic.

8. Should government issues be withdrawn only as banknotes are put out? That is, if an elastic system of bank issues should be adopted, would it be desirable to define and maintain any given quantity of circulation?

ANSWER. They should not. I do not understand what is meant by "an elastic system of bank issues." I suspect, however, that it is a sort of india-rubber system, the more you pull the farther it stretches, but as soon as you let go it returns

at once to the banks. As well talk of an elastic system of wheat-raising or corn-raising as to talk about "an elastic system of bank issues." One is just as reasonable as the other. If the people have as much money as they ought to have, there will be no trouble about the elasticity of it.

9. Would the banks in fact furnish the currency which the country needs, if the government notes were withdrawn?

ANSWER. No, they would not. It is not currency that the people want; they want money. They want an opportunity to buy it; they are not desirous of opportunities to borrow it. If the banks issue notes to be used as money, they will have the power to control the amount of those notes, and they would only issue enough of them to enable them to carry on their business with profit to themselves. Banks may be good things for the country, but the people never should confer upon them the right to furnish currency in any amount whatever to be used as money. If the people should do it they would place themselves in bondage to the banks. The bondage that they are under to them now is about as great as they can endure. It is hoped that the time is not far distant when they will be liberated from that bondage. They will never be, however, until there be issued and put into circulation such an amount of money—absolute money—not promises to pay money—as will make it practically impossible for people to loan it upon usury at any rate. The usurer thrives only when money is scarce, and the scarcer it is the greater his thrift. When prices in general fall, he is benefited; when they rise, he is injured. The producer of wealth always thrives when prices in general rise, and is injured when they fall. That this is so there can be no doubt. All history affirms the statement.

BANKING.

1. Is it possible to rely upon national bonds as security for bank note issues?

ANSWER. It is. But why should there be any banknote issues? What is the purpose of conferring power upon banks to issue their notes to circulate as money? Cannot Congress supply the demand for money? Has it not the absolute and sole right to manufacture money? If it have, then why confer upon banks the authority to issue their promises to

pay dollars, and permit these to be treated as money? There can be no good reason for it. The fact that it is proposed to permit banks to issue their notes to be used as money is an admission that there is a shortage in the money supply, and that it is desired to make up that shortage by issuing bank-notes. Are not dollars, or units, quite as valuable as bank-notes? They certainly are. Then why does not Congress manufacture dollars, or units, to make up that shortage? Is it not because the money-loaners of the country are desirous of controlling the money supply in order that they may enrich themselves at the expense of those who produce wealth? There can be no doubt of it. The National-Bank notes that are now outstanding are absolute proof of the fact that the money supply is short to the extent, at least, of the amount of such notes. If it be proposed to issue more notes, that fact is evidence of the fact that the money supply is still short. If Congress can manufacture money and put it into circulation, what reason is there for it to issue bonds and permit National Banks to use them as a basis for their notes? If dollars, or units, are manufactured in such quantities as the needs of the people require, there will be no occasion for issuing national bonds.

The present method of securing National-Bank notes is a very singular one. The bonds issued by the government are purchased and returned to the government, which keeps them, and then issues notes thereon to the amount of 90 per cent, and guarantees the payment of these notes. When the transaction is completed, the government has in its own possession the bonds it issued, and it has given to the owners thereof, who combine and organize a bank, notes which the bank puts into circulation by loaning them to its customers. The bank draws interest on the bonds, and loans the notes to the people upon usury at from six to twelve per cent per annum. Every National Bank, therefore, gets upon its bonds deposited as aforesaid, and the notes based thereon, out of the people interest at the rate of nearly twelve per cent per annum. The bonds are exempt from taxation. This scheme is a splendid one for the bank, but it is rather hard for the people who pay the usury which the bank receives on both bonds and notes.

The amount of National-Bank notes reported to be in circulation on October 6, 1896, was $234,026,932. This amount represents about $260,000,000 of government bonds. Those notes were loaned to the customers of the banks upon usury, and as long as they remain in circulation they draw interest. That is the way they were put into circulation. The people, therefore, are paying to those banks interest on notes and bonds which amount in the aggregate to something over $494,000,000. Is it proposed to increase the bonds and thereby increase the notes so as to increase the amount of interest that the people shall pay on both? He who advocates a proposition of that sort has very little interest in the people who create the wealth of this country. Such a proposition is monstrous, and ought not to receive the consideration of any self-respecting person for a moment. It would seem as though the laws which permit such a thing to be done are special in their character. Just how the people are to be benefited by this kind of legislation is a mystery to me. It may not be to your commission.

2. Can any safe and practicable plan be devised for using any other securities as a basis for banknote issues?

ANSWER. There cannot.

3. If bonds should be used exclusively as a basis for issues, would it be possible thereby to secure an elastic note circulation?

ANSWER. It would not be possible.

4. If banknote issues be based exclusively on assets of the bank, is the nature and extent of the security such as effectually to protect the note-holder? What limit should be set to such note issues?

ANSWER. It is not. The assets of the bank other than actual money would be no security whatever for its circulating notes. This must be clear to anyone who knows anything about the banking business. Whenever a bank pays what it owes out of its assets there will be nothing left with which to pay the notes it might issue. No bank should be permitted to issue its notes, however secured, to be used as money. If a bank is to be given that authority, why not extend it to every individual in the country? Why should banks have greater rights and privileges than individuals? I never could see any reason why they should, and I believe

none exists. Why not give to the merchant, the mechanic, the farmer, the laborer, and others the authority to issue notes based on their assets? All money-mongers would oppose that, of course; and why? For the simple reason that it would ruin their business. As long as their business is protected they care not for the business of others, except to grow rich at their expense through usury.

5. Since bank assets (including stockholder's liabilities, etc.) must be the means of ultimate redemption of such issues, what funds would you deem necessary to be held as a cash reserve for the redemption of the notes; and in what form; and in whose hands?

ANSWER. This question is so monstrous in its character, in that it implies that a bank should have the right to issue notes to circulate as money, and that they should be secured in some way so as to protect the note-holder from loss, that I have no patience to consider it. No right should be conferred upon any person or corporation to issue notes to be used as money. Any such scheme is a swindling one, and it cannot be justified upon any ground.

6. In case of notes based on bank assets, what means can you suggest to obtain and preserve a high character of discounts?

ANSWER. The government has no interest in bank discounts. Whether they be preserved or destroyed is a matter of no importance to it. Whether the character of bank discounts be good or bad is a matter in which the government can have no concern. Nobody is concerned in bank discounts except the bank which loans, the persons who borrow of it, and the depositors. It is a personal matter between the bank and the borrower, and the government has nothing whatever to do with it. The character of discounts depends entirely upon the ability of the person who borrows to pay the amount he borrows and interest thereon. It is outrageous to consider a proposition for an instant to base banknotes on bank assets other than actual money.

7. Can any watchfulness of other banks connected by locality or business connections be brought to bear on a bank to prevent bad banking? Can such a scheme be devised as in cities where Clearing-House Associations detect and punish weakness, by which country banks can be guarded?

ANSWER. No. Let each bank take care of its own business, and make the best contract it can for itself. The government can have no possible interest in a bank any more than it can have in a farmer or mechanic or any person who produces or distributes wealth. The only way to prevent bad banking is to abolish banking. All banking is bad, and it is made possible only by reason of the scarcity of money in circulation which compels people to borrow that which they cannot buy. No man borrows money when he can buy it, and when there is no money the borrowing business will cease and banks will close their doors and business and commerce will perish. Clearing-House Associations are organized for the sole purpose of enabling the banks belonging to them to more readily and easily do their work. The public has no interest in them whatever; they are conveniences to the banks only; they have no legal existence, and therefore they could not punish. In the nature of things they could have no power to punish.

8. What plan of examination and inspection would you recommend?

ANSWER. I have none to recommend. Why should the government examine and inspect banks any more than it should examine and inspect warehousemen, merchants, barbers, farmers, mechanics, and others who are engaged in business? Is the banking business any more important than the business of the farmer or of the merchant? Banks produce nothing; their business is chiefly to get the wealth that the wealth-producer creates; they thrive on the interest they receive on their debts. Banks loan their debts. The banking business is the only business known among men whereby people get rich on the interest they receive on what they owe. And this business is created, fostered, and protected by law!

9. What methods would you suggest by which uniformity of note issues based on assets could be secured throughout the country? If by redemption, state where and how.

ANSWER. I have none to suggest except that banks should have no right whatever to issue notes to circulate as money.

10. What, if anything, beyond provision for immediate redemption is needed for securing the elasticity of note issues in periods of normal business?

ANSWER. I do not understand what is meant by "normal business." I have always supposed that all business is normal. If Congress will manufacture and put into circulation an amount of money not less than $100 per capita, there will be no occasion to talk about "securing the elasticity of note issues in periods of normal business." The trouble is not with the "elasticity" of money; it is always elastic enough, however much or little there may be in circulation. The difficulty is in prices. There is always money enough in circulation with which to do the business of the country at the prices that prevail from day to day. It is so elastic now that few people are able to see it, much less being able to secure any of it. Your commission ought to know that the rise and fall in prices in general depends absolutely, other things remaining the same, upon the quantity of money in circulation; that if the quantity increase, prices rise; if it decrease, prices fall; that when prices are high, money is cheap; when they are low, money is dear.

The questions that your commission propounds would seem to indicate that, in the estimation of the members thereof, the quantity of money in circulation is a matter of little importance, but that the quantity of promissory notes that are in circulation, providing they are issued by the banks, is a matter of paramount importance. The issuing of notes by the government to circulate as money is, I infer, in the estimation of your commission, fraught with great danger to the banking interests of the country, and, therefore, they must be retired from circulation and destroyed. Their retirement and destruction, however, must be accompanied by a corresponding increase in the national debt. There seems to be a sentiment abroad that the banking business is about the only business that is of any importance in this country, and therefore it must be protected and fostered by special legislation in order that the money-loaning interests may wax rich at the expense of the toilers of the country. In the struggle for wealth the money-loaner seems to be in the lead, and the creator of wealth is not even a good second.

By all means "let the elasticity of note issues in periods of

normal business" be secured if the nation be robbed and plundered in order to do it!

11. In time of panic or sudden stringency, how would you provide for additional issues by the banks to enable them to continue discounts and prevent commercial distress?

ANSWER. If the plan suggested hereinbefore be adopted there can never be any times of panic or sudden stringency in the money market, and, of course, there would be no need of banks issuing notes. Banks cannot prevent commercial distress. There has been in this country for more than twenty-five years last past constant commercial distress. This commercial distress has been brought about by the constant shrinkage in the quantity of money in circulation with respect to population and business. The banks have been powerless to prevent falling prices during that time. How is it possible for banks hereafter to so conduct their business as to increase prices in general and thereby prevent commercial distress? The only way possible to prevent commercial distress is to increase the quantity of money in circulation. All other methods will fail to afford the slightest relief.

12. Of what should the bank reserves consist?

ANSWER. Of money, and money only.

13. Should any National Bank be permitted to pay interest on the current deposits of other banks?

ANSWER. That is a matter that each bank must look after itself; the government can have no interest in it whatever.

14. Should deposits of country banks in reserve cities be authorized to be counted as a part of the required reserve?

ANSWER. They should not. That very thing is done now under the statutes, and it is an open and notorious fraud. On October 6, 1896, there were 3,676 National Banks in the United States, and the total amount of demand liabilities of those banks, as shown by the report of the Comptroller of the Treasury, was $2,029,831,290. That same report shows that the total amount of cash they had on hand on that day was $330,325,733. The amount of money those banks had on hand on that day would pay on their demand liabilities a little over sixteen cents on a dollar. The officers of each of those

banks reported to the Treasury Department that they had sufficient money on deposit on that day to pay twenty-five cents on every dollar of their demand liabilities. How is it possible for each of those banks to have twenty-five cents in money in its vaults for every dollar of its demand liabilities, when the whole number of banks have but sixteen cents on the dollar to pay upon their demand liabilities? The statutes permit the officials of these banks to report as a part of their reserve the amount of money they have deposited in other banks, called reserve banks, designated by the Treasury officials. When a man deposits money in a bank, that money ceases to belong to him; it is the money of the bank; the bank owes him that amount. For him to say that he has money in the bank is to misstate the fact. The bank simply owes him, and nothing more. For an official of a bank to say that his bank has made a deposit of money in another bank, and therefore has money in that bank, is to state a thing that is not true. The bank in which the money is deposited owes the bank which deposited it. It is a debt owing by one bank to the other. To count a debt as a part of a bank's reserve is a fraud upon the depositor. The law that permits such a thing to be done permits a fraud to be perpetrated upon the public, and especially upon the depositors of the banks.

15. What should be the minimum limit of capital for National Banks?

ANSWER. It is a matter of no importance so far as the nation is concerned.

16. Should the existing ten-per-cent tax on State-Bank notes be repealed?

ANSWER. There may be some doubt about the right of Congress to tax banknotes. Whether it has or has not the right is a matter of little importance. Laws should be passed to make it impossible for any bank, State or National, to issue banknotes to be used as a medium of exchange.

17. Should any National Bank be permitted to establish branches under its single management? If so, under what limitations, if any?

ANSWER. No, by no means.

18. Should branch banks be obliged to redeem the notes of the parent bank and of other branches?

ANSWER. Abolish the right to issue notes, and there will be none to be redeemed.

19. Should branch banks be required to maintain any specified proportion of reserves to liabilities, independent of regulations for the general accounts of the parent bank?

ANSWER. The only thing that any bank should be permitted to hold as reserve for its obligations is money, and the more of it the better.

The foregoing answers are as succinct as I can make them, and express my views upon the matters involved. If your commission were as industrious in securing the passage of laws authorizing the manufacture of more dollars, or units, as it is in securing the right to permit banks to issue notes to be treated as money, its course would be approved by a long-suffering and unhappy people. Your commission should not forget that the banking business is not the only business in this country. There are others.

Trusting that the efforts of your commission will signally fail in the work it has undertaken, I beg to remain,

Yours respectfully,

GEO. A. GROOT.

A GRAVEYARD WITH A HISTORY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

A WRITER has humorously styled Boston a city of graveyards, and while this is not quite as questionable a compliment as that which characterized Oxford as the widow of learning, because knowledge had died there, it must be admitted that a more joyous appellation might be found, although there is a sense in which this characterization is very apt. I doubt if there is in the new world another city which treasures so many old burying-grounds in the midst of crowded thoroughfares as Boston.

Some years ago, before the St. James Hotel had become the New England Conservatory of Music, and while the Tremont House was in its glory, I remember hearing a good story bearing on this peculiarity of the Modern Athens. An invalid, so runs the tale, suffering from nervous prostration had a morbid fear of death, and the sight of a tomb or even the mention of a graveyard brought on something like a nervous chill. His physician advised a radical change of scene, and recommended a visit to a city, where the life and bustle with which he would be surrounded, and the new scenes which would absorb his attention, would effect a rapid cure. The invalid, who resided in a country town, was a man of means, and he decided to visit Boston, for which place he had ever entertained an admiration. He reached the city at night, and being told that the Parker House was one of the best hotels in the heart of the city, he went there and was assigned to a room facing School Street. In the morning he arose, feeling very much fatigued and not by any means in buoyant spirits. Going to the window he found it raining, and on looking across the street his eyes immediately rested on King's Chapel burying-ground. He had a nervous chill, and calling for the bell boy he had his valise taken to the office, paid his bill, and asked for the nearest hotel. He was directed to the Tremont House across Tremont Street. On registering he requested

a room as far from the little church on the corner as possible. Accordingly, he was given one at the other end of the hotel, but what was his dismay on throwing open the blinds to find himself looking down on another graveyard. He was immediately above the old Granary burying-ground. This time he almost collapsed, but regained enough strength to find a hotel directory. In it he read the seductive advertisement of the St. James Hotel, which, as shown in the cut, was an imposing building facing an inviting open square. Calling a cab, he went thither, and asked the clerk to give him pleasant but quiet quarters. He was assured he should be satisfied and was given a room in the rear of the building. At last he felt he could obtain a little repose, and raised the window to let in some fresh air, when, to his horror, immediately below him and stretching to Washington Street was another graveyard. History does not record whether the invalid survived this shock or not, but the story illustrates the fact that Boston has probably more old cemeteries in her crowded centres than any other city in the land. It is one of these old graveyards I now wish to describe.

Copp's Hill burying-ground, not far from the famous Old North church, from the belfry of which Paul Revere beheld the signal lights, is a spot of peculiar historical interest. But in order to reach it one must pass through the slums of the North End, where exists a world of misery, degradation, and wretchedness. This, however, is not very noticeable from the streets through which one passes, for it is in the back courts and up the alleyways leading from the more important thoroughfares that we find the denizens of the double night, the exiles of society, the Ishmaels of our civilization.

A few years ago, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Swaffield, then of the Baptist Bethel Mission, I spent considerable time in the slums of the North End. I thoroughly explored this region, and the memory of what I saw and heard will never leave me. It was a frightful nightmare. I there beheld children three and five years old sewing all day long on clothes for the sweaters. Some of them were living in attics, some in cellars. They were old to look upon, although spring had scarcely kissed their brows. One of these little ones

heard my friend say he was forty years old that day, and she exclaimed, "Oh dear, I should think you would get so tired of living so many years!"

It was in this part of the city, within gunshot of Copp's Hill, that I met on several occasions a little fellow whose sin one day found him out, or rather Mr. Swaffield discovered to him his error. It happened in this way. Mike had attended the Sunday school every week for some Sundays before Christmas, as small boys with a certain native shrewdness and foresight are wont to do. He seemed very attentive, and his piety grew as Christmas approached. He also attended the Saturday kindergarten at the Bethel Mission. In this latter place he was rather restless and somewhat given to wandering around the teacher's desk. He was an agile boy, though he was very small. One day a philanthropic lady was standing over a group of little ones when Mike became fascinated by a small purse which she held in her hand. It drew him to her side as a bird is said to be drawn to the fatal mouth of a snake, but in this case the purse did not swallow the boy. No, it was the former that disappeared, like the bait off the hook of an inattentive angler. The lady suddenly discovered that she had lost her purse, but no one seemed to know anything of it, nor had anyone observed its strange disappearance. Mike's previous record and his close proximity to the missing property while it had been visible to the eye told against him, but he stoutly resented the base insinuation and seemed so hurt that the lady interceded for him, and when a hasty search proved unavailing, she began to apologize humbly to the little fellow. Just as Mr. Swaffield was about to give up the search, however, he noticed that one of Mike's insteps appeared much higher than the other. "Off with that boot, Mike," said he. After some remonstrance off it came, and the purse was discovered. Mike had slipped it down his boot and worked it under his heel.

Stealing was almost second nature with Mike, and he appeared devoid of all moral sensibility. The following incident relating to one of his misdeeds illustrates what Mr. Swaffield informed me was very common among the young denizens of the slums, that is, a natural aptitude for crime.

It was Christmas Eve, and Miss Griffin, the teacher of the kindergarten, who by dint of strict economy had saved up ten dollars for Christmas presents and some necessary shopping, had arranged to make her purchases immediately after school closed. During the afternoon she was called to the door by one of the needy parishioners. Her bag was on her desk, and in it her purse with the ten-dollar bill. Mike was not seen to touch the bag, but it was remembered that he had sauntered around the teacher's desk. School was dismissed, and Miss Griffin was about to start to the shopping part of the city when she chanced to look in her pocket-book. The bill was gone! Mr. Swaffield was at once consulted. He sent a message post haste for Mike, telling him he had some picture cards for him. Mike had not yet reached his quarters, and he was too thrifty to allow an opportunity for adding to his scanty treasures to pass, so he promptly returned. Mr. Swaffield took him into his small room, gave him the picture cards, and then said:

"Why, Mike, how fat you look to-day."

"Yes, I am fat," said the little fellow, with some show of uneasiness.

"But you seem to have grown fat very quickly."

"Yes, I get fat quick."

"I don't get fat that way."

"I do," stoutly answered the urchin, as he sidled toward the door.

But Mr. Swaffield was there first. "Let me see, Mike, how you get fat so quickly;" and he began to unbutton the tattered coat.

The child remonstrated, but the minister soon had the coat off, and there in the bosom of his dirty little shirt was a veritable curiosity shop—two white potatoes, a turnip, two onions, evidently pilfered from store doorways, and many other articles dear to small boys which he had probably purloined. When he found his treasure cave had been discovered, he said sullenly:

"I found a dollar bill on the street to-day."

"Well, we will look at that dollar," said Mr. Swaffield, as he drew Miss Griffin's ten-dollar bill from the motley assort-

ment of pickings and stealings stored in the child's ample shirt bosom. Then he read him the riot act, but to all appearance the only regret felt was that he had lost his plunder.

These two incidents illustrate the monotony and weariness of life, or the infinite sadness of youth on the one hand, and the criminal propensities of many children bred and born in the democracy of darkness on the other, and reveal the essentially tragic aspect of city life in the slums even among the very young, which is one of the blisters upon the brow of our civilization.

With the slums on either side of us, we pass down Hanover and up North Bennet to Salem Street. Here a horde of ragged street Arabs crowd around us desiring to pilot us to the sexton of the Old North church. But the Old North church, though rich in historic interest, is not our goal to-day, and passing up the street we soon reach the hill top, where a short turn brings us to the cemetery, one of the most interesting and least visited historic spots of Boston.

Here, while the sentinels were slowly pacing their beats, among the tombs on this hill, on the night of June 16, 1775, a peaceful, starlight summer night, across the river upon a little hill which within twenty-four hours was to live forever famous in the annals of our history, something more than a thousand men were silently throwing up a redoubt. From time to time the monotonous cry of the British sentinels from the men-of-war, and perchance also the distant call of the picket on Copp's Hill were borne to them. "ALL IS WELL! ALL IS WELL!" Never did strains of ravishing music fall more sweetly upon the ear of man than did the measured and monotonous "All is well" of the enemy's sentinels, as it was borne on the gentle ocean breeze to the silent workers under the star-decked sky that serene night. In the morning, from the height of Copp's Hill, it was seen that all was not well. And then were hurried council and quick action. The men-of-war opened fire, and the flower of England's soldiery was massed for immediate action. All agreed that the rebels must be dislodged. It was not expected to be a serious labor. Indeed, the officers in red questioned whether the raw recruits from the farms would fight at all. Who were these farmer

boys to stand against the picked soldiery of the proudest nation in the world? What did they know of the manual of arms or the tactics of war? It seemed incredible that they would stand an instant before the roar of the muskets and the smell of the powder. Their enemies left one thing out of consideration—the sons of the farm, village, and forest had been nursed in freedom's arm and drilled in duty's training-school.

The day was superb, clear, but not torrid. The air was soft, and the heat of the sun was tempered by a stiff breeze. Above, all was tranquil; below, all was tumult. Six English men-of-war poured forth a murderous fire. The batteries on Copp's Hill joined in the clamorous onslaught. Soon Charlestown was in flames. The roar of cannon blended with the roar of fire from more than four hundred homes. "Nothing," wrote General Burgoyne, "ever has or can be more dreadfully terrible than what was seen and heard at this time. A complication of horrors and importance above anything that ever came to my lot to witness."

The cannonading proved futile; the flying balls and the noise of battle failed to make any impression on the defiant redoubt. Save for a few ineffectual shots at Copp's Hill, the Americans maintained a sinister silence, and next we have a thrilling panorama of the stern realities of war. The veteran troops are transported to the Charlestown side. The army thus massed is composed of ten companies of the oldest grenadiers. They are commanded by General Howe. They form and move forward with the nice precision of trained troops on holiday parade. They make a most imposing spectacle in their bright red coats and flashing weapons. Their polished bayonets resemble in the sunshine a long wavy streamer of light, a ribbon of burnished steel. The orderly tramp of three thousand men and the measured note of martial music contrast strangely with the wild confusion, the indescribable tumult, and the harsh and jangling noise on all sides, save in the front, where with almost sphinx-like silence the fresh-made redoubt awaits them. Nearer and nearer they approach. A few straggling shots challenge the advance. Except for this all is silent. "Do not fire till you see the

whites of their eyes." "Aim low and waste no ammunition." Such are the orders of the American officers.

Burgoyne and Clinton are watching the battle from the brow of Copp's Hill. Their curiosity has deepened into interest. Their contempt and pity for the rash rebels have changed into wonder and something akin to apprehension. Suddenly the redoubt finds a voice. Almost fifteen hundred mouths spit forth death. The sickle of the great reaper has entered the field. Hundreds of men are dead. The line wavers and reels. Soon it breaks; only to re-form and again approach. But progress is impeded. Dead comrades check the advance of the living; but with true English determination the line moves forward. They are nearer now than before. It seems that they will have to take the rampart with the bayonet. Again the voice is heard. Again the leaden hail. Again a wavering line, and then retreat. Clinton waits no longer. Rushing down the hill he throws himself into a boat and is rowed across the river, where he lands and aids in re-forming the shattered line.

You know the rest; how the sons of labor and the soldiers of duty held at bay the flower of Great Britain's army until their ammunition had given out, and even then contested the ground inch by inch. You remember that on this fateful day, big with the destiny of freedom's cause, the Americans lost by killed, wounded, and prisoners less than five hundred, while the British loss in killed and wounded exceeded one thousand. Men called this battle a Continental defeat, and during recent times an English writer, jestingly or sneeringly, has observed that this is the only instance on record where men have reared a monument to commemorate a defeat. But in what was it a defeat? Not in numbers lost, as the British loss was more than double the American. In moral effect surely not, for less than fifteen hundred raw, untried men, even while under fire from fleet and battery, had kept at bay three thousand of the picked soldiers of King George, and were only repulsed when their ammunition was exhausted. No, as Fallingham well observes, "It was a victory, with all the moral effects of a victory, under the name of defeat."

And so to-day, when standing among the graves where rose

the tents of the British on June 17, 1775, and looking across to the stately monument which speaks of Prescott's courage and Warren's blood, we feel our pulses thrill, the spirit of the heroic past again is with us, calling for the same sacrifice, courage, and loyalty to freedom, justice, and common humanity as that which added cubits to the moral stature of our fathers and made invincible the ragged regiments of the Revolution.

But from a contemplation of the battle we turn to the graves around us, many of which were here when the tents of the British dotted the cemetery. Indeed, there are here some melancholy evidences of the brutal spirit of the foreign soldiers, which to this day reflect shame on the English troops. Thus, for example, we notice a plain headstone battered with the British bullet marks, though more than a century has passed since it was used as a target by spiteful men of small soul-stature. This tomb bears the inscription: "Here lies buried in a stony grave ten feet deep, Captain David Malcom, merch^{t}, who departed this life October 23, 1769, aged 44, A True friend of Liberty and a friend of the publick. An enemy to oppression and one of the foremost in opposing the Revenue Act on America." The British bullets have disfigured this stone more than has a century and a quarter of severe New England winters.

After the departure of the English this cemetery was in general use for some time, but long since it has ceased to be used except for the bodies of those who hold an interest in the vaults provided by their ancestors when this city was still a New England town. Hence most of those whose names give interest to this spot belonged to the old Boston, which is merely separated from the Boston of to-day. The men and women whose ashes are here belonged for the most part to another world. They lived, thought, and labored in a quiet, easygoing time, undisturbed by the wonders of modern inventions, little dreaming that within a century steam would drive forward the wheels of manufacture and commerce, that lightning chained and controlled would make all continents as one town in point of communication, while it would illuminate the night and carry the sound of the human voice for

hundreds of miles. The world in which these ancient worthies lived was entirely different from that in which man is to-day being pushed forward at a rate too rapid to appreciate its wonders, enjoy its beauties, or develop the divinity which constitutes his real self.

Almost the first inscription which meets one's eye on entering the Copp's Hill cemetery is that over the Mather tombs. Here we are told that the revered Doctors Isaac, Cotton, and Samuel Mather were interred in this vault. Isaac died August 27, 1723; Cotton died February 13, 1727; and Samuel died June 27, 1785. Standing by the vault of these old-time religious autocrats we are reminded of the sombre and tragic associations which will ever linger round the name of Mather, and of the inflexible spirit of all these eminent thinkers, for they were men of strong mentality, which, however, was too much subordinated to the narrow and dogmatic conviction that their views were of necessity the embodiment of the truth. This was very marked in Cotton, whose strength of mind and vigor of expression unfortunately were not complemented by breadth of thought. He was a man of indomitable energy, a tireless worker, an able as well as a voluminous writer who commanded the respect of thinking Europeans to a greater degree than any contemporary American. But to-day it is not through his more than three hundred works that he is chiefly known. The intellectual monument he reared lasts, it is true, but it rests in the deep shadow of the scaffolds which through his pernicious activity, fed by that spirit of the past, bore fruit many times and filled all New England with fear and horror. However much the mind may admire the ability of Cotton Mather, and though we grant him purity of motive, it is impossible for the heart to warm toward the great religious leader whose activity was so largely represented by the judicial murder of almost a score of innocent victims.

In a small grave, not very far removed from the Mather vault, lies buried little nine-year-old Sarah Rule, who aroused the indignation of Cotton Mather by decorating his manuscript with a liberal application of ink. This grave also calls up other associations connected with the Puritan divine. It

will be remembered that, according to the good doctor, Margaret Rule was possessed of devils. His description had the merit of being definite if not cheerful, for we were gravely informed that she was haunted by nine evil spirits, who, because she would not yield to them, would bring on paroxysms of agony, while the spectator would at times be choked with the fumes of brimstone rising in her chamber.

With our present knowledge of psychology we can easily imagine how the minds of sensitive young people might come so powerfully under the hypnotic spell of the all-prevalent belief in witchcraft that not only cataleptic conditions might be induced, but also hallucinations corresponding with the pictures so vividly drawn by men of powerful magnetism and mentality, such as Cotton Mather, men who were looked up to and reverenced by all the people. But when we come to that part of the doctor's story which relates to the fumes of brimstone we feel inclined to pause and question the accuracy of his senses, even if we do not join those who call in question his sincerity. On another occasion Mather gravely informs us in his works that there were three devils walking the streets of Boston with lengthened chains, making a dreadful noise, and that brimstone was making a horrid and hellish stench. Verily, for a staid old Puritan divine Cotton Mather was gifted with an extraordinary imagination.

But the supposed witches were by no means the only ones to suffer from the spirit of Saul of Tarsus, which led men, under the delusion that they were doing God's will, to elevate hate and savagery to the plane of admirable virtues. Next to witches, if there was anything our Puritan fathers hated more than an Indian, it was a Quaker. Cotton Mather held that "poor Lo" was the special emissary and subject of the devil. But the Quakers, our good ancestors were equally certain, were the children of perdition, and it devolved upon the children of the Most High to purge the community of such pestilential fellows. Accordingly they were scourged and imprisoned. This method failing, it was enacted that they should be banished, after each one had left behind one of his ears as a warning to those who might lean toward Quakerism. After the ears had been sacrificed and their

owners banished, it occurred to the magistrates and the clergy that they were too humane. They were trifling with sin by being lenient. The Quakers were then sold into slavery; but this measure was also futile, and in the minds of the more rigid was merely a palliative distasteful to God. Hence it was decreed that the offender should be put to death. Four of this sect were hanged, and but for fear that the crown of England might seize upon the inhumanity and intolerance of these Puritan fathers as a pretext for punishing them, it would have fared much worse than it did with the Quakers.

Among the decrees passed in this connection were penalties against any person who should give shelter, aid, or comfort to the persecuted sect. On Copp's Hill we find a melancholy reminder of this spirit of persecution in the olden times, in the tomb of Nicholas Upsall, who for daring to befriend the Quakers was overtaken by Puritan law. For trying to bribe a jailer to give food to two starving Quaker women in prison this noble-minded man was fined a sum equal to one hundred dollars and banished from the colony of Massachusetts. After some years he ventured to return to Boston, but owing to his friendliness to the Quakers was subjected to further indignities and persecutions.

The gloomy belief which canopied the lives of the disciples of John Calvin gave a sombre cast to all life. God was ever the avenging judge. Man was ever the miserable worm of the dust whose just desert was a lake of eternal fire and brimstone. Indeed the horrible doctrine of infant damnation was as much a part of the gospel to our fathers as less hideous tenets, and in this ancient burying-ground we find a large vault partitioned off which in the good old times was reserved for the infants doomed to damnation or for those little waifs who died before they were baptized. The present superintendent does not like to dwell on this fact, seeming to feel that it reflects upon the spot, but like the nailpost from which the spike has been extracted, the mark remains. This terrible monument of the theological nightmare which gave a tragic aspect to life and made religion monstrous is still a part of the record of Copp's Hill burying-ground.

In this cemetery we note the grave of Hart, the builder of

the gallant old ship Constitution. Here lie the remains of the patriot who hung the signal lights from the Old North church, and here also rest the ashes of Christopher Gore, who, "by the grace of God," was Governor of Massachusetts in 1810. In pausing at his grave we are reminded how the past and future sometimes strangely touch hands. This was shown in a comparatively recent event in which the old-time Governor unwillingly played a part. When Benjamin F. Butler was chief magistrate of Massachusetts, times were not as peaceful and halcyon as some people could desire. The management of Tewksbury Almshouse had fallen on evil days. But the recreant office-holders were by no means the only hearty haters of the aggressive old Governor. Harvard College refused to confer the usual degree upon him, which doubtless caused Butler to pity Harvard. Some ministers of Boston seemed to look upon the Governor much as Cotton Mather regarded the Indians, and when on a certain occasion the executive sent out a message, either for Thanksgiving or for a fast day, which was couched in terms that seemed stilted if not bombastic, and was signed by "Benjamin Butler, Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the Commonwealth," or words to that effect, a storm ensued, the pulpit and the scholastic fraternity were thrown into hysterics. The insolence and presumption of the Governor were unbearable. "What would the noble Governors of olden times have thought of such presumption?" demanded one of the most eminent of Boston's clergymen, a man who enjoyed the special favor of Harvard. The sleepy-eyed Governor chuckled, but said nothing until the opposition had lashed itself into a fury which made it ridiculous in the eyes of the unprejudiced. Then the Governor took occasion to inform his critics that he had been very busy with State affairs and had not taken time to prepare his message, so had instructed his secretary to copy a similar message as given by good old Christopher Gore when he was Governor of the commonwealth. This had been done, and the executive had signed the same, using the title employed by Governor Gore.

Old graveyards are famous for quaint and curious epitaphs. Nor is Copp's Hill wanting in this particular. I had fre-

quently read in volumes giving curious inscriptions said to be copied from tombs the following verse, with the statement that under it was written the couplet given below. As this verse had been ascribed to gravestones in divers places, I had become convinced that it was the production of some wag rather than a sentiment engraved on a tomb. I was therefore somewhat surprised when I read on the slab erected to the memory of Mary Huntley, who died in 1798, the following:

Stop here, my friend, and cast an eye;
As you are now, so once was I.
As I am now, so you must be;
Prepare for death and follow me.

The superintendent of the cemetery informed me that several years ago a writer had inscribed in chalk underneath the verses, the oft-quoted companion lines:

To follow you I am not content
Until I know which way you went.

I noted on a learned doctor's tomb a relief, probably a coat of arms, which contains three ducks. To some sensitive gentlemen of the profession to-day, this might seem too suggestive to be pleasant. But though there are quacks in all professions, let us hope that the gentleman whose tomb is thus embellished was not of this number. This relief called to my mind the fact that in ancient Egypt, fourteen hundred years before Christ, a picture of a duck represented the word doctor.

Here are some lines which form a part of a stanza on the tomb of Captain Robert Newman:

Though Neptune's wave and Boreas blast
Have tossed me to and fro,
Now well escaped from all their rage
I am anchored here below.

Among the names suggestive of liquids, found graven on memorial stones, are Milk, Water, and Beer.

In connection with this burying-ground, Mr. MacDonald, the superintendent, tells a singular story of a school prank with a tragic termination. Many years ago there lived a poor, half-witted but harmless woman, who was known as "Crazy Moll." She had a penchant for stealing forth and sleeping in this graveyard. One night a number of Harvard youths

conceived the idea of giving the North End an old-time judgment scare. Accordingly, armed with horns, they crept up Copp's Hill, and, unconscious that they were not the first on the spot, took position near where crazy Moll was lying asleep. At a signal from their leader, some of the crowd began blowing their horns, while others in stentorian tones shouted, "Awake, ye dead! Awake, and prepare for the great judgment day!" Whereupon, to the horror of the youths, a dark figure slowly arose, saying, "Good Lord, I am ready." The horror-stricken students fled in all directions, one of their number being so terrified that he became insane.

Standing upon the crest of this old hill, with the dilapidated ruins of the once aristocratic North End around us, while just beyond lies the teeming heart of New England's greatest city, with Cambridge on the one hand, Charlestown in front of us, the harbor of Boston below us, and at our feet the ashes of men and women who have been laid at rest in this spot at intervals during a period of from more than one hundred years before the Revolution, a wonderful panorama unfolds before the mind's eye.

Long ere this hill was consecrated to the dead the Indians claimed it as a home. Here at a later day men lived where now they sleep. Here the first windmill of the peninsula long ground the meal for the colonists. Around this spot clustered the homes of the great men of ancient Boston. As time passed, graves dotted the hill, and men and women came to pay a tribute of love over the solemn resting-place of their dear ones, while all the time the town behind the hill grew. The autocratic sway of the clergy waned; the civil power rose. Then began the struggle between the throne and the colony, emphasized at Bunker Hill and followed by the birth of a nation. The village which had grown to be a town became a city. Under the magic influence of the age of invention it has leaped forward until it ranks among the world's great cities, a seat of learning and a home of progressive thought, which guards with jealous eye the cradle of liberty, although some profane souls have hinted of late that though the cradle remains its inmate has fled.

UNKNOWN NATURAL FORCES.*

BY CAMILLE FLAMMARION.

DR. WILLIAM R. FISHER attacks somewhat inconsiderately the account which I had the honor to send to you.† He failed to remember that a writer cannot say everything in a single article, and he seemed to imagine that the conclusions which I set forth rested on only one séance of observation. But, in order that I should admit the possibility of the existence of unknown forces around us, investigations into them must have engaged me for a long time; and, indeed, I would ask my worthy *confrère* to allow me to call his attention to the fact that, when the leader of the spiritualist cult in France, Allan-Kardec, passed from life to death, and was taken to the cemetery Du Nord, at Paris, on April 2, 1869 (and that was not yesterday), I delivered over his grave a discourse wherein already I summarized the results of some of these investigations in declaring that "they belong to the experimental method, and should be submitted rigidly to the test of experience." It is difficult to understand, then, why your contributor should make the objection that I arrived at a conclusion from a single experience, when it is well known that I have occupied myself with this question for more than thirty years.

Moreover, I was careful to state this in my article, which, as it seems to me, was very literally translated, on which I tender my sincere congratulations to the editor of THE ARENA. My opponent makes me say that "up to the 27th day of last July" I "had been completely disappointed" in spiritual mediums.‡ Where did he read that in my article? I said that "*as a general thing* I had been completely disappointed";§ that I had been "*very frequently* deceived" by them.¶ In what language does "very frequently" mean "always"?

* Written for THE ARENA; translated from the French by FREDERICK T. JONES.

† See THE ARENA for Dec., 1897, pp. 730–747, the article entitled "A Séance with Eusapia Paladino"; also the article entitled "Camille Flammarion as an Observer of Occult Phenomena," by William R. Fisher, M. D., in THE ARENA for Feb., 1898, pp. 267–272.

‡ ARENA, Feb., 1898, p. 268. § ARENA, Dec., 1897, p. 731. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 731.

How did it happen that Dr. Fisher did not perceive that I recalled these numerous trickeries and illusions for the very purpose of showing that I had been on my guard with Eusapia as with all other mediums, and that I had neglected no precaution against being deceived? When, therefore, my worthy critic states at the outset that "the result of a single interview with [Eusapia] has completely overturned all the unfavorable experiences of former years,"* he is absolutely beside the question. I sent the account of that séance to THE ARENA because it had been held with a medium famous for her previous scientific experiments with Lombroso, Schiaparelli, Richet, Rochas, and others, and under special material and moral conditions of security. But I did not say that this was *the only* experience to which I attached any value.

And now, at the outset, I reply to Dr. Fisher, that his own argument can be contested in its turn. A single *certain* observation is not by any means destitute of value, and may suffice to serve as the basis of an hypothesis. Take, for instance, the fall of an aerolite. You are in the country with five or six friends. You have never seen a stone fall from the sky, and you doubt the stories of such things. Suddenly a bolide appears, traverses the blue sky, rushes through space, bursts with a noise of thunder, and precipitates itself to the earth, wherein it buries itself, smoking. You pick it up; you hold it in your hands; one of your friends has photographed the fall. Does not this sole and only observation suffice to prove the fact in dispute?

But for all that, I do not wish to assert that a single observation is worth more than two, or ten, or twenty; and I beg Dr. Fisher not to make me say so. I believe, however, that we should not despise even one observation made with care.

With care. It is here that my opponent next seeks to confound me. He urges that I did not take sufficient precautions to avoid being deceived, and that even if I made myself sufficiently sure as to the medium, I was unable to prevent an accomplice from operating. I am accused of having shown a little too much French politeness towards the Bleck family, in whose drawing-room the séance took place.

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* ARENA, Feb., 1898, p. 268.

Dr. Fisher evidently believes in the existence of an accomplice. Let us examine this hypothesis, which it may well be supposed I did not fail to take into account, seeing that my own experience had taught me that sometimes it is not the medium himself who is guilty of trickery, but a pretended interpreter or a confederate.

It is true, I did not chain up the members of the Bleck family. But let us reason a little. In the first place, Eusapia arrived in the village *alone*, after an hour's journey by rail, and a half-hour's journey by carriage. She stayed at the house alone, for three days, and departed alone. On a previous occasion, in the preceding year, at the Lake of Como, they had induced her to pay them a visit, also alone, for the purpose of similar investigations. As regards Eusapia herself, then, the hypothesis of confederacy may be discarded.

On the other hand, is it probable that a family which had invited to their house a medium for the purpose of investigation should themselves become her accomplices and resort to trickery? I use the word "probable" in the mathematical sense which, since Laplace, has been given to it in the calculus of probabilities. The probability is perhaps one against a million.

It should be noted, moreover, that during fifteen years this same medium has given some fifty séances with different observers, and always with the same series of phenomena. That, among the people who have invited her for the purposes of investigation, she has had on each occasion a different accomplice, is so improbable as to border on the impossible.

From the point of view, however, of the rigorous scientific critic, at which I place myself, perhaps a doubt may subsist. By the aid of a sufficient dimness of light, and in spite of fastened windows and doors, it is not absolutely impossible that an accomplice slipped in. It was precisely because of this faint doubt that I classified the observed facts in an order of decreasing credibility, if one may so express himself.* And I am astonished that Dr. Fisher should have overlooked this gradation.

It is impossible that the first of these facts, that of the levi-

* See ARENA, Dec., 1897, p. 743.

tation of the table, was produced by an accomplice. That is why I placed it at the head of the list. The whole of this manifestation took place in full light, and the photograph shows the levitation plainly.

The second was produced in the same conditions of certainty. As I stated, the manifestations which took place in obscure light were naturally less satisfactorily tested.

Dr. Fisher reproaches me for not having suddenly, at the proper psychologic moment, lit a brilliant light, for the purpose of assuring myself more completely as to the reality of the phenomena. I reply that such a surprise, while amusing enough in the case of fraud, would be dangerous in the case of a medium in a condition of hypnosis, such as that in which Eusapia was during the second series of experiments. Such a thing was done on one occasion (and a friend of mine, Gustave Trouvé, a distinguished electrician, has even invented an ingenious little device for the purpose); the medium, suddenly awakened, has since been insane for six months, and the attack has been so severe that it is difficult to understand why it has not killed her. We have no right to trifle lightly with these nervous conditions. If it be admitted that light is detrimental to the production of certain phenomena, it is necessary to act consistently with that admission. The necessity is to be regretted, as I have admitted for the past thirty years; but it is admissible. To attempt to draw electric sparks from a machine in an atmosphere saturated with moisture would be childish. Would it be wise to deny the existence of the starry sky because it is visible only during the night?

My opinion is that, in order to make an observation or experiment of any kind, no matter what its nature may be, we must place ourselves in those conditions in which the manifestations are produced. It is for us then to take the precautions necessary to insure that we shall not be the victim of an illusion of some kind or other. In the séance of which I gave an account I did this as well as I was able. But I do not pretend to be infallible; in spite, then, of all the precautions taken, it may well have been that I was deceived; and to me it seems quite natural that, under circumstances as rare as they are extraordinary, those who have not themselves seen

and touched, doubt all other testimony. That has been my own experience. I have for a long time been engaged in preparing a work on "The Unknown Natural Forces," and have indeed already, in October, 1865,—thirty-two years ago,—published a preliminary edition of it. In the work in its final shape I intend to give only what I have myself observed. The work has been delayed because much time has had to be spent on it; and it has been incomparably less satisfying to the mind than astronomy and its marvels. I still believe, however, that the subject is worthy of the labor which it entails; and I hope soon to be able to send to THE ARENA an account of another séance, also as thoroughly verified as possible.

That we are surrounded by unknown forces; that we are acquainted with only an infinitely minute fraction of the reality, is a fact which, it seems to me, no truly scientific intellect can doubt. I borrow for the moment from my very learned colleague Sir William Crookes the following reflections regarding vibrations:

Let us consider vibrations, evidences of which we trace not only in solid bodies, but in the air, and in a still more remarkable fashion in the ether. These vibrations differ in rapidity and in frequency. That they exist, from one per second up to two thousand billions per second, we have ample proofs. We can also fully assure ourselves that these vibrations serve to transmit to living organisms effects produced by external sources, of whatever kind these may be.

As a point of departure let us consider a pendulum beating seconds in the air. By doubling the beats continually we get the following series of degrees:

		Vibrations per second
1	Degree	2
2	"	4
3	"	8
4	"	16
5	"	32
6	"	64
7	"	128
8	"	256
9	"	512
10	"	1,024

15	Degree	32,768
20	"	1,048,576
25	"	33,554,432
30	"	1,073,741,824
35	"	34,359,738,368
40	"	1,099,511,627,776
45	"	35,184,372,088,832
50	"	1,125,899,906,842,624
55	"	36,028,797,018,963,968
56	"	72,057,594,037,927,936
57	"	144,115,188,075,855,872
58	"	288,230,376,151,711,744
59	"	576,460,752,303,423,488
60	"	1,152,921,504,606,846,976
61	"	2,305,843,009,213,693,952
62	"	4,611,686,018,427,387,904
63	"	9,223,372,036,854,775,808

At the fifth degree, or 32 vibrations per second, we are in the region wherein the vibration of the atmosphere is revealed to us in the form of sound. At that point we find the lowest musical tone. In the ten degrees following, the vibrations per second increase from 32 to 32,768, and there the region of sound comes to an end for the ordinary human ear. Probably, however, certain animals better endowed than ourselves hear sounds too acute for our ears, that is to say, sounds the rapidity of whose vibrations lies beyond that limit.

We then enter a region wherein the rapidity of the vibrations rapidly increases, and the vibrating medium is no longer the dense atmosphere, but a medium infinitely rarefied, "an air more divine" called ether. From the 16th to the 35th degree the vibrations increase from 32,768 to 34,359,738,368 per second. To our means of observation these present themselves as electric rays.

Next comes the region which extends from the 35th to the 45th degree, comprising from 34,359,738,368 to 35,184,372,088,832 vibrations per second. This region is unknown to us; we are ignorant of the properties of these vibrations, but we must necessarily suppose that they possess some.

Next we approach the region of light,—the degrees which extend from the 45th to between the 50th and 51st, and whose vibrations are from 35,184,372,088,832 per second (heat rays) to 1,875,000,000,000,000 per second, the highest known rays of the spectrum. The sensation of light, that is

to say, the vibrations which transmit visible signs, being comprised within the narrow limits of from about 450,000,000,000,000 (red light) to 750,000,000,000,000 (violet light), include less than one degree.

Leaving the region of visible light, we come to that which, to our senses and our means of research, is another unknown region, whose vibrations, however, fulfil functions which we are beginning to suspect. It is probable that the X rays of Professor Röntgen will be found between the 58th and 61st degrees, where the vibrations are from 288,230,376,151,711,744 to 2,305,843,009,213,693,952 per second, or even more.

In this series it is plain that there are two gaps, or unknown regions, regarding which we have to confess *total ignorance* relative to the part which they play in the economy of the universe. May there not exist vibrations still more rapid? That question we are not permitted to answer.

Be that as it may, the invisible rays are incomparably more numerous than the visible ones. Our eyes thus see almost nothing of that which exists. Our assumed knowledge is only an insignificant islet in the midst of the ocean of the Infinite. Our duty is to enlarge these narrow limits; and all the efforts of the choice spirits of the world should be directed towards that end.

MULTIPLE-STANDARD MONEY.

BY HON. HENRY WINN.

IT is time to establish an honest dollar. What is it? It is one that will cheat neither the debtor nor the creditor. It is an invariable dollar which to-day, to-morrow, always, will buy the same average amount of the commodities that meet human wants. Neither gold nor silver, neither one nor both, will do this; and it is strange that we have not much improved the money of the days of Abraham.

What are the functions of money? Mainly two: to aid in making exchanges, and act as a standard for deferred payments. When a man borrows, it is not money he wants. He cannot consume a dollar. It is some commodity which money will buy. The lender parts with capital for the promise of money, which he thinks will give him commodities again. He parts with some commodity *present* for commodities *in futuro*. The promised dollar ought to stand for the absent commodities, and, when paid, to give him, not the same commodity he gave the debtor, for that is almost sure to have become more or less valuable as it is more scarce or plentiful than it was, but the same average amount of all purchasable commodities which the money he stipulated for would buy when the deal was made.

An honest dollar, then, is one that will always buy—that is, measure—the same average amount of the commodities it is used to purchase. No natural product will do this, because every such product, including gold, varies in value, as compared with other things, by reason of the changes in its own demand and supply. This variation always cheats in a deferred payment, either the debtor by making him pay on his debt more than he got, or the creditor by giving him less than he gave. Consequently there is no natural product fit to use as standard money. Thus the tables of Mr. Sauerbeck, accepted as the highest authority by economists, show that in June last $100 in gold would buy as much $181 in 1873.

Those who yearn to palliate this vice that makes gold a false measure generally make two defences. First, they allege that gold ought to buy and measure not the same amount of commodities always, but the same amount of labor, and claim that labor has risen as well as gold.

The falsity of the plea is apparent. Labor brings more for various causes, mainly labor unions and inventions rendering it more productive and valuable. Thus with Burleigh drills, dynamite, and the cyanide process, less labor will get out even the gold product. In the division between labor and capital, as labor grows more productive it is entitled to more pay. The creditor did not make the improvements or organize the unions. It is the serenity of impudence for him to claim their results through the measurement of the gold yardstick. The commodity he gave the debtor, even though it be the labor itself of the time (since past labor can only exist in the form of some commodity), would never have appreciated from these causes in his hands had he kept it; why, then, if he lends it to another, for pay, should it be returned to him in a more valuable form, with interest besides? If he lends commodities to a debtor, for money is only the means of making the loan, to say he ought to have them measured off in labor, and have as much labor back in payment, no matter how efficient it may have become, or how much scarcer it may be, is as senseless as to say that when he gives the debtor the labor of a coolie he is entitled to be paid the labor of a skilled mechanic. The commodity, as labor's result, is the best measure even of labor. The trade is the loan of capital for the hire of interest, as Brown lets his house to Smith for the hire of rent. For the creditor to claim more commodities than he gave, on the plea that labor is worth more, is no more just than for Brown to ask Smith for two houses when the lease is up, besides the rent, because, from some improvement made while the lease is running, the same labor will produce two. He has back the goods, if the money measures truly, and the value of their use; and this is all he could have made from them himself.

Like reasons show the folly of the books written to prove that gold has not changed, but that commodities have fallen

through improved modes of production and distribution. It is common knowledge that the average of productive power has not increased a quarter of 81 per cent since 1873. But suppose it had. The creditors did not make the improvements, and they have no right to exact more commodities than they gave their debtors. Had they kept their goods they could only have had them and their use, and when money pays them equivalent goods, and interest pays for the use, equity is satisfied.

Gold is therefore just as bad money if, so to speak, it remains stationary while goods decline, and so measures out more of them, as it would be if goods should be stationary and gold should appreciate with the same result. To be honest, gold must follow commodities and always measure the same average amount of them. This gold and silver, one or both, can never do. We propose to examine some of their vices and show a money that will.

The chief variations of gold are broadly divided into two classes, the long variation, and the fluctuation called the credit variation.

THE LONG VARIATION.

This is the change in the value of gold due to more lasting causes, such as the discovery or exhaustion of great mines, the demonetization of one or both the money metals in important states, their restoration after disuse, or the variation in demand caused by great permanent changes in the business of the world demanding money. Thus Prof. Bowen states that an ounce of gold would buy four times as much in 1500 as in 1650. This was due to the influx of the precious metals from America. Prof. Jevons says:

> There is abundant evidence to prove that the value of gold has undergone extensive changes. Between 1789 and 1809 it fell in the ratio of 100 to 54, or by 46 per cent. . . . From 1809 to 1849 it rose again in the extraordinary ratio of 100 to 245, or by 145 per cent.*

His tables show that 90 ounces of gold would buy as much in 1849 as 129 ounces in 1857. Unless our friends who deny that gold varies, but attribute the fall in prices to improved production, shall prove that the reverse rise in the fifties was

* "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," p. 325.

because the world forgot how to make goods, we may attribute it to the gold of California and Australia. The rise of 81 per cent in the value of gold from 1873 to June last, as shown by the Sauerbeck tables, was mainly due to shutting off the increase in money accruing from the free coinage of silver, when the increase in the world's business required that addition, the restoration of the gold standard in the United States, creating a new demand for $600,000,000 in gold, and the hoarding of gold in the great banks of Europe. These changes alone show the value of gold jumping about in variations aggregating over 600 per cent, and since 1873 more than three per cent per annum. That is to say, debtors borrowing since 1873 have, on the average, been forced by the gold yardstick to pay back in commodities (and these are all men in general really borrow, lend, or produce to pay with) above three per cent a year more than they got besides the interest they agreed to pay.

The current run of debt in the world, practically payable in gold, is estimated at $150,000,000,000. If we do not stop to allow for offsets of debt and credit in the same persons, or the uncertain reductions in interest charges due to the business stagnation caused by appreciating gold further than to throw off $50,000,000,000 from the estimated principal, we may roughly say that this long variation in gold subsidizes the creditor classes of the world at the expense of debtors by an unearned increment of $3,000,000,000 per annum, equal in eight years to the entire assessed valuation of the United States by the last census. So pleasing has become this bounty that when a serious attempt was made in 1896 to cut it off by the free coinage of silver (a defective remedy, it is true, but still a remedy), the English language was put to a cyclonic stress for expletives compared with which the efforts of "Our army in Flanders" was a summer zephyr.

THE CREDIT VARIATION.

This is that of which Prof. Jevons says:

> A careful study of the fluctuations of prices . . . shows that fluctuations of from ten to twenty-five per cent occur in every credit cycle.

Since checks combine the use of money and money reserve,

and paper and silver are kept on a gold basis, we may classify the main monetary elements as gold, money redeemable in gold, and credits. The general scale of prices seems to be fixed primarily by the supply of and demand for all the elements that perform the function of money. But a contest between gold and the other elements, for the control of prices, ever smoulders and bursts out in panics. The relative prices of articles to each other are fixed by the demand for and supply of each, money affecting the general level. We saw the rise in prices due to the increase of gold in the fifties, and that in our war due to increase of paper. They rise similarly from expansion of the third monetary factor, credits.

When prices rise business booms by reason of the production and purchase of goods to gain an expected advance. Speculation follows. Demand also increases because workmen, being better employed, consume more. Credits continue to expand, and increased demand further augments prices. Commodities are high, which is only another mode of saying that gold is cheap, since in each exchange one man buys goods, and the other money. The result is boom; dear goods, cheap gold.

Value is the relative desirability of one commodity compared with others. It is not intrinsic. The same glass of water may vary in value from a farthing to a fortune. The values affecting money directly may be classed as three: first, *fiat* value, which is the value a piece of metal or paper derives from its use as money, called so because this use is generally established by law; second, *substance* value, the value of the metal in a piece of money; third, *redemption* value, not in the money piece, but in the thing it promises.

Money, whether paper or gold, never passes as money in ordinary circulation except at its fiat value. If the substance or redemption value exceeds the fiat, a man will not pass the piece, but will melt, hoard, or export it; if it is less, as it generally is, than fiat value, it is latent, and no more sustains the fiat value at which the piece passes than the forty-four cents worth of silver in our dollar maintains it at par, or than a six-foot prop can hold a platform ten feet up.

Gold affects the value of money only by expansion or con-

traction of its volume. If its substance value exceeds its fiat value in the money piece, enough pieces leave the circulation to make dollars scarcer and increase the fiat value. If gold from the mine is worth less than its fiat value in money pieces, it seeks the mint and makes dollars more plenty and cheaper. We claim that this regulative money function can be better performed without the aid of gold.

Conversely, the main value of gold is fiat, that is, it is due to its demand for use as money. There is a sixty years' supply for use in the arts at the present rate, and if the world should demonetize all gold our friend Atkinson could not pound out enough from a twenty-dollar gold piece to buy a cheap hat.

Fiat value of gold in one country creates substance value in the gold pieces of another by causing a demand for export. If the United States should demonetize gold it would probably reduce the value of gold fifteen per cent through the world by the export of our supply and the abolition of our demand. Thus, when we practically abandoned gold in war time, it appeared from a table carefuly prepared in the Treasury Department (as stated by Mr. Upton, Assistant Secretary), that it took $112 in gold in 1864 to buy as much in New York as $100 would buy in 1861; while in London, according to Sauerbeck's tables, it took $107 and over. So under gold do the whims, exigencies, or schemes of one country affect the business of another.

So the disuse of money in one country by the substitution of credit cheapens it, and, as Prof. Jevons says, he who promises to pay gold at a future day acts as a bear selling short on the gold market. Meantime outside the area of inflated prices gold has not fallen, and straightway goods move to the place of boom, where it has fallen, to exchange for the cheap gold, and a drain of it begins. This contracts the money volume, the great mass of debt becomes harder to pay, and credit is destroyed. An immense demand for money springs up, not only to perform the money function of the vanished credit, but to pay debts with. To add to the distress, money is hoarded by individuals from fear they cannot get it when wanted, and by deposit institutions fearing runs. The more

it is wanted, the more it cannot be had. Goods are slaughtered to get money. This is collapse. Gold has passively permitted paper and credit to boom prices and reduce its fiat value below its substance value as established by the demand for export or hoarding, until it deserts the money volume and thus reasserts its control of prices by contraction so violently that they are driven even below gold values, and the metal is won back from abroad by heavy sales of goods at a loss. Business is paralyzed, and often requires years to recover.

The tables of Mr. Sauerbeck finely show this credit variation. We give the ounces of gold required to buy the same commodities in the oscillations of five great historic panics, namely the average price for a year shortly preceding, for the culminating boom year, and a year of collapse:

Panic of	Ounces before.	Ounces at Culmination.	After.
1825	1823—103	117	1827—97
1837	1835— 92	102	1837—94
1847	1845— 87	95	1848—78
1857	1852— 78	105	1858—91
1873	1870— 96	111	1875—96

In each case the variation was perhaps ten ounces greater at the extremes than the figures show, for they give the average of full years. The figures 1852-1858 show the long variation as well, since the collapse was not to 78 but to 91, the thirteen points difference being doubtless long variation.

This panic variation is promoted if not caused by the gold system, the boom by expansions of credit or over-issues of paper fixing prices according to local demand and supply, and the collapse by the fierce struggle of gold to restore its control of prices on the lines of its universal demand and supply. The call for gold for other than monetary purposes is slight, and does not prevent its decline in value when there is a lull in the money demand for it. Its demand being dependent on foreign trade, gold lies for long periods dormant, and permits credit and paper to establish the scale of prices only to smash the market to the ruin of debtors and business when its margin of tolerance (that is, the line where goods are so high and gold is so cheap that speculators and foreign trade call for it) has been passed. The gold-standard system works like an engine

with a worthless governor, and under it business moves like a man with a ball and chain. He gets the ball before him and feeling free makes a rush, only to be tumbled back again by the ball, perhaps into the ditch. The country to-day lies where it was ditched in 1893.

The long variation, when in the direction of appreciation, imposes two clogs on business: first, it induces men to get their capital out of business if they can, and into bonds or other debt to reap the increase in the value of money; next, declining prices keep men from producing goods on which they are likely to make a loss.

Both variations unjustly divert wealth to the few and strong. Tocqueville noted in the Americans of his time a greater equality of property "than in any other country of the world or in any age of which history has preserved the remembrance." But now, largely through that triplet of mediæval barbarism, unequal taxation, monopoly, and the variable dollar, the New York probates indicate that one man in one hundred is worth on the average as much as the other ninety-nine. The ninety-nine, forced to rigid economy by want of means, consume little. The increased consumption by the rich is not enough to count. The resulting sharp reduction in consumption stops the wheels of our factories, and swells the armies of the unemployed.

MONOPOLY OF GOLD.

A third great fault of gold lies in the power to partially corner it. No gold is in the hands of the people. The great banks and national treasuries of Europe hold, as was recently stated, $1,947,000,000, nearly half the gold of the world. They have taken over $800,000,000 since 1890. In 1894, as stated by the News Bureau, they absorbed $245,000,000, while $67,000,000 would have given them the same per cent of gold to circulation they had the year before. Gold in bank, serving as a reserve to the extent reserve is needed, is performing a money function of a high order. What is locked up beyond this, so far as the world's need for money is concerned, may as well be in the mine. In 1894, allowing for consumption in the arts, these banks locked up probably twice the previous year's supply. In Russia, for instance, the hoard of

gold is reported to exceed all paper issues. What percentage of these vast sums is needed for reserves we are not informed. Certainly a great part are not. Some of the banks will not pay gold when called for. When we remember that the bulk of these surplus hoards is in less than a dozen institutions, we realize the power a few men can exert over the gold of the world, and consequently over the prices of all our properties. They can make the available gold so scarce that the great private bankers can corner and control it.

They tell us that the managers of this gold are very virtuous and will not use their powers for private advantage. And they point to the fact that, although a few Jews in 1895 held national prosperity on tap so completely that the press described Wall street and Washington as panicky over the query whether they would hold up the United States till October, they only asked us ten or twelve millions for the job, a price which the New York bankers at Saratoga said was "dog cheap."

These are conditions dangerous to national welfare. Space allows us, however, to touch only lightly on the vices of gold —on the promontories, so to speak—or the folly of trusting the great interests of the world to the luck of the miner and the grace of the monopolist.

THE REMEDY.

The remedy is a dollar substantially invariable, that will prevent panics, that cannot be cornered. Such a dollar can, we think, only be had through a volume of legal-tender Treasury notes, issued only by the government, not redeemable in anything, except as they are receivable for all public dues, and expanded or contracted according as the dollar shall buy more or less than a predetermined average quantity of a large number (say 100) of commodities, so that it will always buy the same average amount. This average quantity determined on will be the standard of value.

Obligatory redemption of money in any commodity like gold is only harmful. For it introduces a contest, as we have seen, between the effect of the demand and supply of money and the demand and supply of the commodity of redemption. These seldom work in harmony. The only redemption which

money should have is that which the dollar gets every time it passes. This should be kept exact by adjustment of the supply of dollars to the demand as shown by prices, and not deranged by another discordant redemption. Standard writers substantially all agree that inconvertible paper will maintain its purchasing power if not over-issued.*

Each standard commodity should be selected for its stability, uniformity, and fitness to represent all commodities, and its price should be taken in some legally selected market or markets, by a commission who frequently, say weekly, declare the percentage the dollar does actually buy, on the average, of all the commodities chosen, above or below the amount fixed on for the standard, which is represented by par, or the number 100. The percentage of this 100 that the dollar buys is the index number showing its purchasing power. If one per cent more than normal, the number is 101; if one per cent less, it is 99. Various methods of arriving at the index number have been proposed, which we need not discuss. A barometer is thus set up which shows the people constantly how far the dollar is incorrect as a measure of value. If the amount a gold dollar would buy in 1873 had been adopted, the index number in June last, according to Sauerbeck's tables, would have been 181, the dollar buying 81 per cent too much. If any standard commodity should show abnormal variation, it should be dropped, and another should be substituted till the exciting cause is removed. Whenever this barometer stands above 100, expansion of the money volume is the rule; whenever below, contraction. The percentage shown above or below par is a rough measure of the percentage of the money volume to be issued or withdrawn. The exceptions, which are easily dealt with, need not be discussed.

One may be noted. When the markets are stagnant after collapse, money is sometimes plentiful though prices are low, because it takes less money to make exchanges at low price, and there is little use for it till business revives. At such periods the injection into sluggish currents of trade of the full percentage of money required by the barometer will not at

* See F. A. Walker on "Money," p. 277; Jevons "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," p. 219.

once restore prices. Query, whether, after that, the issue should be continued till they are. It is true, no man can suffer, however much money is abroad, so long as prices are below par. But the inconvenience will come in withdrawing the redundant money quickly enough when prices pass the line upward. At such times, the interest rate for short-time loans of money is far less than the general rate for capital. Further issues may be suspended till money shall command a reasonable rate of interest. But such occasions will be very rare under a system so potent to prevent collapses.

Various modes of expansion or contraction may be used. An annual increment may be added to the money volume to meet the wants caused by the country's growth without raising prices more than did the $24,000,000 a year added by the Bland-Allison act. After this the changes required would not be great. The government may replace, say, $300,000,000 of its present obligations with call bonds. Selling them at auction will contract the money volume. Calling and paying them will expand it. Or sometimes short loans may be made to the highest-interest bidders on securities defined by law. Their payment will contract or they may be renewed. Such loans, however, must be confined strictly to the needs of the money volume. If so confined they would take the increment to the point most needed. The Bank of England at the instance of the government lent, even on goods, in the panic of 1825.

The commodity standard rests on the doctrine that the average value of one hundred commodities keeps, on the whole, closer to the average value of all, which we seek to follow, than the value of any one article can. All commodities tend to uniformity in value, because the human mind constantly strives to produce that with which the market is understocked and not that with which it is overstocked. As an average, the effort succeeds with a hundred articles (which may represent nine-tenths of the trade of the world), while it cannot overcome the accidents of any one article, especially like gold, in which so much depends on the luck of the miner. The economists act on this doctrine when they use tables of many commodities to measure gold variations. That their tables, each

of different sets of articles, all substantially agree, shows that they agree with the universal average, as numerous grain samples taken from a bin indicate, if alike, the quality of the whole.

Of the three great faults of gold, one, the long variation, would be completely obviated by multiple-standard money. There could be no permanent appreciation in the face of steady expansion, or depreciation under steady contraction. The credit or panic variation would be greatly alleviated, and probably altogether prevented. Gold being discarded, our three monetary factors are reduced to two, legal-tender paper and credit. The plan is to control the monetary action of credits, supplementing it by money in manner to render the joint action of both factors uniform. The moment credit expands abnormally, contraction begins and checks it. When the collapse of credits cheapens goods, expansion counteracts. The last clause of the gold-panic maxim, "The more money is needed, the *more it cannot be had*," is changed into "*the more it can be had.*" The first fever beat in the pulse of trade —the 99 of the barometer—is the signal for the brake. The system does not wait the slow drain of depreciated gold, and its final spasmodic action wrecking for years the business of the country in the equilibrium-restoring process called liquidation. In 1870, when, as we said, the gold ounces required to buy commodities A increased from 96 to 97, contraction would have nipped the boom in the bud without waiting, as gold did, till 111 was reached. Without the unhealthy boom the collapse could not have come, but the current of production, business, and employment would have been steady and ceaseless.

If credit should abnormally collapse, the system would act like the Bank of England, where any Englishman in need, having adequate security, can borrow in a crisis. In 1857 the Bank increased its loans on private securities $55,000,000. The great panic of 1866 found the Bank with only $29,000,000 in gold, but the week had hardly gone before it had lent $65,000,000, and the government helped.

How superb this record of staying panic compared with that of our New York banks holding somewhat similar relations to

our banking system! In 1893 they seemed determined to force the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act. On April 8, a month before the panic began, they held (discarding fractions) $438,000,000 of net deposits, and had loaned $434,000,000. No indicia of panic were apparent. The Sauerbeck tables showed no boom to presage a fall. On May 20, so little had been drawn from these banks that their deposits were still $438,000,000. Nobody was crowding them, but they had pinched their loans down from $434,000,000 to $416,000,000 although their surplus reserve had gone up from $9,000,000 to $24,000,000. Why? Their organ the *Financial Chronicle* said, June 23:

> The Pacific coast is now feeling the effects of the crisis produced by silver legislation. The object-lesson is growing in all parts of the United States, and it is to be hoped that the cause and effect will be so distinctly traced by our Congressmen that no argument in words will be necessary to convince them that the silver law of 1890 is sapping the vitality of the country.

In five months the national banks of the country, when sometimes money was worth seventy-five per cent per annum, dragged $319,000,000 from their wretched customers by calling in loans, though they had $26,000,000 more in cash assets when they had done than when they began. Mr. Eckels cheered, and the government itself helped to pinch the market by refusing to buy, except at an impossible price, the silver it was commanded by law to buy, thus hoarding the money the law intended for the people by cutting off its little spigot stream of relief. In 1893, from April 11 to August 5, wheat fell from 76¼ cents to 60⅝ cents, pork from $20.75 to $12.60, N. Y. Central stock from $108.50 to $92.25.

Such is our system. Suppose, now, that on the July morning when the crisis was at its height and the news came that the banks had contracted their loans $140,000,000, and the process was still going on, and the government was shutting off its help, this bulletin had come to Wall Street: "Government has adopted the multiple-standard system on the basis of April prices. The purchasing power of money is found to stand at 116, indicating a shortage in the money volume of $250,000,000. Accordingly the Secretary of the Treasury will, on the securities required by law, forthwith make short

time loans of money to the highest bidders of interest to the amount of $50,000,000 per week for five weeks unless prices are sooner restored. After that issue, if prices remain impaired, he is authorized to make further loans, but none below New York rates unless they exceed five per cent. The volume of loans will be kept up while prices are below par, but contracted to extinction promptly when they are restored." What would have become of the panic?

In a crisis, loans to the highest-interest bidders would be better than a call of bonds, for they would take the money just where it is needed. To corner money would be impossible. For no man or set of men could buy, lock up, and lose interest on, money in competition with the government presses throwing it out to fill the deficiency they were causing. As well could they corner the north wind. If one of the hundred standard staples should vary through cornering abnormally it would drop from the list, replaced by another. Confidence would be perennial, because resting on the monetary power of the government to maintain the average level of prices. "Endless chains," money conspiracies, gold drains from the Treasury, and panics as we know them would be curiosities of the past.

We now use $1,100,000,000 or $1,200,000,000 in gold and silver, idle capital taken from the pockets of the people, costing them, say, sixty millions a year in interest. This they would save. The only plausible pretences of advantage to be claimed for the metals are: first, that government may over or under issue paper, but cannot gold, though the mine may; next, that the new standard would differ from that of other countries.

In both these particulars the multiple standard is superior. We have shown that under gold the money of the world has been manipulated into cheating by billions per annum, and that gold has been largely hoarded with great effect on prices. Such evils could not happen here. The commission cannot cheat in its barometer of prices, since they must publish their data, which every man can verify from his trade paper. They are only registers of public facts, no more likely to falsify the record than a register of deeds would be if the originals were

always open under glass beside his books. The Treasury Department cannot cheat, for should its reports show expansion with the index below par, or contraction with it above, its crime would be seen of all men and punished. Should it issue false bulletins of its action, the fraud would soon show in the barometer. Under such tests and with such publicity, far from cheating by billions as now, the danger of over or under issue would be practically nil. That the index should ever get so far out as 181, as gold has on the basis of par in 1873, is unthinkable. A people so dishonest or spiritless as to permit it would be unfit for self-rule.

FOREIGN TRADE.

The variance of our standard from that of other countries would not damage trade. Russia deals with other states, though on a paper basis. So did we for seventeen years, all highly prosperous except those when we were pinching back to gold. Gold goes now only as metal to pay foreign debts, and the world has never deemed international money payments important enough to call for a common coin. We should simply continue to send gold as merchandise. We produce more gold than we ordinarily export, and could pay our foreign balances a little more cheaply than now, since our miners, being deprived of the market of our mints, would sell their gold for a little less. Our Republican friends, fresh from erecting fifty per cent barriers against foreign trade, would hail with joy the multiple standard if it would add one per cent more, but it will not.

Foreign trade is swapping not money but commodities. These preserve an equalized value through the world by reason of foreign trade. A money therefore kept here in harmony with commodities would harmonize with them abroad. Our manufacturer for the foreign trade or our farmer could invest multiple-standard money months, nay, years ahead, in plants for producing goods for export, sure that the goods he will get in return will bring the steady and expected price. He can figure his profits safe from the wobble of gold. For example, had A in 1873 borrowed gold to buy a farm for raising wheat to export, his product now would bring only

half the price he figured on, and his farm a still smaller fraction. He would be bankrupt in this business. On multiple-standard money both the farm and the product would bring the same price substantially as before, and ensure his profits. This advantage attributed to a common par of exchange inheres not in gold, but in multiple-standard money, though used by only one state.

As to the advantage of keeping a currency to accommodate the importer, so that he can dip gold out of it to pay his debts abroad, no man has a right to ask it. For the process contracts our money volume and deranges all our domestic exchanges for the benefit of the foreign, which are less than a twentieth part as great, while even that fraction would be a little cheaper served by the multiple standard.

On the other hand, there is often an immense advantage in having a money that will not pass abroad. Every foreign panic or corner in gold, every state buying to hoard, by drawing gold deranges our domestic exchanges. How prices tumbled and the panic raged in Wall Street in sympathy with London when the Barings failed. But in 1866, when we were on an independent paper standard, a panic fell on London so much more severe that the Bank Act was suspended. Note our immunity. It sent up the price of gold, of course, but it caused hardly a ripple in our domestic trade. Martin, in his "History of the Boston Stock Market," boasts that in June, 1866, money stood at five to six per cent, actually one per cent cheaper than the month before, and was "abundant, while the bank rate in London was ten per cent and a panic in the market." The lowest quotations for railroad stocks here were far higher than the year before, and the dividends of Massachusetts factories showed wonderful prosperity.

This system of money, which we have urged with some political approval here since 1891,* holds that the best test of the need of money, as of everything else, is what men will pay for it. And that, when they will pay more than the normal amount of their products for a dollar, it is safe to send instantly more dollars coursing through the channels of trade;

* See Faneuil Hall speech, printed in pamphlet form, also in Boston *Traveller*, Oct. 17, 1891. Also Mass. People's Party platforms.

but when they will not give so much as the normal amount, it indicates superfluous dollars in the money volume that ought to come out. Not that every minute variation should be compensated, but every material one. When there is a money pinch, the system does not wait for some throe in the ground to unearth gold, or clairvoyancy to discover and dig it; nor does it try to get it even by slaughtering goods in Austria. But the vitalizing flow of money for relief begins almost as soon as the click of the telegraph tells the need.

The plan of the greenbacker failed in its regulator. The limitation of money to a fixed amount *per capita* would have created a more pinching standard than gold, for trade increases faster than heads. $4.99 *per capita* met our wants in 1800 as well as $24 does now. France gained about forty per cent in population in a century, while her foreign trade increased twenty-four times as fast, and her personal property sixty times. She would have had a sorry time on a fixed sum of money per head.

Interest regulation, except in peculiar cases, is no better. For money interest is soon affected by interest on capital generally. The scheme of issuing money convertible at pleasure into a low-rate bond, trusting that when too much money is out the interest on it will fall and the money go back into bonds, is delusive. When an excess of money goes out, interest becomes higher, not lower, and the money will not go back. When money was so plentiful in California that it was the chief export, interest was forty per cent, and under the great issues of our war it doubled.

"But," adds an objector, "neither interest on money nor interest on capital can rise if the government will lend at two per cent all everybody wants." True, but the repressed law will break out elsewhere. Prices will go into the clouds. Thus, A has a mill which clears for him, in tolls of grist, meal enough to buy a new mill once in every sixteen years. The normal interest rate on that capital is six per cent. He gets $600 worth of meal a year, and asks $10,000 for his mill. B, hearing that the government has decided to lend at two per cent, at once borrows $10,000 thinking to buy A's mill and get the $600 worth of meal a year for $200 paid in interest.

A is not fool enough to sell his mill that gives him $600 for money that will give him only $200 revenue. He will ask $30,000 so as to get his $600 revenue as before, and B will draw the money and pay it; for he can afford to. Soon the causes that have trebled the price of mills will treble the price of meal, and B will realize $1,800 a year instead of $600. His selling price for the mill will be $90,000, since it will take that to give him in interest the $1,800 a year he gets in meal. So prices will jump, and to make the same exchanges the money volume must jump to correspond, until a hatful of money will not buy a breakfast. The system would explode, and the world would go back to barter.

The Constitution calls on Congress to coin money and regulate the value thereof. We know but one way to provide an invariable dollar, and that is, when the dollars buy too much to issue more of them and make them more plentiful; when too little to withdraw some that are out and make them more scarce. The way to tell whether the dollar buys too much or too little is, not to count heads or study interest, but to go into the market and see. Prices are the logical test of the money-volume; expansion and contraction are its modes of correction.

Where the starting-point for the dollar—the standard average it is to buy—should be fixed, we leave for discussion. Our present money would remain out till retired by tax payments, and might at once be adjusted to the new value. Never was a great change so easy to effect without shock. If we adopt the dollar's present purchasing power, much may be said for gradually reducing it about fifteen per cent. That is the decline we should at least expect in the value of gold through the world by reason of our change if we do not overvalue our gold money and prevent its departure, unless the European banks should buy our stock and hoard it. We do not believe they dare do this and send their hoards above their circulation. If we should have an invariable dollar, while gold falls below it by loss of the American demand, the great stock of our eagles in Europe would return to be paid for and plague us. The average date of debts is such that their unjust increase through gold appreciation will average perhaps fifteen per

cent. Based on gold it would not be fair to take away the right to pay them in gold, except in case of public necessity, and for this the money should be allowed to fall fifteen per cent if gold does. The reduction would start a boom in business now sadly needed.

For a time, while the fetish of gold should linger in the minds of the timid, the government would not issue or withdraw money except as the dial of prices should indicate. But having before our eyes an accepted test of what it ought to accomplish, we should learn to trust the administration to provide in advance for anticipated fluctuations, as for instance by increasing the money volume yearly by enough to move the crops, withdrawing the increment when the work is done and thus preventing a yearly pinch. The plan does not aim to supply capital, but firmly to regulate the money volume, and the statesman would win applause who could keep the index finger stillest on the dial of prices. The knowledge that the vast monetary power of the government is to be exerted to maintain general prices would of itself tend to keep them steady.

Such a system would, we are confident, stop the cheating of either debtor or creditor through money variation, save the people $50,000,000 or $60,000,000 a year in interest now lost on useless capital locked up in the metals, prevent nearly all the panics, render credits safer and profits surer, check speculation by halving fluctuations in prices, isolate and protect our domestic trade from the effect of foreign monetary disturbances and drains of gold, save us from money corners, prove superior even for foreign trade, and go far to keep labor steadily employed and the wheels of business turning with substantially uniform and unceasing speed.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

BY MARY LOWE DICKINSON,

Ex-President of the National Council of Women.

IT is not yet many days since Frances Willard died. There are still hearts that linger in the shadowy hush of that hour when the din of a great city suddenly softened to the sound of sobbing, and a mist, heavy with unshed tears, shrouded the earth and sky. There are still hearts that followed so closely after, as her white soul drifted out into the midnight, that they find it hard to turn again from the life that opened before her to the life she left behind. That life is so closely a part of herself that one feels like folding away its experiences and achievements with only such tender touches as we give to the half-worn garments of our dead. That midnight is too near; its silence broods over us; a secret sense of decency and delicacy secures it from invasion. In the wordless stillness one might possibly breathe out to her the best one thinks and feels. To talk to others of what one thinks and feels about her seems far less possible. In order to do it one must overcome the consciousness of spiritual intrusion, must admit at the outset the weakness that removes the subject beyond the region of ordinary analysis.

If there ever were in the transit of this marvellous life mistaken views, deficient insight, imperfect outlook affecting sometimes the resultant action, all trace of these is lost in love and tears. If there was ever weakness or failure, no human soul has yet, since she left us, sat for one moment in judgment, no finger has pointed to an error, no voice been raised except to exalt the beauty and nobility of her character and claim for it the admiration of the world.

The extent to which that claim has been recognized is evidenced by the tributes that have been poured out unceasingly since the day when the news of this national bereavement spread throughout our land and away to lands beyond the sea. The tardy spring and far-off summer seemed to

clasp hands and come swiftly forward to offer lavishly the treasures hidden and hoarded for the later year. Such was the profusion of flowers that the world seemed to have suddenly blossomed into beauty and fragrance for her sake. The chancel of the dim old-fashioned Tabernacle where she lay during the triumphal services in New York was like a veritable entrance into a clime of palms. All her solemn westward journey was a flower-strewn way. At different points along the road friends waited with fresh blossoms to add to those that had already breathed out for her their frail and fragrant lives. Willard Hall in the Temple in Chicago was like a tropical land for beauty, and at Rest Cottage they laid her down among the palms and lilies. Of the home church at Evanston loving hands had made a veritable temple of flowers in which she lay within sound of the lapping waters of the lake she loved, while about her swelled the music of the dear old hymns, and above her rest were uttered the eloquent words of dear old friends. And when they bore her forth to the beautiful Rose Hill Cemetery, where she will lie near to the mother she never ceased to mourn, the flowers were everywhere, making even of the tomb a place of light and beauty and fragrance, fitting well the life that had been full of light for the world's darkness and full of the beauty of holy purpose and the fragrance of loving deeds.

It was indeed a prismatic, many-sided life. And whether we think of her as the prairie child, as daughter, sister, student, teacher, orator, leader, reformer, it was on every side a white life, facing the sun and absorbing and reflecting the light.

Significant as it seemed that the earth should blossom as a rose for her sake, yet was this perhaps the least of the innumerable signs of appreciation of her character and of the world's sense of its incalculable loss. The tenderness that crowned her with flowers found thus some faint expression, and ordinarily such silent tribute is better far than words. But in this case, whether they found their way to the public through voice or pen; whether they were spoken by learned divines, uttered by gentle women, or lisped in the accents of childhood, the words uttered concerning this life and death

make such a tribute as the world has rarely if ever heard. When the flags drooped at half-mast; when the public schools closed and a generation of children were led to think reverently of the honor due to a woman; when thirty thousand men and women and children stood in the whirling snow under a sombre and lowering sky to get one more look at a white, sleeping face; when in the halls and churches of a thousand towns throngs met to weep and pray, surely it would seem as if "actions spoke louder than words."

And yet the words have far outweighed all other testimony to Frances Willard's place in human hearts and lives. They have been spoken in many languages and many lands, in the pulpits all over our own country, in myriad memorial services great and small. The secular press gave them generous space at a time when it was feverish and absorbed in what are termed greater things than the life and work of women. Most eloquent and beautiful have been the tributes in the higher-class literary and religious journals, and, last but not least, in the speech of countless loyal and loving women everywhere. We have no space for transcription, but these wonderful words make a story such as heroes and martyrs may have deserved, but such as never yet was borne on any trumpet note of fame. They are lovely and loving words, honest words, manly, womanly, strong, tender, pulsating with feeling, aglow with appreciation of the motives that dignified her life, and frank to acknowledge the supremacy and moral value of her character and work. Not only that, they are words unmixed with criticism. It may be that in the ranks of the noble men and women who knew her life there are many who did not see eye to eye with her as to the wisest methods of securing the world's emancipation from evil and its advancement toward the higher good. We doubt if there were any who failed to believe in the purity of her purpose, in her absolute loyalty to her conviction of duty. Her unswerving directness, her masterful quiet, her strong gentleness, or perhaps we should say her gentle strength, constantly drew other minds nearer to her point of view and inspired other hearts to hope and other hands to fight for the object she deemed the best. To a marked degree she held the admiration and

respect of those who differed from her in judgment. Among their utterances we have yet to note the spirit of the critic in any pen-stroke, much less the sharp touch of the mental and spiritual anatomist who probes and cuts, seeking for possible faults. Even among opponents of her policy we find the appreciation that recognized her as a comrade in whatever fight against the powers of evil they were engaged. She might agree with them or not, but she was one with all men in the warfare for the success of the higher moral forces, in which warfare they must press forward all the more earnestly now that one whom they classed as co-worker and friend has laid her weapons down.

All that the words of an admiring world could offer to any woman's memory the world has done for her, and yet she least of all women needed eulogy. For souls like hers justice is a higher tribute than praise, and to follow where she led a better offering than speech. Better in *her* view that the mantle of praise be changed to one of silence than that the lightest fringe of the banner under which she sought to rally the women of the world should trail one moment in the dust.

In an article necessarily limited as to space, one who stands face to face with a great life must consider what may be written, and what must be left unsaid. From one point of view we should ask what phase of a wonderful story will most interest the reader. From another standpoint we may with propriety ask what phases of a unique personality and a wonderful life will best reveal the secret of its influence and power.

Statistical facts are already familiar to our readers. Indeed, for our purpose it matters little where and when Miss Willard was born. That her life counted over half a century is only significant in the light of the fact that that half-century had the benefit of magnificent forces in magnificent action for fifty fruitful years.

We can touch only most lightly outward conditions, circumstances, incidents, or events, though it would be interesting to outline the outward conditions that marked her childhood, from the time when the baby hands of the toddling child reached for the wayside flowers as the travellers halted

at noontide on the way to their Western home, on through the free and frolicsome outdoor life at the farm and in the district school.

There is every temptation to linger over the charm of the early girlhood, large-hearted, eager-minded, and pulsing with mental and spiritual life. Even then her days were tinged by high ambitions as well as by girlhood's natural and dainty dreams. Her life as a student, unique in its development and its opportunity, makes a charming picture, with the country school and Female College at Evanston as a background, and the inward history of what such a girl as this thought and felt and dreamed to fill in the sketch.

The youth was one surrounded with every comfort, but lacking the temptations of wealth. She had in her parents the bulwark and refuge of a sturdy manhood and a strong but gentle womanhood. She had in the beloved brother and sister the companionship under which the home loves and the home ideals bud and blossom and bear fruit, until the whole world seems home, and all human hearts seem near of kin. Upon these home loves the touch of sorrow fell when the sister, whose record was one of "nineteen beautiful years," passed out of sight. To some extent we know how that experience of sorrow helped to fit the soul bereft for the great sisterhood of service in which her after life spent itself without waste and without stint.

But more than all other influences at this formative period was that of the grand and gracious motherhood that shaped her early years. Indeed, it is sometimes true that the grandest thing that can be said of a woman is that she proved herself a worthy child of a good mother. Like that mother Miss Willard was essentially a lover of home. She lived and died for "God and Home and Native Land." And while she held all three in her heart, she yet based her hope of a redeemed country and a nation won to God upon the results of the work that could be wrought for and within the home.

Deep down in her heart she cherished tender recollections of even the earliest homes of her childhood. But the house in Evanston, near the shore of the beautiful Lake Michigan, where this blessed mother lived and died, where the daughter

gathered around her a little army of devoted co-workers, where she thought out her best thoughts by her own desk in her own "den," to which she went back after every march on what she considered the world's great foe, to reinvigorate body and soul, was, we believe, the dearest spot on earth to her. Here, as a faithful, loving, devoted daughter, she made herself an example for the daughters of all the land. Here, with neither husband nor child, she yet made the mothers of all children and the wives of all husbands welcome to the cheer and comfort and inspiration of the one spot that was her own.

Much of that in her life which enabled her to be the blessing she was to other homes had its root and source in this quiet spot on the shores of the lake she loved. From it she went out like a new Joan of Arc to fight the enemies of her country. Whatever bowed the head and brought tears to the eyes of women was a hurt to her own heart. Whatever wronged or stained childhood was as sore a sting to her as if the world's little children were her own. Her lifelong effort to save their sons and brothers made her seem to women like one of their own household. In no small degree she was possessed of the true mother heart, of which for years she was the eloquent and earnest apostle, and in which we find the secret and source of her after-life for humanity in the temperance field.

This mother-heart revealed itself first in the attitude that she took and maintained toward the youth of the world when her life as a teacher began.

When, as a young woman, Frances Willard entered the teacher's life for which she had marked and special endowment, its demands differed in various particulars from those of the present day. The scholarship required was according to the standard for women a quarter of a century ago. Unusual attainments or unusual thoroughness met with recognition such as they would not now receive, simply because the unusual of that time is the commonplace of the present. Acuteness of discernment in the men who had charge of educational matters made them quick to detect pedantry and most ill-content with scholarship alone. Discussions with regard to the qualifications for high positions covered far more

than knowledge of books. A woman was tested and judged also as to her ability to impart. The force of her character, the grace of her manner, the power of her individuality, often influenced or decided the choice, and made and held for her a place which her mere scholarship could have neither won nor retained.

While Miss Willard's acquirements in thoroughness and in scope exceeded those of the average girl student of her day, there were higher qualities that marked her as an educator. In a recent conversation with the former president of the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, Lima, N. Y., of which Miss Willard became the lady president at the age of twenty-four, he said:

> Almost from the day she arrived she was felt as a personal power in the institution. Without seeming to desire or to be conscious of it, she drew the girls like a magnet. Wherever she went they followed her; whenever she talked they crowded around to listen. The personality was never pronounced, never aggressive; on the contrary, it was very unassuming and gentle, but it was always powerful.

The same record repeats itself in connection with every field in which she took a teacher's part. In conference with other teachers concerning the practical methods of working out their mutual problems she was rarely the chief speaker, but nothing she said lacked point. Her keen wit might have made sarcasm a powerful weapon had it not been under the restraint of courtesy and good feeling. Kept well in hand it often enabled her to condense in an epigram the pith and point of the matter in hand.

It is rare that a mind grasps a subject comprehensively and at the same time deals ably with its details; but in all questions touching the training of youth Miss Willard seemed to grasp the matter as a whole, and to utilize all minor and insignificant points to advance whatever great end seemed to her to be of vital importance. She put her touch upon the highest thing in the character of the young and kept it there, sure that the finest part of the nature, once aroused, would ultimately dominate the lower. One result of this treatment was that the young people with whom she was brought closely in contact recognized in her an embodiment of conscience and of the absolute best that it was in their power to achieve. And if

we but knew it, the world over young people are looking and waiting for the coming of a friend like this.

Happily for the future of our country, it holds numberless young women who, awaking to the consciousness of their own powers, recognizing in themselves an individual force, are stirred with an enthusiasm to make of their lives large factors in useful work. There comes a day when this desire stirs within them like the life that bursts forth in the springtime from the buried seed under the sod. Often they do not know the meaning of these strivings of their own souls. If, at this stage, some heart cares enough to interpret such natures to themselves; if some mind takes the guidance of this vital, youthful force; if some inspiring spirit helps them to better knowledge of their own possibilities and stimulates them to attempt the noblest life, that friend becomes to them like an angel out of heaven. And this sort of friend Frances Willard was to many and many a young soul. It is not strange, then, that wherever she came in contact with young people she stirred them to devotion to herself as well as to devotion to such service for humanity as that in which she was both leader and example.

It is natural to consider Miss Willard first as a reformer and to dwell upon the influence of her character and life upon the great moral questions of temperance and purity. But we must not forget that, had she done nothing in these her mightiest fields of work, her influence on the character of the young was sufficient to have made her existence rounded and rich and full. She must have recognized her power as a moral educator, knowing that leadership and distinction awaited her along this line. The fact that she turned away from it when new opportunities opened, and, in spite of all temptation, held herself to the temperance reform, is the strongest evidence we could have, that the secret of her moral influence was her own unswerving moral rectitude. The thing she did was what she believed the right and necessary thing to do. Therefore she attempted it, thus educating by example as well as by word, and living out in her own life the thing her lips had taught.

Leaving all these fascinating experiences of her earlier

years, though they make a story richer than fiction in personal interest and charm, we must hasten to the time when, moving "toward the full stature of the perfect woman," the training and practice of her youth began to touch still more profoundly the moral conditions and activities of the world. Miss Willard as a daughter, as a student, as a teacher, as a friend, a creature of brilliant intellect and loving heart, was one woman. Miss Willard as a leader of an army marching toward a great reform was another woman, allied to the first as is the fruit to the blossom, as is the glory of the full day to the twilight of the early dawn.

To realize the full significance of what her leadership in the Temperance Reform meant, we should be able to turn the leaves backward and to read rightly the signs of the times when, a quarter of a century ago, this great movement came into strong relief. We ought to revive the social, political, and educational conditions of our country, to recall its prosperity and its mighty and manifold causes of gratitude, and, with even balance, also to measure its unutterable misery and the secrets of its shame. More than that, in order to judge fairly what it meant for a gentle woman to lay one weak white hand at the throat of the giant evil of the day, we should know how to estimate the influence of that evil upon the moral forces and the social conditions of the time.

To this end also we ought to turn the leaves on which is written the record of all which had previously been done in the line of temperance reform. Some of us may have forgotten the period when religious influence and moral suasion were considered the prominent and more effective agents against the alarming growth of intemperance and vice. We should pass from that stage to a consideration of later efforts to make the restraints of law do the business of restraining grace. From these evangelistic and legal phases we should go forward to the educational stage of temperance reform, in which at last its advocates learned to study the causes of the evil and to search the world for a practical cure of the vice and an alleviation of its resultant misery and shame.

All this backward record makes an intensely interesting story. It should be well known if we would rightly estimate

the place and the power of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It should more especially be known if we would see in the right light the woman who for a quarter of a century stood in the forefront of the battle and led a mighty host through one or another department of effort to one or another summit of success.

We ought to remember also that the work itself for many years could not be classed among popular movements. Its political attitude divorced it from the sympathy of multitudes of good temperance people, who felt that its success depended upon its keeping to non-partisan lines. We ought to remember how powerful were the interests that combined against it. We ought never to forget that though a great multitude of women rallied to its support, yet that support is, to this day, withheld by a much larger number, representing the forces of which the organization still has need.

Knowing all these things, one is prepared to recognize the qualities of this woman leader, who saw her work widen until there was hardly a need or a woe of humanity that was not included in its all-embracing plans. It is a significant fact that always and everywhere minds of finest fibre and hearts aglow with unselfish love for humanity drew about her and made a corps of leaders such as never rallied about any great leader for any other moral fight. To her was given the heart of flame so aglow with love and longing for humanity that it drew the tender and noble hearts of her followers within the circle of its radiance and warmth, and sent them, too, forth to cheer and illuminate the world. To her was given such power of discrimination, such spiritual discernment, as enabled her to choose the best, and the inspiration that held the best through all these years in loyalty and love to herself and in labor for her cause.

In her opinion the world belonged to women that they might comfort it, save it, help to redeem it and uplift its manhood into true sonship of God. In this work, as her divine mission, from first to last she unswervingly believed. For such saving and uplifting she battled in life and pleaded almost to the hour when pleading changed to praise.

As the grand agency for the accomplishment of the eleva-

tion of mankind, she early appreciated the power of organization. No woman has to the same extent been the teacher of the higher principles of coöperative effort. Her educational work for the women of her day has no parallel in this direction. She was great in many ways, but in none was she greater than in the fact that she had the power to discern, to inspire, to educate, and to utilize the highest spiritual forces in other women. To her must be given credit largely for that waking of the women of our country to a knowledge of their own possibilities and powers that has marked the last quarter of a century. She worked after God's methods through humanity for humanity's sake.

What such a work must have meant to this great-brained, great-hearted woman we shall never know. We have had some glimpses of its personal labor and care. We know a little, but only a little, of its suffering, and sacrifice, and weariness, and pain. We have had a hint now and then of what it sometimes meant of misjudgment and misunderstanding and lack of recognition. There must have been much toil in the face of disheartenment and sometimes of seeming defeat, and we can be sure that there was much of joy and inspiration and blessing and exalted peace.

After a quarter of a century of work like hers, her last years should have been one triumphant forward march toward the higher ministries beyond. Each step of the way she should have borne the blessed consciousness that, more than any other woman of her day, she had touched and stirred the highest impulses of motherhood in the hearts of women—lofty and lowly—until it reached out eager arms beyond its own children and clasped to its heart all the orphaned creatures of God's great world.

How bravely she wrought on and on, even when, as many friends believe, she might have had years more of vigorous life had she been more self-indulgent and self-sparing, her death will prove. How wisely she wrought, the future will decide; but there can never be any difference of opinion as to the sincerity, the earnestness, and the forethought by which she brought about much of the changed sentiment

with regard to all reform in which the world rejoices at this day.

What her life yielded to her of the joy that she had earned, we can only feebly judge, but as years go on and her great deeds, and thoughts, and inspirations, and friendships are gathered up and laid in order before us, there will be revealed more and more its significance to the world. From the standpoint of to-day it seems as if the future could have but one verdict—that there has gone out from us a beneficent influence that we can ill spare, a grace and gentleness that we can never cease to miss, a power over human souls that eternity alone can measure, a love for humanity that has hardly been excelled, and a devotion to the highest conception of duty which hastened her life to its end, and which leaves us mourners to-day.

THE NOVEL-READING HABIT.

BY GEORGE CLARKE, PH. D.

THE preponderance of fiction in the literature of the closing decades of this century is the most salient feature in the literary history of our times which will strike the future historian. Fiction has been invading other provinces of literature to an extent which we should be glad to ascribe to an extraordinary abundance of imaginative and creative genius, if there were not a more probable explanation which is not quite so flattering. In order to understand and enjoy a novel there is no need of any previous special training or unusual mental capacity, so that the novel appeals to a wider circle of readers than any other kind of literature. As writers of every kind naturally desire to reach as large a public as possible, the consequence is that archæologists, historians, philosophers, sociologists, scientists, theologians, and moralists have learned the art of diluting and sugaring with a love-story the substantial nourishment they offer us. Whether our enormous appetite for fiction is merely a temporary pathological condition or is destined to be permanent, it is certainly deserving of interest and attention.

The extraordinary fascination which fiction exercises is doubtless due to its power of lifting us up out of the region of the commonplace, and transporting us among scenes of enchanting interest. In proportion as our own lives are dull and monotonous the charm of fiction is more powerful. Happiness, Aristotle says, is essentially an activity, but many of us are by nature lethargic and disposed to shrink from the personal activity that would make our lives happy and interesting to ourselves. But the power which we have of sympathizing with others in their ambitions, joys, and sorrows—that gift of the imagination by which we are enabled to contemplate the careers of others with a personal interest by identifying ourselves for the moment with them—supplies us with a means of obtaining a sort of happiness by proxy, while our

own attitude is entirely passive. It is by furnishing this kind of happiness that the novel has won its immense popularity.

It must be admitted, too, that as a producer of enjoyment, fiction has some advantages over active existence. The sensations excited by fiction, though inferior in intensity and permanence, are superior in rapidity of succession to those of real life. A novel crowds for our enjoyment into the space of a few hours the most interesting sensations experienced during as many years by its principal characters, passing over in silence all that is commonplace and trivial. In the skilfully constructed novel every point capable of enhancing the effect is brought into relief, hidden details of character and incident, which in actual life would escape the eye of the ordinary observer, are illuminated by sidelights of humor or pathos, each act is plainly interpreted and referred to its proper motive, and its significance in the general course of events is explained, while the characters and plot are constructed expressly with a view to novelty and impressiveness. If the novelist is not gifted with the insight to detect the tragedy or comedy lurking beneath what seems merely commonplace, and with the skill to reveal it, he contrives to secure the interest of his reader by means of the marvellous and extravagant. But an incident or a scene, even in real life, may be so described by a master of literary art that an ordinary person will derive more pleasure from hearing or reading the description than he would have felt as a spectator of the actual incident or scene itself. This does not imply an exaggeration or distortion of facts by the narrator, but that his vision is quick to perceive and interpret significant details which the common observer would pass over as trivial. Most of us have known persons so gifted with powers of narrative that their company in an adventure of any sort was valuable, for the reason that the other participants never knew how thrilling the adventure really had been until they heard these specially gifted persons describe it afterwards. The spectators of any remarkable occurrence—a railway accident, a street riot, a court trial, or a horse-race—scan the newspaper account next day to find out how it all happened, knowing that the skilled eye of the journalistic craftsman has seen more than their own duller vision

detected. And when a gifted narrator can do so much with plain facts, what is to be expected when he is at liberty, as in fiction, to lavish on the recital all the resources of his invention and imagination?

The novelist, morever, chooses for his themes those which have the most absorbing and universal interest. Of all the objects of human desire, the most passionately sought are probably wealth and love. If we are to judge of the intensity of the passion of love by the rapture which a truly loving betrothed couple seem to enjoy, or by the delirious happiness of the average honeymoon, we shall have to admit that the most ecstatic pleasure of which normal human nature in its prime is capable results from the sentiment, emotion, passion, or whatever one may choose to call it, of love—love triumphant.

This is the theme, then, which is preëminently chosen by the novelist in order to excite the highest degree of sympathetic pleasure in his readers, and he relates over and over again, with altered scenes and incidents, the old story of the awakening, development, difficulties, and final triumph of love in two human hearts. The reader loses for the time being his own identity in that of the lovers, sharing in the anxious longing which precedes mutual acknowledgment, and in the rapture which follows it, in a degree depending on his own mental constitution and on the skill of the narrator.

In a similar manner the novelist uses for his purpose the passion for wealth, enlisting the reader's sympathy for the successful struggles of the hero against adverse fortune, or feasting his imagination with a picture of the luxuries enjoyed by the rich.

Here and there may be found a novel which does not depend for its interest on either of these themes, but to achieve a wide success such a novel must be written by a master hand.

As imagination is the faculty chiefly exercised both in the creation and in the enjoyment of fiction, it might be supposed that fondness for this kind of reading is an indication of a strong imagination and a superior type of mind. But this is far from being true. An unusual love for and addiction to literature of this class are perhaps evidence of a receptive and

quick intelligence, of an ability to represent rapidly to the mind the idea presented in the printed word, and perhaps also of some appreciation of literary art, for no book that is interesting can be quite devoid of literary art. But an undiscriminating love of fiction, which accepts with avidity anything in the form of a story for the sake of dispelling ennui, is the mark of an indolent, unpractical, resourceless mental character.

Neither does unrestrained novel-reading tend to cultivate a strong imagination, for the reader's imagination is never for a moment left to its own resources, but simply surrenders itself and follows blindly where the author chooses to lead. A mental faculty can be cultivated only by effort and exercise, and the effort required of the imagination in order to picture to itself scenes and situations of which the complete material is furnished to it is so slight as to be of insignificant value. The average novel, moreover, does not deal in those brilliant gleams of imagery which the best poetry flashes on our minds, and which remain imprinted there for our future delight and as an enduring treasure. The panorama unfolded by the story-teller makes only a transient impression, which pleases while it lasts, but which demands so little effort on our part that it is soon effaced by other impressions of a similar character. The constructive and creative imagination of the reader is allowed to lie torpid. Fiction has therefore especial attractions for persons who are deficient in mental energy and creative powers. It is true that many really great minds have found pleasure in reading novels, but it has always been the pleasure of relaxation, and not to be compared with the intense enjoyment which they have derived from the activity of their mental powers. The novelist performs for us moderns in some respects the same service as the rich man's jester rendered his master in former days. The jester's business was to produce at need the quips and conceits which amused his master's hours of ease and banished his ennui, the master meanwhile feeling that he had paid money to be amused, and was not called on to furnish any of the entertainment himself. The peculiar charm of novel-reading is that the reader's mind is simply receptive and no exertion is necessary for full enjoy-

ment. When the novelist appeared the jester's business was doomed.

The effects of novel-reading have been well compared with those of indulgence in opium or intoxicating liquors. While we are under the influence of a novel (especially one of the "sensational" variety) our cares and anxieties are for the time forgotten, and our reasoning faculties are allowed to rest, while our imagination is delighted with a succession of fancies and visions. But this sort of indulgence is attended with danger, for frequent repetition of it will produce a habit and craving. The escape from tedium and anxiety is so pleasant that a person who has once experienced it is easily tempted to repeat the indulgence, and every new enjoyment of the pleasure adds to the power of the temptation. Persons of an indolent disposition or who have an abundance of leisure time, and who have not acquired by education a healthy interest in subjects of serious study or a taste for what is best in literature, are the easiest victims. They find in a novel a means of passing through thrilling adventures, of falling in love and getting married, of enjoying sprightly conversation, and of associating, it may be, with princes and duchesses, without once quitting their easy-chair or being obliged, as in real society, to make some exertion for the entertainment of others. If the novel is tedious in parts, they are not restrained by motives of courtesy from "skipping," a liberty one cannot always take when bored by the conversation in a drawing-room. In this way the novel comes to be regarded as an unfailing resource for idle hours, and the habit of resorting to it may be formed as readily as the craving for narcotics or stimulants.

The formation of this habit, to the destruction of all relish for substantial and nourishing literature, is the chief of the pernicious consequences entailed by much reading of fiction. It is noticeable also that in the case of the novel-habit, as of the liquor-habit, it is not the pure and wholesome article of the finest brands that is most apt to produce the craving, but the impure and inferior stuff with which the market is flooded, and which a discriminating taste will reject. The effects of the novel-habit are not so conspicuous as those of tippling, and are doubtless less disastrous to mind and body, but it

might fairly be urged that habitual debauches of novel-reading work sufficient havoc on the mental faculties to justify a crusade against the evil. If the production and consumption of fiction proceeds at its present rate we may perhaps one day see an Anti-fiction Society started, with pledges of total abstinence from novel-reading, and perhaps a new Dr. Keeley calling attention to a "cure" for the habit, which he will prove to be not so much a reprehensible vice as a hereditary disease for which its victims must not be held accountable.

Certainly the few workers in other fields of literature would have reason to hail such a "cure" with joy. Fiction has so nearly driven other kinds of literary production from the field that to the average reader the word "book" means only a novel, and "author" is synonymous with "novelist." In a recent number of one of our comic papers some verses appeared entitled "The A B C of Literature," each stanza being a squib on some popular living writer. That "literature" in its usual acceptation means hardly anything but "fiction," was shown by the fact that, with one exception, all the twenty-five authors mentioned are writers of fiction, and nearly all of them are known to the general public only as novelists. In popular estimation historians, essayists, and poets are almost ignored unless they have made their immortality sure by writing a novel.

The similarity of the novel-habit to dipsomania may be observed in the way in which it manifests itself. When the confirmed novel-reader has an idle hour the craving for his customary dissipation seizes him. Not being conscious of the viciousness of his habit, he offers less resistance than the toper, and proceeds at once to indulge it. If he has not at hand the means of doing so, he has only to proceed to the nearest public library, where his narcotic is dispensed gratis. The dipsomaniac has to pay dear for his indulgence, for public feeling is against him and legislation places difficulties in his way, but the novel-fiend has everywhere the sympathy of a vast majority of the voters, many of whom are victims like himself. Having secured his book he has hardly patience enough to wait until he reaches home, but will sometimes open it at once and read it in the public cars or as he walks along the street.

Standing not long ago at the entrance to a public library in one of our cities, the present writer observed a young lady leave the building with a novel she had just borrowed there. Evidently she had been suffering from a bad attack of the craving, for she held the book open in her hand, reading with avidity; walked, still reading, to where her bicycle rested against the curb of the sidewalk; closed the book for a moment while she mounted her wheel; reopened it when she was safely launched, and placidly continued her reading as she pedalled her way along a moderately busy thoroughfare. There have been complaints from the publishing houses that the bicycle was damaging their business, but this incident would seem to show that the two interests are at least not necessarily hostile.

The principal fault of novels of the average sort is the negative one of being worthless, and they are dangerous only because they possess attractive qualities which give rise to a habit, to the exclusion of really profitable occupations. Almost any innocent occupation of one's time would be preferable to reading a poor novel. Even when idle one cannot exclude thought, and quiet contemplation is a mental exercise not without its value. If novels were more scarce much of the time now wasted on them would be given to books of a more profitable kind, a taste for good literature would be cultivated, and the best products of the best minds would not be, as they are now, a treasure unknown to the multitude. Among the millions who constitute the reading public how many individuals are there who ever think of opening a volume of poetry?

If our main object in the training of our children were to render them dependent for their intellectual entertainment on works of fiction, we could hardly pursue any method better calculated to produce that result than the plan at present followed. From the time that a child has learned to read words of one syllable he is supplied with stories written in a style and language adapted to his capacity. There is no difficulty in finding such books for him; hosts of writers and publishers are engaged in supplying the demand. There is a "Youth's Page" in the Sunday newspapers and family periodicals, and this department consists chiefly of stories. There are periodicals containing numerous tales, and published expressly for

children. Every Christmas sees a new flood of tales and fables poured out for the enjoyment of young readers. Love of reading is considered a highly promising sign in a child, and is strongly encouraged by parents and teachers, who are generally satisfied with prohibiting books of an immoral or bloodthirsty kind, without extending their censorship to what is merely worthless and silly. Even the Sunday-schools contribute their share to the enervation of the young mind. The successful Sunday-school teacher is the one who can enliven his teaching with thrilling anecdotes, and the successful scholar receives as his reward a handsome volume containing, probably, the adventures of some boy-paragon, his struggles against the allurements of cigarettes and naughty language, and his final triumph and apotheosis as a prosperous man of business and pillar of Sunday-schools. One might almost suppose that the greater part of juvenile literature was deliberately designed to reduce the minds of the boys and girls who read it to a fit condition for the subsequent reception and enjoyment of the trash brought out for adults in the form of novels. It is tolerated on the ground that "any reading is better than no reading." But if the fiction placed within the reach of the young were immensely curtailed in quantity and only the best retained, their leisure reading might have as high an educational value as their school studies. And it is an error to suppose that reading trashy books will eventually lead to reading healthy literature.

While emphasizing here the harmful effects of the fiction that is morally unobjectionable, it is not intended to underrate the corrupt influence of immoral novels. But the novel that paints vice in attractive colors, that caters to ignoble or dissolute passions, or that gives currency to vicious principles of conduct, if it displays sufficient ability to make it deserving of notice, is at once branded by the critics as immoral and dangerous, its character is soon generally known, and anyone who reads it does so at his peril. It is true that the critics sometimes confound mere unconventionality or indecency with licentiousness, and stigmatize as immoral a book that is no more so than a treatise on anatomy. The most licentious books are not those of the realistic school.

There is, however, a fault which is very common in a certain class of fiction, and which generally escapes the critic's strictures, but which does considerable harm of its own—the fault, namely, of ascribing a supreme importance to wealth and social station. The novel whose characters move only "in the best society," which casts a fascinating halo over the advantages of wealth, and conveys to the reader the idea that outside the pale of the "smart" people no human being deserves notice and life is not worth living, has a tendency to excite discontent with one's condition and to foster the propensity to cupidity that is only too strong in all of us. The discontent thus produced is not that "divine discontent" which has been so prolific for the amelioration and advancement of the race, and which is based on a perception of the possibilities open to ingenuity and industry; it is a purely personal and selfish feeling. The young man or woman of limited means who indulges much in light novels of the fashionable world cannot avoid contrasting his or her laborious life and restricted hours and means of pleasure with the gay existence of those who live for pleasure only, and the effect on the mind is likely to be a depreciation of the means of happiness within reach, and an envious feeling toward those whom the accident of birth or fortune has favored. When wealth is regarded as the supreme good, the character of the means by which it is secured must assume a secondary importance, and this large class of novels may fairly be charged with some share of responsibility for the scrambling after riches, the pliant conscience in speculative transactions, and the pretentious style of living on narrow means of which there is daily evidence.

It may with some justice be urged in favor of the society novel that even if it attaches false values to things and shows an indifference to some of the most serious phases of life, it at any rate acts as a vehicle for disseminating the ideas and sentiments which prevail in the upper strata of society, and which, as far as manners, taste, and even questions of personal honor are concerned, represent a higher grade of culture than those in vogue in the social ranks to which the great mass of readers belong. It might even be maintained with truth that the average novel improves on those ideas and sentiments,

representing their tone as higher than it really is. A novel of this class is not usually hampered by a determination to stick to the exact truth. Its hero is quite incapable of the most trifling deviation from the straight path of gentlemanly honor; the author would rather depict him as misled by passion into the gravest moral lapses than as playing the part of an eavesdropper for a moment (except unavoidably and with unutterable distress to himself) or as clearing himself from unjust reproach at the expense of the real culprit, if the latter happened to be a woman. To assist in diffusing a more delicate sense of honor, more chivalrous ideas regarding women, and greater refinement in manners and language is undoubtedly a merit; and if to this merit be added that of affording a few hours' unprofitable entertainment we have made up the entire sum of the contribution made by the society novel to human well-being. The mental and moral interests of mankind would have little loss to record if all the books of this class that have been or are to be written should be suddenly swept out of actual or potential existence.

It may seem to be an injustice to dwell upon the mischievous effects of the inferior grades of fiction, and to say nothing of the wholesome and elevating influence of the best novels. It is quite true that human thinking and conduct have benefited from them to an extent that it would not be easy to overstate. They have raised the tone of morals and manners, championed many a depressed but righteous cause, contributed to the redressing of wrongs, and waged a successful warfare against cant, bigotry, and various sins of society. In proportion as they have been true in their descriptions of life they have extended our knowledge and deepened our sympathies, and by minute analysis of character and motives they have helped us to understand ourselves. But the masterpieces of fiction need no herald of their praises; they may safely be left to work out their mission without aid and in spite of criticism. The misfortune is that the prestige which their eminent merits have won for fiction acts as a recommendation for books which have nothing in common with them but external form and the name of novel, and frequently differ from them *toto cœlo* in character, aims, and influence.

HUMOROUS CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCOT.

BY REV. ANDREW W. CROSS.

MAX O'RELL in one of his bright little books of travel says: "It was Sydney Smith, an Englishman, who declared that it would take a surgical operation to inoculate a joke into the head of a Scotsman—probably he meant an English joke."

There is ample evidence in the literature and folk-lore of "the land of brown heath and shaggy wood" to demonstrate that Sandy is not altogether devoid of a funny bone.

You see, Englishmen are so inappreciative. When that uncultured cynic, Johnson, was dining with a bright Scotswoman (and the adjective is almost a superfluity), he was politely asked how he liked the haggis. "Good enough food for hogs," was his ungracious response. "Do let me help you to some more, Mr. Johnson," sweetly insinuated the hostess. Dr. Johnson never could understand Scottish humor.

Scotia has ever been notorious for Bibles and bibulousness. This quaint combination has proved the source of much of her native "wut." It was one of the reverend devotees of both the Bible and Bacchus who, after a Saturday night's spree, fell asleep in the pulpit on Sunday, while the psalm was being sung. The psalm having been completed, silence reigned till the precentor poked the minister vigorously, remarking in a stage whisper, "It's a' din; it's a' din." "Weel, weel," exclaimed the drowsy ecclesiast, "tell Kirsty there's plenty mair in the cellar." The pulpit was not often, however, the shrine of Morpheus; it was generally in the pews that the slumberers were to be found; and it was truly said of many a somnolent son of Knox,

> He put his penny in the brod,
> His soul into the Psalm,
> Then settled in the land o' Nod
> Like ancient Abraham.

One good old pulpiteer, still remembered in the vicinity of Perth, near Drumtochty, of Brier Bush fame, who had been

taxed beyond his patience by the inattention of his parishioners, broke out one day with the vehement expostulation: "There! ye're a' sleepin' in the hoose o' God except Jock Tamsen, an', puir man, he's an eediot." The half-witted John Thomson didn't quite like being called an idiot, so he retorted loudly: "Ay! ay! meenister, an' if he hadna' been an eediot, he'd a' been sleepin' tae."

The old gentleman is recorded to have emerged much more gloriously from the difficulty propounded by a canny little urchin in the Sunday school, who, when "Jacob's Ladder" was under consideration, wanted to know if "all angels had wings?" and when answered in the affirmative, proceeded: "Weel, whit did they want tae be climbin' up an' doon a ladder for?" A gleam came into the old Scotsman's eye as he responded pawkily: "Weel, weel, my laddie, it's gey like the angels were on the pouk" (moulting).

Having missed one of his students for several Sundays, he said to one of her relatives: "I haena seen yeer cousin Bell at the class for a long while. Ye ken it's her duty tae attend the schule. Whaur has she gaen?" "I canna very weel tell ye that, meenister," was the cautious reply, "but she's deed."

Scotsmen are sometimes very funny when they joke, but some of those grim old sons of the Covenant are even more humorous when they pray. In an old volume, published in Edinburgh in 1693, entitled "Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence," is to be found the following notice: "Mr. Areskin prayed in the Iron Kirk last year, 'Lord, have mercy on all fools an' idiots, and particular on the magistrates of Edinburgh."

The patience of the pews would not be so mightily taxed if all ministers would get right down to the business in hand without long-drawn-out explanations to the Almighty, as tersely as did an Argyllshire pastor, who was quite partial to the "wee drap." He opened the service one Sunday morning with the pithy petition: "O Lord, whit are we this mornin' bit a parcel o' easy osies? Grant us a big meat hoose, an' a wee wrought hoose, an' mountains o' preed and cheese, an' whuskey like Loch Lomond, an' puild a muckle dyke atween us an' the teevil."

So excessive was this gentleman in his unbridled indulgences —a spiritual adviser over-fond of spirits—that he was finally laid on his deathbed as a result. When asked if he was not afraid to meet his Maker, he responded: "Na, na, bit I'm awfu' feart tae meet the ither fellow."

The characteristic Scottish manners, the peculiar pawky humor, the quaint, unique Tammas Haggarts, and the Margaret Ogilvys are fast becoming obsolete, the cosmopolitanism of southern Scotland is rapidly obliterating the distinguishing features. But not far from the city of Glasgow, down the Clyde, is a little speck of an island called Arran, where the visitor may still find Auld Scotia in much of her primitive simplicity. It was here not very long ago that a well-known worthy prayed for "the blessing of the Lord to come down upon the inhabitants of Arran, and also upon the inhabitants of the adjacent islands of Great Britain and Ireland."

Here, too, that peculiar product of the kirk of Knox, the precentor, wielded the pitchfork long after his tribe on the mainland had ceased to hold sway. In 1645 the Westminster Assembly passed a recommendation to the effect that, "As many in our congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister or some other fit person appointed by him and the ruling elders, do read the psalm, line by line, before the singing thereof." "The precentor" was the "fit person" appointed, and so persistent is habit that long after the establishment of public schools, even to-day in some remote districts, the precentor still drawls out line after line of the Psalms of David,—the metrical version be it understood. Without the aid of the "deevil's whustle boxes" he starts the tune and leads the congregation, sometimes by erratic vocal bypaths, to the desired haven. Not often, but once in a while, he breaks down, as did a Fife worthy one Sabbath day. A valiant attempt to carry the tune through at all hazards resulted only in an altogether unearthly "skirl." The minister leaned over the front of the pulpit, and looking down at the precentor's desk immediately beneath, he enquired, "Whit's wrang?" "I've an unco kittlin (tickling) in my throat," replied the precentor. "An unco kittlin (kitten), d'ye ca' it? Man, it soons mair like an auld tam cat."

The humor of Scotland is by no means confined to the pulpit, though it finds its ablest exponents there. That canny Scot had a very keen sense of the fitness of things, who, when asked if he had ever been in a court of justice, replied, "No, but I've been before the judge." The ever-apparent tendency to tangle up sanctimoniousness with business was well illustrated by the shopkeeper who advertised, "We trust in the Lord; all others strictly cash."

It would appear from the illustrations cited that Caledonia has a dry humor, with qualities which are peculiar to it; and the surgical operation referred to by the witty Englishman seems to have been performed at a peculiarly early date, and the law of heredity proved supernaturally true.

The bright mot of Campbell, the poet, has no especial Scottish characteristic, but having been perpetrated by a renowned Scotsman, with it we may appropriately conclude. Campbell, it may be remembered, is the author of Hohenlinden, which begins:

> On Linden when the sun was low,
> All bloodless lay the untrodden snow,
> And dark as winter was the flow
> Of Iser rolling rapidly.

The poet attended an evening party on one occasion, and when the gentlemen were securing their hats and coats previous to departure, suddenly the lights went out. In the confusion which followed some one pushed vigorously against Campbell, knocking him downstairs. The offending gentleman at once said, "Beg pardon! who's there?" and a voice replied from the depth below, "It is I, sir, rolling rapidly."

THE STORY OF AN "AD."

BY HENRY MATTHEWS WILLIAMS.

THIS is the true story of an "ad." that was placed in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. It is a story that partly gives an answer to the question, What has become of the hundreds of thousands of men who have been turned out of employment by the use made of newly invented machines? It is a story that should make the heart of Americans quail for the future. It is a story that should make every true man determine that the conditions which can produce such a phenomenon as this shall not continue.

In the St. Louis paper in question was recently placed the following advertisement:

NIGHT WATCHMAN WANTED—Must be fairly well educated, neat of appearance, able-bodied and if necessary be ready to furnish bond; none but those who can show absolute proofs of their honesty and sobriety in all senses of the word need apply; hours, 6 to 6, Monday to Friday (off Saturday nights), 1 p. m. Sunday to 6 a. m. Monday; salary $15 per week; state whether married or single and inclose references, which will be returned if not used. Address, in own handwriting, H 789, Post-Dispatch.

Within twenty-four hours of the insertion of this advertisement SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE ANSWERS were received.

Think of it,—seven hundred and twenty men, with the qualifications needed to fill this position, were waiting for this chance to make a bare living. Seven hundred and twenty men hunting one poor job. Seven hundred and twenty eager to sit up all night and risk their lives for $15 a week.

The qualifications were such that the uneducated laborer was excluded from the competition. Most of the answers received were from men who could write well, who could punctuate, spell, and construct a grammatical sentence. Every man who replied was ready to prove his sobriety and honesty without question.

It was no army of "bums" or men "born tired" that an-

swered this "ad." It was an army of men who are good, decent citizens, who would be competent to hold their own in any well-regulated society, but who are reduced to a mad scramble for bread under the present vile system.

How many of these men voted for "McKinley and Prosperity?" How many of them would do so again?

It has been stated more than once that fifty thousand men could be found to swim the Mississippi for the chance to earn ten dollars a week. Who says that this is an exaggeration in the light of this "ad." and its outcome?

The stack of answers to this advertisement weighs about ten pounds. The promise to return references entailed an expense of about $8 to the advertiser. Many of the letters were pitiful appeals for work. They contained heartrending stories of the misfortunes of the writers and their families.

As trusts grow and increase, competition among the workers will increase. This "ad." proves it. Nothing of the kind could have occurred ten or fifteen years ago. As industrial combination among employers becomes closer and competition is eliminated from business and production, only the most skilled, the most industrious, the most highly educated, and the most servile will be able to hold employment continuously.

In another five years it will be a thousand applications for one job. In ten years five thousand will apply for every piece of work.

The system of production and distribution by masters and men has failed. The appeal for "horizontal combination" has not been heeded. Communism of capital exists side by side with the most heartless competition among workers. The outlook is ominous. The trust must give way to the people as an employer, or the nation is doomed.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY AND THE WALDORF-ASTORIAN REVEL.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

"There is a generation whose teeth are as swords, and their jaw teeth as knives, to devour the poor from off the earth, and the needy from among men."—*Proverbs*, xxx, 14.

"Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords. . . . They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold."—*Daniel*, v, 1, 4.

I. The Prelude.

ON January 17, 1898, nine thousand American weavers at New Bedford, Massachusetts, were forced out of employment. They were forced out by the alternative of submitting to an arbitrary and cruel reduction of their already meagre wages. It was the dead of winter. The manufacturing proprietaries took advantage of both nature and man; the cruelty of the one was turned against the weakness of the other. The bitter thong of January was fixed as a blood-cutting cracker to the lash of arbitrary power, and the lash was laid without mercy on the naked back of labor. The proud spirit of the nine thousand weavers had the alternative of submission to the edict or of going forth in the dead waste of January to starve as they might.

New Bedford was only one of the principal points of this visitation of midwinter prosperity. Other centres of the cotton-fabric industries were rocked with the earthquake. At Lowell about two thousand operatives, having to submit or quit, quit—and had snow for supper. The next morning the newspapers presented a paragraph about the "imprudent course of the strikers." At Biddeford, Maine, there was a like demonstration of prosperity. At the great manufacturing city of Fall River the volcano was suppressed. This was a stroke of happiness for the goldite newspapers, for otherwise they would not have had so much space to devote to the sufferings of Cuba, the insolence of Spain, the policy of the Shah, the intrigue in Afghanistan, and the possible partition of China.

Suffice it that everywhere throughout the manufacturing towns of New England the same scene as that at New Bedford, though in modified and lessened degrees of hardship, was witnessed. There was a time in the after half of January when it seemed that the whole industrial fabric would fall flat in the snow. Prosperity had really come! The action of the weavers of New Bedford in resisting the arbitrary reduction of their wages and in accepting the alternative of starvation for themselves and their families was called a strike. The onus of the business was put, as usual, on the laboring men, and they found no voice and no apologist. The goldite press of New England and the metropolis referred in small lines to the "New Bedford Labor Difficulty." It was glossed over as a thing of small concern. Why should such a trifle be referred to in the age of prosperity? Why should the sufferings of nine thousand weavers be regarded when there were Cubans and Cretans and Armenians? To speak of the grief in our own dooryard would be to foment the spirit of inquiry and to lead men to consider the conditions into which we have fallen. To do this is precisely what the goldite syndicate is determined the people shall not do. They shall not consider; they shall not inquire. They shall not look into the causes and conditions of the industrial death that has come upon the American people. They shall not seek a remedy. They shall not find a voice. They shall be silent, and starve. They shall submit to the "necessities of business," and shall take such wages as the gold standard of values will permit the management to pay. Meanwhile the management will by its press bureau explain the causes of the difficulty and will demonstrate the predestined failure of all strikes whatsoever.

We should note in this connection that the cotton industry of the United States is precisely that form of enterprise which was most of all to show forth the great revival that was promised as the result of the presidential election of 1896. No other industry whatever, not even the iron manufacture, was to get the benefit in so marked a degree as was the production of cotton goods. It was the mills and not the mints that were to be opened. Mills and mints had an alliter-

ative sound, and Mr. Mark Hanna's bureau found it. Open the mills instead of the mints, was the word. Elect the advance agent of prosperity, and the mills will start as if by magic, and the great sea of industrial life will again flow bank full. The cotton mills especially were to pour out their vast volume of new life as soon as the epoch of prosperity could be ushered in.

It is pitiable to reflect that the American people were gulled into accepting this sophistical rot for the truth. One reconsidering what was affected by the organs of public falsehood in the summer and fall of 1896 might almost despair of the Republic; but instead of despairing we intend to return to the charge and as much as is in us try to reverse and amend the bitter conditions which have followed as the result of the false verdict of the people. Ignorance is a dreadful disease. It requires heroic remedies. To extirpate it seems at times impossible. But by and by the ancient ramparts will tumble down. The old order will pass away. The sunlight of intelligence will come, and men will remember with astonishment the thing of the past.

If it were not so provocative of indignation it would be amusing to note the explanation which the goldite press was instructed to give of the industrial griefs of the winter of 1897-98. In the first place the debased organs of public falsehood were told to declare that prosperity had come. This they did using their whole diapason. Never was any other lie so vociferated through all the figures and forms of speech. It was, of course, necessary to declare the return of prosperity; for prosperity had been promised. The people were foolish enough to remember that prosperity had been promised. They were foolish enough to suppose that the promise signified something. It did not signify anything, but they thought it signified. It was therefore necessary that the goldite posse should vociferate prosperity; and that was accordingly done. We were treated to the familiar dish: Prosperity, prosperity; boom, boom; business revival, business revival; rush and jam of trade; bank clearings unprecedented; gold piling up in the Treasury; prices rising; furnaces smoking; machinery clattering in every village; proud and happy

workingmen going forth to their daily tasks of well-paid labor. So on and on through the endless cycle of delusive and lying proclamation.

Accordingly, when it came to midwinter and the nine thousand New Bedford weavers were in a single day driven forth into the snow to grovel and to starve, some explanation had to be offered for the thing that had come to pass. Why in the world should the cotton industry meet with so sudden and appalling a disaster? Why should not the mills continue to run and the workingmen to be paid full wages? Really, in the first year of the epoch of prosperity an explanation was demanded. Scarcely might a workingman be found who had cast his ballot for the advance agent of prosperity who would not now expect some reason to be set forth why nine thousand men in one town should be turned out in the dead of winter to freeze or to starve as the case might be. So an explanation was invented, and it was this: It was *Southern competition!* The cotton mills of the South had sprung up, and their product had come into competition in the market with the product of the New England mills. Under this unforeseen pressure the manufacturers of the Eastern States had been obliged to cut down expenses and reduce the scale. The new industry of the wicked South had obtruded itself into the market; and *this* forsooth was the reason why the looms of New England, even when supported by the rich pap of the Dingley zollverein, could not hold the market against their competitors! It was sad to see the looms of New England struck with this sudden paralysis of Southern competition; but it could not be obviated! The impoverished South all at once had come into such a flood of prosperous manufacturing conditions that the output of the Southern factories had broken down the market, and the only remedy was that of a reduction of wages. Strange that the business did not work the other way! Strange that the output of the New England mills did not glut the Southern market, break the prices, and compel the intruding competitors to cut down *their* wages or stop the production of *their* goods also!

As a matter of fact the alleged cause of the reduction of the wages of the weavers of New England in the first year of the

age of prosperity had nothing to do with the reduction. This was well known to the inventors of the impossible explanation. The reduced scale was the result of the establishment of the gold measurement of values. The price of gold had insidiously risen for half a lifetime, and the prices of all things else had correspondingly fallen. The time came when the manufacturing syndicate found it necessary to subject the workingmen in their employ to the blessings of the gold standard. In order to do it effectually the syndicate selected the middle of winter as a time when the desolation of the season and the pressing necessities of life would reënforce them in their work of fastening the gold collar on the neck of American labor.

II. The Spectacle.

The foregoing reflections are only introductory to a sequel. Just ten days after the nine thousand weavers of New Bedford were put between the millstones of winter and starvation an event occurred in New York City which was the other side of the medallion. On the evening of January 27 there was held in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel a manufacturers' banquet, which was as notable in its kind and purport as was the industrial ruin of New England which had just preceded it.

For it had been determined by the princes of plutocracy that there should be an event that might be regarded as the formal overture of the new era of prosperity. A great banquet was accordingly devised by the National Association of the Manufacturers of the United States, and the new Waldorf-Astoria hotel, the finest palace of its kind in America, was chosen as the proper place for the revel.

As if to keep Belshazzar's feast in memory and to conform as nearly as practicable to the prototype, it was arranged that *one thousand* lords should sit together in the magnificent banqueting hall of the Waldorf-Astoria, and that the President of the United States should be invited as the guest of honor and the principal speaker of the occasion. Prosperity should thus be formally inaugurated. The event should not be—could not be—longer postponed. Mr. McKinley had already been President of the United States for ten months and twenty-three days. It was high time that the ball should be set rolling, and that some kind of glorious flourish of trumpets

and libations of wine should announce to the world that the promised jubilee had come.

It is desirable that the American people should take a view of the scene which was prepared by the National Association of Manufacturers as their contribution to the epoch of prosperity. Around the banqueting hall were tiers of boxes draped with banners of silk. One box over the head of the table where the President was to sit was magnificently decorated. Seven long tables extended the full length of the hall, and sixteen smaller tables on either side of these filled the spaces where the guests were to sit. The tables were decorated with flowers and potted plants. There was a dais on which the President and the other principal guests were to sit as on a raised platform where they might be seen and admired of men. The beautiful stairways of the banqueting hall were lined with palms and ferns. All the illusions of Aladdin were surpassed in the gorgeousness of the scene.

The President of the United States had in the meantime been assigned to the Royal Chambers of the Astoria; for the people should understand that the Astoria has Royal Chambers especially provided for the entertainment of the princes and potentates of the Old World whenever they condescend to come to us. To these chambers the President of the United States was assigned for his entertainment. It was a fitting thing that he should be provided for under the royal hangings; for royalty is all one whether in the Old World or the New. Democratic republicanism also is all one in the Old World and the New. So down out of the Royal Chambers the President of the United States was ushered to his place at the head of the revel. The air quivered with music. The march into the hall occupied twenty minutes.

One thousand plates were set at fifteen dollars a plate. Nothing that aggregated wealth could provide was spared from the preparations. A single example of the concomitant luxuries may suffice as illustrative of the whole. The menu cards had been prepared in a manner fit for princes. Each menu was in the similitude of a volume of vellum. The volumes were bound in undressed calfskin, and the monograms on the covers were burned in with elaborate art. Around the

monograms were scrolls and etchings. One etching was of Bartholdi's statue of Liberty Enlightening the World. That was peculiarly appropriate. What reflections Liberty may have cherished I dare not say. Her lips were sealed, and she has kept her secret. There was an etching of the Brooklyn Bridge; also an allegory of "Industry"—a beautiful scene drawn from fancy, showing how happy men can be while they are at work for other men under the wage system of labor. The allegory of Industry was not sketched from the weaving establishments of New Bedford.

There was also a scene on the vellum menus drawn and etched from Wall Street which we can but regard as particularly good. Wall Street should hardly be expected to omit a commemoration of itself on such an occasion. And it is not often that Wall Street finds an event so primarily and perfectly harmonious with itself as the Astorian revel. Therefore the vellum menus should contain a sketch of a scene in Wall Street; it was one of the inspirations of the management. There was also an etching of "Commerce and Transportation"—an allegory in which flying trains and sailing ships gave token of the glory which had come with the age of prosperity. There was no sketch of the New Bedford cotton mills.

The menu laid at the President's plate was like the rest with the exception that the edges of his volume were significantly bound *in gold*. The words "The President" on the cover were embossed *in gold*. This was also a fitting thing, because ere the banquet ended the age of gold was to be proclaimed as well as the age of prosperity.

The one thousand guests who sat down, each to his fifteen-dollar plate at the Astorian revel, did so, as we have said, under the auspices and in the name of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States. It was a strictly non-political gathering. That was what all the papers said, and what the guests themselves said. Each of them with the other as he saluted and shook hands might well exclaim—

> Republicans, Democrats, Mugwumps we—
> But all of us Goldites, welcoming thee—
> McKinley!

The banquet that ensued surpassed for its magnificence, its

reckless display, its ostentatious parade of a purely factitious prosperity, and its hypocritical pretensions in celebrating a state of American society which did not exist, and which was known not to exist, any other like event in the history of the United States. Never before since the discovery of our continent had such a scene been witnessed. Concentrated wealth and power did not spare themselves on the occasion. It had been predetermined to give prosperity such a send-off as should never be forgotten. And we willingly confess that the discharge was equal to the catapult. The revel rose according to the programme and broke for five mortal hours in all the jubilation which proud and victorious humanity is able to express.

That this remarkable gathering would be exploited through two continents was not to be doubted. Certainly the reports and descriptions of the banquet and the speeches to be made would, on the morrow, be poured from a thousand presses, each revolving under the common inspiration of gold, and each gladly contributing to the false opinion that the contract undertaken by the victorious party in the contest of 1896 to revive the industries of the American people had been fulfilled. But down under it all what was the inspiration and what was the significance of the thing done?

In considering this remarkable spectacle it is profoundly interesting to find out, if we may, the bottom motive which had brought the event to pass. This motive can be logically deduced, but not from the explanatory remarks of the presiding officer. Hon. Warner Miller, ex-Senator of the United States for New York, declared that the chief end of the organization under whose auspices the banquet was spread, and of the spectacle, was "to extend the foreign commerce of the United States." He also declared that there was "nothing political" in the organization, or in the meeting which he addressed. It was not to secure political results, but to insure the addition of a Department of Commerce to the cabinet functions of the government that the annual banquet was concerned. But why should the National Association of Manufacturers be so alert for extending the *foreign* commerce of the United States? Or why should such an association dis-

claim the political character? Who had said the contrary? Why should the presiding officer say that one of the objects of the meeting was to advocate the establishment of a Commerce Department in the cabinet of the United States when no action looking to that end was considered? If we examine the proceedings of the meeting we shall find nothing to indicate that the association was especially concerning itself about a Department of Commerce, or about any other question except THE ONE QUESTION WHICH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WAS EXPECTED TO DISCUSS. That one question *was* a political question if there ever was a political question; and yet the presiding officer declared that the association was non-political, and that the banquet had no political end or aim.

> Can such things be,
> And overcome us like a summer's cloud,
> Without our special wonder?

For three hours, then, the one thousand guests at the Astorian revel regaled themselves with viands, conversed of the prosperity which had returned to the country, and considered the monograms and etchings on the vellum menus. That it was a distinguished gathering goes with the saying. Nor are we jealous of the grandeur, the glamour, and the glory of these one thousand rich and powerful men. We begrudge them nothing, and we wish them well as we wish all men well who are true men and patriots. That the assembly was composed of men successful by the standards of the age is most true. That the guests were well fed, well dressed, and well badged is not controverted. That they represented the powerful party at present victorious in American society is not to be denied. We admit all this; and there is more to be added. The banquet was not only a forthshowing instance of glorious success, but it was also the expression of unbridled power. It stood not only for the financial mastery, but also for the political mastery of American society. It stood for the government of the United States! Aye, more; it *was* the government of the United States. It was the real government; only the simulacrum of the government remained at Washington. The Astoria banquet hall was for the time the real and visible seat of power on this continent. The administration of the

American Republic was there. The President was there in person. The Congress of the United States was not there; but that was not necessary. The Supreme Court was not there; but that consideration could be waived. The American money aristocracy *was* there, and that constituted the "real presence" in the ceremony.

When the Waldorf-Astorian revel was on, there was no power visible or invisible in the New World that could stand against it. For although it was not the ostensible, it was the actual owner and proprietor of everything from sea to sea. While that banquet was sitting the administration of the American government was waiting to do its bidding. The army of the United States stood in call ready to march; the navy was ready to start to its destination. The Treasury of the United States was ready to open or to close. That banquet was the embodiment of the so-called "business interest" of America, and it had the President of the Republic in the midst ready, when the time should come, to express its purpose and announce its scheme of financial and economic policy.

Strange it seems that in a little more than a century from the foundation of this Republic the essential life of the nation should have been diverted to such an aspect. Instead of patriotism the commercial spirit had become enthroned. Instead of individuality the oppression of man by capitalistic combination had become the rule. Instead of personal initiative and aspiration the despotic scheme of the trust and the far-reaching intrigue of the bond had been substituted. Instead of free government a method of sheer jugglery and delusion had been invented. Instead of a union of majestic States, with their strong fibre and resolute spirit, a miserable centralized oligarchy had declared itself as the alpha and omega of American authority. Instead of free citizenship industrial and political servitude had supervened.

Not only had all of these abusive conditions come, but they had combined in a league for the virtual suppression of democratic government in this country. At the Astorian revel democracy was not. The management of that triumphant body had conspired to usurp the powers of society by the institution of an Invisible Empire. In this empire the open arena

of action should be the stock exchange, and the central heart should be a money vault heaped full and locked against all legitimate uses of industry and trade.

This intolerable condition is precisely what was represented and embodied at the Waldorf-Astorian revel; and this is what the subservient organs of the so-called Manufacturers' Association were told to celebrate on the morrow as the return of prosperity to the American people!

We are left perfectly free to put our own construction upon the event under consideration, and to deduce from it whatever meaning we can—always under the limitation that we shall do our best to discover the truth. The Waldorf-Astorian revel was *not* intended to promote the interests of American manufacture. It was *not* intended to devise means for promoting American commerce either at home or abroad. It was *not* intended to secure the appointment of a Secretary of Commerce in the cabinet of the President. It was *not* intended as an industrial or commercial agency to advance the interests which the name of the association or the general proclamation of the event would imply; but it was intended to secure a certain specific end. And that end was as covert as it was baneful. The banquet had special reference to the scheme of the money power to secure from the government of the United States a still more distinct expression of a purpose to institute and uphold gold monometallism as the money system of the American people. The deep-down significance of the whole affair had this extent and no more. It was intended that the President of the United States should discard then and there the theory of bimetallism. It was intended that the government, the administration, by the President's mouth, should formally discard that theory and proclaim instead the theory of gold monometallism.

This purpose had been cherished by the money power before the Presidential election of 1896. It was more warmly cherished afterward. It had been intended *as soon as practicable* to throw off the cloak under the disguise of which the election had been won. The goldite oligarchy had grown very restless; its eagerness had become extreme. Scarcely had the smoke of the presidential battle cleared away when the so-called

Business Men's convention was held in Indianapolis and the preliminary steps were taken for the creation of the Monetary Commission. The latter had not fared well; indeed it had fared ill. The contempt of the American people was upon it from the first. But it was impossible to change the purpose of the gold league; and the fact that the administration had, after ten months of supine waiting, done nothing but march up the hill and march down again made the leaders and proprietors of the association more and more anxious and alert.

It was therefore decided to make an end. It was determined that the President of the United States should cast off the bimetallic mask and utter encouraging words for the men who had put him into his high office. The banquet was therefore chosen as the thing. The President must accept. Men in the highest station frequently find themselves under such conditions that their wills are gone, their purposes paralyzed, and their obedience is secured in advance. A generation ago it could not have been believed that the President of the United States would ever be reduced to the necessity of doing the bidding of any class of men. That he should become a willing automaton uttering words when the power behind should press the button was a supposition too monstrous to be conceived; and yet this very thing had come to pass.

It were vain to dwell upon the varying aspects of the banquet. The one thousand 15-dollar plates were emptied and reëmptied to the end. Music poured out its enchantments. Radiant beauty looked down from the boxes. The murmur of commingled voices swelled into a chorus, and the chorus into a roar. The "business interest" glorified itself to repletion. Meanwhile the real productive enterprises of the Great Republic were totally ignored in the scheme of restored prosperity; the nine thousand New Bedford weavers were omitted from the count, and the whole body of the mocked and discouraged American people was as completely forgotten as though it had been a horde of serfs on the steppes of Russia.

III. The Speech.

It is our more particular purpose, however, to consider the speech of President McKinley at the Waldorf-Astoria banquet, and to point out its significance. The climax of the

evening was reached when it came the President's turn to address the banqueters. The presiding officer had spoken already. Mr. Theodore C. Search, the president of the association, had also spoken. He had pointed out the fact that American enterprise had forerun the enterprise of all the world. The American telegraph had been accepted everywhere as the means of instantaneous communication; but he did not discuss the influence of the Western Union or the value of its stock! "The American telephone," said the speaker, "has brought the merchants of the world within talking distance of one another." But he carefully avoided any reference to the Bell Telephone Company and its part in the political management of the United States. It was at the conclusion of Mr. Search's speech that the President of the United States was called.

The enthusiasm was great and prolonged. The chief magistrate declared that he was fully compensated for coming from the capital to be received in so cordial a manner. He told the banqueters that their business organization was not unknown to him, and that he was not unknown to it. Most true! Each *was* known to the other. He reminded his hearers that they had improved in countenance and prospect since he met them in January of 1895. And that was true also; for in the interval the power which was represented at the banquet had obtained possession of the United States, had prevailed in a great presidential election, and had compelled the people to register a false decision *of which the speaker was the conspicuous beneficiary.*

In the next place the President indulged in an aphorism. "Your object now," said he, "is to go out and possess what you never had before. You want to extend, not your notes, but your business." This sally was received with a great outburst of applause. It seemed to signify something. But what did it signify? The President told the banqueters that they did not wish to extend their notes. That was regarded as a witty thrust at the national legal-tender money of the United States. The President meant that the legal-tender money, called "notes," was not to be extended, but was to be cancelled. He did not say cancelled in so many words, but he gave his hearers

to understand; and they understood. He omitted, however, to say that as for *bank* notes they were precisely the thing which the banqueters were striving to extend! It makes, therefore, all the difference in the world *what kind* of "notes" it is that the American people are to extend and perpetuate. If it be their own notes, then the President's declaration was that these should not be extended. But if it be the notes of the banks, then they shall be extended and multiplied. That is, the people's notes shall be destroyed, but the notes of the banks shall continue and prevail *ad infinitum.*

The speaker next quoted from one of his own addresses of 1895, in which he prophesied that the nation was destined "to recover from the state of relapse and go out to the conquest of greater fields of trade and commerce." No doubt this nation will recover; but the President did not venture to say that the recovery had actually come. It was only coming. He then went on to show in what ways the government can encourage industry and commerce. The government, he thought, can do many things to help along the manufacturing and commercial interests of the nation. Among the rest he referred to the fact that revenues may be raised by taxation in such a way as to discriminate in favor of domestic enterprise. But this point he did not press, and it was received in comparative silence. The speaker might have discovered in this ominous circumstance the undeniable fact that the "non-political" body of magnates whom he was addressing were not his kind of protectionists. He attempted to point out in an academical way the means by which profitable trade may be enjoyed by the American people. All this, however, was preliminary to the essential question concerning which he was expected to speak; and to this he came in due order.

Reaching at length the central field, the President declared it to be the duty of the nation "to regulate the value of its money by the highest standards of commercial honesty and national honor." This signified that the "commercial honesty" and the "national honor" were to be defined in sense and purport simply by the lexicon of the stock exchange. That dictionary of fraud and greed had long since become the *vade mecum* of the President and his party. To define "na-

tional honor" by any other standard was not to be expected at a banquet of prosperity where every man of the thousand had learned to say shibboleth. "The money of the United States," said the President, "is and must forever be unquestioned and unassailable. If doubts remain they must be removed. If weak places be discovered they must be strengthened." Here the speaker was getting into the swim. The banqueters began to quiver; now he was coming to it. Now the spokesman of the American Republic was about to declare the thing which they had instructed him to declare. He was about to give back to them, with as much force and precision as Latin phraseology would convey, the very thought and purpose which they entertained, and which they had appointed him to express. "Nothing," said he, "should ever tempt us—nothing ever will tempt us—to scale down the sacred debt of the nation through a legal technicality." Scale *down* the sacred debt of the nation! What about scaling *up* the sacred debt of the nation through a legal technicality? What about providing that the debt should, by the manipulation of the money power, be doubled in value and trebled and quadrupled until the nation should groan under the everlasting burden of the incubus?

Let us ask President McKinley a question. Who had ever proposed to scale down the sacred debt of the nation? Nobody. Had any party or faction of a party ever declared in favor of scaling down the national debt? On the contrary, had not the nation acquiesced in the debt, and borne it, and poured an ocean of treasure into the reservoir of its holders? And had not the debt steadily and constantly appreciated by the manipulation of the dollar of the contract from the terrible days in which the debt was contracted to the present hour?

President McKinley! Is it not literally true that the national debt would at the very hour when you were speaking to the Astorian banqueters buy as much of the average commodities of the American market as it would buy when it was at its nominal maximum on the first of March, 1866? I say that very thing is true, and it was true when you were speaking! Were you ignorant of this fact? Did you know it or did you not know it? Will you name some one to controvert

what I say? I respectfully challenge you to do it! Cannot the holders of the national debt go forth to-day and buy with it as much, or more, of the great products of American labor as they could ever have purchased with it from the time when it was contracted to this hour? I say they can; and I will drive to the wall whoever will deny it!

Who, then, has proposed to scale down the debt? No one; no one! The intimation, Mr. President, that a party of your fellow citizens has attempted to scale the national debt or to scale any other debt is false. It is false in conception, and false in utterance. On the other hand, you yourself and the party which you represent, and the nation by constraint which you misrepresent, have been either the willing or the unwilling agents of scaling *up* the national debt until the bonds which represent it after a full lifetime of existence, and after the payment of thousands of millions of dollars by the suffering American people, are absolutely worth as much as they ever were worth before! If these facts were known to you when you addressed the Astorian revel, you suppressed them. If they were unknown to you, then you were too ignorant of the subject which you were discussing to discuss it in the spirit of truth.

The next clause of the President's address comes still nearer to the heart and purpose of the question. He said: "Whatever may be the language of the contract, the United States will discharge all of its obligations in the currency recognized as the best throughout the civilized world at the time of payment." Indeed! That is the highest stride of all. Is it possible that the chief magistrate of the nation, speaking, as it were, for the nation, could utter such a mockery of justice and truth as that? "*Whatever may be the language of the contract,*" said the President. In the name of reason and righteousness, is not the contract everything? Is not he who renounces the contract a repudiator? What party in American public life invented and propagated the charge of repudiation? It was the very party which the President of the United States represented at the banquet. Is, then, the contract, the sacred contract, the contract to which the whole American people are one of the parties, a light thing to be cast aside and treated as

of no effect? That is what the language of the President of the United States means—precisely what it means! He means that the contract is nothing when a bondholder is one of the parties. He means that when a contract is made between a bondholder and the American people the bondholder shall be regarded, but that the agreement which the people have made with him shall be disregarded and cast aside as a thing of no consequence. The fact is that the President's proposition was the baldest, most pronounced, unequivocal, and outrageous repudiation that ever was proposed by anybody! For instead of the contract's being nothing, the contract is everything.

I beg leave to rewrite into language which the American people can understand, but without the slightest misrepresentation, the paragraph which we have quoted from the President's speech. The speaker might just as well have said this: "Whatever may be the agreement which was made by the American people when the bonded debt of the United States was contracted, that agreement *shall be disregarded* when it comes to the time of payment. True, the contract implies and declares *ipsissimis verbis* that the debt shall be discharged with standard units according to the law of the United States. These units are defined in the contract; but this agreement shall not stand. For the bondholder does not want it to stand. The unit shall be changed, and changed again and again—always in the interest of the holder of the bond, and the people who are the payers of the bond shall say nothing; for the contract, so far as they are concerned, is of no effect. It is now the purpose and policy of the United States, being in the hands of the bondholders, to discharge the debt of the people, not in the currency in which the debt was contracted, not in the currency in which the debt was defined, but in a subsequent currency which was devised and substituted for the money of the contract; and this subsequent currency shall be the currency which is regarded as 'the best'; that is, the *highest* or *most costly* known in the civilized world at the time of payment. The manipulators of the money power may go on tampering with the currency and changing its value, increasing the purchasing power of the unit of money and

account. They shall raise the price of that unit higher and higher. They shall go abroad, leaving the country of the contract and *its* system of money behind, and they shall find some nation whose currency is based on *the highest possible unit*, and that currency shall be taken as the standard for the discharge of the debt of the nation *at the time of payment!* No difference when the time shall be; the contract shall have nothing to do with it. Whatever the contract may be, it shall be set aside, and the highest possible unit, that is, THE UNIT OF GOLD, shall at the dictation of the bondholders be substituted for the silver-OR-gold dollar of the law and the contract."

Such is the absolute sense and intent of the speech delivered by the President of the United States at the Astorian banquet. The propositions made by him, as if in the name of the Republic, were so bald and open an avowal of the right of repudiation, and so plain a statement of the purpose of the administration to substitute a new unit of the highest possible value in place of the unit defined in the contract, as to startle the nation from its lethargy. It is inconceivable that the American people will tamely bear a proposition so fraudulent and outrageous; and yet this proposition was the principal thing—the only important thing—for which the revel at the Waldorf-Astoria was devised. It was the one essential thing which the President of the United States was forced by the money power to say for its comfort and encouragement. He said it; the thing is a part of history!

We come in the next place to President McKinley's interpretation of the significance of the presidential election of 1896. He said :

It is our plain duty to more than seven million voters who, fifteen months ago, won a great political battle on the issue, among others, that the United States government would not permit a doubt to exist anywhere concerning the stability and integrity of its currency or the inviolability of its obligations of every kind. That is my interpretation of the victory. Whatever effort, therefore, is required to make the settlement of this vital question clear and conclusive for all time we are bound in good conscience to undertake and if possible realize. That is our commission—our present charter from the people. It will not suffice for citizens nowadays to say simply that they are in favor of sound money. That is not enough. The people's purpose must be given the vitality of public law. Better any honest effort with failure than the avoiding of such a duty.

I respectfully ask every reader of THE ARENA to peruse with close attention the foregoing exposition of the issue upon which, according to Mr. McKinley's formal speech, he was elected President of the United States. Read it with care; omit no word. Read each sentence and then reconsider the facts. The event is not so very far away but that memory as well as the record will enable the average American citizen to recall the *real* issue upon which the Republican party was successful in the election of 1896. With the facts well in mind, then read again the interpretation which the President of the United States gave at the Waldorf-Astorian banquet of the platform on which he was chosen to his high office. That platform was *not* what the President explains it to have been! His construction is forced and foreign. We do him the credit to suppose that he understands the English language, and that he is able to construe rhetorically the meaning of sentences.

The Republican platform of 1896 declared for international bimetallism. President McKinley knows that it so declared. The whole world knows it. The American people are bimetallists. All of them are bimetallists, except about one-third of the Republican party and a still smaller rump of the Democracy. It was therefore necessary that the Republican platform of 1896 should declare for international bimetallism. By that platform the party was solemnly pledged to international bimetallism and to all legitimate efforts to gain that end. *It was on this pretence of a principle that the ticket won.* Without such a declaration Mr. McKinley would not be President of the United States. It was precisely the declaration of international bimetallism that enabled the management, under the pure and inspiring compulsion of Mark Hanna's machine, to juggle the people into a false verdict and to secure the administration of the government for four years.

True it is that the deep-down purpose of the management to establish gold monometallism was also vaguely and by circumlocution expressed in the hypocritical platform. *Until* international bimetallism could be secured, the gold standard of values should be maintained. Such was the sophistical and double-dealing method of that indescribable document. Not once, but hundreds of times the real character of the platform

has been pointed out; but the whole contention here is that it was the declaration of the platform for international bimetallism that enabled the Republican management to win. *On that* they secured an electoral majority. *Without that* they could have secured nothing. The victory was the baneful result of the miserable sophism and two-sided ambiguity which were purposely inserted in the platform, and which constituted its essential part.

Now in the face of all this; in the face of this undeniable and manifest interpretation of the Republican platform, the President of the United States publicly declares that more than seven million citizens had decided by their votes that the United States government would not permit a doubt to exist anywhere concerning—what? The President says in his platitudinous language, "a doubt concerning the stability and integrity of the governmental obligations of every kind." He means to say that seven millions of voters decided that the government obligations of the United States should be paid in gold. He does not say that, but wanders off into the cloudland of Latin phraseology. He sheers away into those platitudes for which his speeches to the Canton pilgrims in 1896 were proverbial. In doing so he puts a false interpretation upon the very platform on which he was elected President of the United States. He must have known when he delivered his carefully prepared address that the explanation which he gave of that platform was wide of the mark and foreign to the truth.

He next goes on to declare that it will no longer suffice for citizens to say that they are in favor of sound money. He means that citizens must say that they are in favor of gold monometallism—neither more nor less. He does not say that, for he was not desirous of arousing the antagonism of the nation or even of calling specific attention to the thing which he uttered; but the meaning is unmistakable. He says it is not enough that citizens shall declare for sound money. He adds that the purpose of the people (as expressed in his election) must be given the vitality of public law. He means that the gold standard of values shall be declared by legal and constitutional enactment. "Given the vitality of public law" is

a beautiful phrase. It belongs peculiarly to the style of speech which the President of the United States has affected, and of which we admit that he has become a master.

"Given the vitality of public law!" Why should not the chief magistrate of the Republic say in the English language what he means? His meaning is that the purpose of the man whom he appointed Secretary of the Treasury to secure the final abrogation of the bimetallic system of money in the United States and the substitution therefor of gold monometallism pure and simple shall be enacted by Congress into the statute of the nation. He means that the goldite conspiracy to compel the American people to transact their business, and in particular to pay their debts, according to the measurement of gold only shall be by Congress made into law, final and irrevocable, ultimate and irreversible. But instead of saying this the President declares that the "purpose of the people shall be given the vitality of public law." This phrase sufficed for the banqueters, and it was easily understood by them. It is also easily understood by all those who concern themselves with the money question and its correlative themes. Otherwise the phraseology presented might be regarded as a mumble of mysterious words.

The real Nemesis of this world is History. The National Manufacturers' Association supposed that they were doing something and saying something at the Waldorf-Astorian revel that would prove historical. They congratulated themselves that they were making history. As a matter of fact they were only making sport for the smileless Power that governs the world. They vainly imagined that they were able to control the onward march. They thought, no doubt, that the nation would be moved by the spectacle of a banquet with a thousand magnates sitting for five hours at fifteen-dollar plates. They supposed, no doubt, that the forced and prescribed utterances of the President of the United States would change somewhat the course of the human tides. They may have cherished the delusion that his speech of platitudes would affect the action of the Senate of the United States on the pending resolution of Senator Teller. They may have believed that the American people would turn from their im-

memorial faith in bimetallism on the strength of a presidential speech at a banquet! Nay, nay; not so. The whole thing was as a mirage that breaks and passes.

What effect did the Astorian banquet have on the course of events? The wholly just and true resolution of Senator Teller was adopted by the Senate by a majority of fifteen! The gold-bug proposition of Senator Lodge was voted down by a majority of twenty-nine. More than two-thirds of the Senate of the United States damned the scheme of the bond gamblers and indignantly stamped it into nonentity. The proposition of Senator Lodge secured in the Senate twenty-one votes in all. And *that* was the result of the Astorian revel! *That* was the outcome of the great scheme of the National Manufacturers' Association to secure by noise and splendor, by fallacy and falsehood, the purpose of the plutocratic oligarchy to crush the great American nation under the intolerable cross of gold.

Meanwhile, the people of this Republic are waiting for their day and their opportunity. They see with delight the crumbling of the money fabric, the tottering of the great oligarchy, and the impending crash of the bond power amid the downrush and evanescence of its own splendor. Let it come! Let the crisis come! The people will stand in their lot and await the issue. They who have devised this situation—they who have been the careful pilots steering the ship of this Republic on the rocks—may now take the consequences. It is their wreck—not ours; they may do what they will.

In the fall of 1896 the money syndicate secured a contract. They got the contract by an infamous juggle. That contract was to restore the industrial and commercial prosperity of this nation. The people accepted their promise and commissioned them to do it, and they gleefully undertook the task. The great American democracy has all the while stood ready to join in the chorus of triumph whenever the hypocritical oligarchy shall carry out its pledge. This day we patiently await the fulfilment.

Gentlemen of the goldite conspiracy! carry out your contract. Open the gates of peace; come on with your prosperity, and you shall have our cheers and a long lease of power. But if you do not, the day of reckoning is at hand!

THE CONFESSIONS OF A SCIENTIST.

BY CHARLES MELVILLE SHEPHERD.

A NUMBER of years ago, when I was preacher in a Southern university, I heard a lecture which awakened much local interest. It was one of a course given by a great scientist, but I cannot recall his theme or much of the treatment. He held that society is drawing near to a flood-time of thought, like the age of Pericles, the Christian era, or the Renascence. It would begin with physical discovery, possibly a new conception of ethereal vibration, but its climax would be in the ethical life of man. Industry and transportation would first be revolutionized, war would be abolished, the problems of to-day would be history, and the globe would be like a well-tilled estate. Then the mystery-loving soul of man would turn finally to the undiscovered regions of the psychic universe. We shall measure the growth of character, we shall print the image of the soul, and education will become an exact science. The end will be an ineffable pageantry, the triumph of the diviner part of man. Unselfishness, purity of heart, and righteousness will at last have their coronation day.

As the students thronged out into the corridor I noticed that one man, a Georgian named Martin, remained in his seat absorbed in thought. Having some acquaintance with him I spoke as I passed. He made no reply for a moment, then looking up, said, "I shall follow that clew."

Five years later, when I had almost forgotten the incident, a message came from a hospital stating that a sick man wished to see me. Going to the place, I had difficulty in recognizing my student friend, Martin. He was manifestly in an advanced stage of some wasting disease.

"I have sent for you," said he, "because I recall your sympathy in former days. I shall die easier if I disclose the secrets of my life and leave a message with you."

Upon my assurance that I would serve him, he continued:

"Do you recall that last lecture of Professor D———, which was so much talked of at the time? Well, it has shaped my career and, in a way, has brought me to this pass. After leaving the University I spent two years in Germany and another year in a great laboratory at New York. Having come into a fair patrimony, I felt prepared to enter upon independent research. I cannot describe to you the absorption of the next few years. Every hour and every energy were devoted to one idea. My postulate was that all physical energy depends on ethereal vibration. The human body is a mechanism exquisitely contrived to receive and transmit universal waves of a certain range. But the gamut of material experiences is only a fragment of the diapason of life. All that we know and feel in the body is as a span measured on the sun's orbit. It seemed a reasonable hypothesis that vibration is also the medium of energy in the transcendent life of the soul; for all we know points that way. In the one observed case of a soul in the spiritual mode, which is that of our Lord, there is no apparent deviation from the law. The spiritual body continued to be an instrument sensitive to vibrations, but apparently those of vastly greater range than we know anything about. It is significant that all our knowledge of the Infinite is conveyed in terms of harmonious motion. The ether, then, is a medium responsive to every pulsation of the divine life, and finite existences are receivers of varying capacities. Matter intercepts a few vibrations, animal bodies receive many more and have an indefinite potency of evolution, while pure spirits are organs of universal range. Death is the breaking down of a barrier between the lower and higher capacity. Now we know that even in the bodily mode the soul continually acts beyond the range of the physical, and the whole even of the earthly life is the sum of the physical and the psychic. Man's total existence at any moment may be likened to a ship, if we may suppose the sails to be hidden by a screen. Part of the hull is under water, and the canvas is out of sight. Nevertheless we know that what we see is one with what we do not see, and that the whole moves together. The great end in the view of the investigator is to find some means of receiving psychic vibrations. That accomplished, we can test

character as we now test the action of the heart or lungs, and the soul's ensemble can be recorded on a sensitive plate. Endlessly observing and experimenting, I at length stumbled on the truth. You will find all the details set forth in my journals, which I shall leave in your care, together with the apparatus in my laboratory."

Mr. Martin was now visibly fatigued, and the nurse, coming forward, begged that he make no further effort that day.

At my next visit I found him in a comatose state, and it was but a few days later that we buried the mortal part of my friend. In due time his apparatus and papers came into my hands, and this account is continued from his notebooks. I have omitted a great deal of primary experimentation and much that appeared to have only a technical interest. Doubtless all will one day be sifted and prepared for publication. I also leave out the dates, as of no immediate importance, and as interfering with the continuity of the narrative.

"To-day saw the last touches put to my psychic mechanism. Now for some practical tests. I do not have much fear of failure; the preliminary induction has been too thorough. I believe that I have shown the existence of psychic waves. At the altitude of ten thousand feet in a balloon, my recording instrument reveals two systems of waves, the one sweeping down toward the earth, the other radiating from it, and neither in any way connected with known physical energy. If placed in position between an orator of high power and his audience, the instrument exhibits violent oscillations, and indicates different orders of vibrations originating in the mass of people and in the speaker. In the midst of the Nevada desert I found that the vibrations are comparatively few and simple; while in the vicinity of a populous city they are many and complex. If now I can isolate the vibrations from a person and obtain an image from them, the last link in the chain of induction will be assured.

"To-day brought me my first successful personal test. I had a long conversation with Senator P., and used my new individualizing device, meanwhile plying him with more questions than a professional interviewer. He talked at great length of

his early struggles, his dominant aims, and his experiences in the role of party boss. There is no question but he has the boss conscience and the boss conception of life. I was not without tremors in going about this business; it seemed very like moral vivisection. But I feel that I am acting in the interest of science. Probably the proposal of a voluntary test would find few subjects, and they all of one or two types. I am not sure that the world is any better prepared for my work now than it was for Roger Bacon's in his day. I came away satisfied that I had the great man's skeleton in my pocket. The results now lie before me, and I fear that they would not be satisfactory to the Senator or his spiritual adviser. The index hand has shifted only a few points. The Senator's soul-movement corresponds about to that of the pulse of a dying man. The developed plate shows—what? The subject is of portly and commanding presence, his whole personality suggesting a full diet of adulation. But the kalonograph presents the crudest caricature of humanity, being rather like a Röntgen photograph in which only the heavier parts appear. I cannot be in any doubt as to the drift of this. The subject's soul is sensitive to a very few of the psychic undulations. Whole systems of the finer vibrations beat on his personality like waves against a cliff. Hereafter as often as I look at the man I shall see that ghastly picture.

"I was fortunate to-day. I secured a fine test from a brown-eyed, romping schoolgirl, whose parents left her in my charge while they visited one of the scientific collections. While this winsome lassie was chatting brightly of her bicycle, her pets, and her schoolmates, I could hear the steady clicking of the index in my pocket. The results are interesting. The record is as full and steady as that of normal respiration. Evidently the home influences of the subject are wholesome. The kalonograph is a study. It appears much younger than the subject, owing, I presume, to the fact that soul development is secondary to that of the body. Some of the outlines are shadowy, as if in process of formation, but on the whole the picture is beautiful and expresses a wide range of psychic impressions. Another fascinating test is that of a fine baby in the arms of his mother. In the kalono-

graph the latter appears sweet and madonna-like, while on her bosom lies a nucleus of tinted shadows. Studying them one observes systems of wavy lines, which, on close inspection, take the forms of flowers and clusters of stars.

"Jackson Edwards has been telling me about a philanthropic friend of his, whose case attracts me. He lives in a slum settlement, and spends his fortune in all manner of beneficence —schools, libraries, gymnasiums, and kindergartens. Apparently he plans well, but the returns are very slow, and many call him a failure. Edwards likens him to one developed beyond his age, having the sympathies and emotions of the twenty-first century in the environment of the nineteenth. Called on him to-day, and, having made a substantial donation to his work, drew him out. He is very homely, and has queer tricks of manner; yet as one sees more of him there is a growing sense of a noble personality behind the outward appearance. He has been concerned in the late clothing strikes. It is a wretched business—cold, iron greed on the one side, wolflike ferocity and cunning on the other. The subject suffers with both, and, I think, more than they all. Telling of the misery and despair of some of the strikers' families, he broke down. It was too good an opportunity to lose, but while I noted the extraordinary vibration of the index, I heard a sudden snap, and the sound ceased. I now perceive the cause. The mechanism of the indicator was not strong enough for the pressure; consequently it gave way, and the kalonograph is imperfect. It is a great pity! This man's soul-horizon is almost superhuman, and a completed image would have been something like one of Angelo's archangels.

"Having repaired my apparatus I called on the Rev. Dr. X., the popular pastor of the rich congregation on Silverspoon Avenue. He was most debonair and communicative. Wishing to have a pair of the cloth I also visited the Rev. Mr. Z., who is a spiritual guide of sailors and wharf-rats. The contrasted images lie before me. That of Dr. X. is a sort of spiritual living skeleton, while his poor brother would pass for Elijah in the transfiguration.

"By uncommon luck I got open-sesame to the million-dollar ball last night. Danced with Miss M., who in a physical

sense was fairly the climax of the occasion. I could but wonder how such a splendid vision of physical perfection and faultless costuming would fare in a kalonograph. I cannot say that I have much to show for my pains. The kalonograph is a formless blur of shadows, and the indicator has made but a few fluttering movements. The subject's alpha and omega are physical, and she is psychically blind, deaf, and devoid of feeling. Later on I observed a lady compassed about by an incense-burning throng. I was told that she was a Wellesley girl who, after a phenomenal social career, had married the greatest estate in New England, subject only to the encumbrance of an uninteresting husband. But it seems that he had a sense of the fitness of things, and died after a year or two. It is said that she fills her great position with no little tact and sense of *noblesse oblige*. She is decidedly of the Récamier order, and the most remarkable woman I have met here. I should have said that she received the devotion of the men with absolute impartiality, but for her manner toward one gentleman, who, I believe, is an instructor in the University, with a record yet to make. It was not that she favored him —quite the reverse; but her attitude toward him implied adjustment. Almost at the close of the evening, being in the conservatory, I unexpectedly came upon my lady Récamier and her unconfessed worshipper. I must say that he impresses me as a very manly fellow. Suspecting some crisis I resolved to take a test—meanwhile posing as an admirer of orchids. The result is a double kalonograph of extraordinary qualities. The picture of the man denotes unusual psychic promise; no doubt a glimpse of it would help his chances with the lady. Hers is plainer than one would have expected, but it is a plainness dependent on the restraint or suppression of some necessary element. The strangest feature is that in both cases development seems to be reciprocal, or interdependent. The form of the man is like a globe having one hemisphere toward the sun. All the beauty and growth lies toward the lady, the rest being much in shadow. So it is also with her, save that her expression on his side is not harmonious, indicating, as I think, an indecision or unwillingness in the presence of some great sacrifice. Placing a card over the side of her image

which lies away from her companion, one would pronounce her angelic; reversing the process, she appears negative and devoid of attraction.

"I suppose that I am at length an adept in the art of soul-photography, for I have more cases than I can describe in detail. But there are two types of which I begin to weary. One can take images of hundreds of men and women every day that are simply healthy and normal. We may say of them that they already begin to live in the psychic world, and are candidates for immortality. Again, one may heap up kalonographs of roués, drunkards, opium or cigarette fiends, souls waterlogged with selfishness and worldliness, or money-gathering automatons. Such products have no psychic value. It is manifest that were hundreds of millions of them turned loose in the spirit world they could not populate it, save as, on earth, noisome beasts and reptiles inhabit a wilderness. The effect on one is curious. Heretofore material things have seemed the more real; the spiritual has been vague and speculative. Now, however, the unseen universe makes an overwhelming impression of reality, and I find myself judging all men by their soul values. It is hard to respect those that cannot cast a spiritual shadow; yet we are told that the Redeemer, looking on the sensual multitudes, was moved with compassion. The greatest anomaly is myself. Why do I not try these processes in my own case? At times I am consumed with anxiety to behold my soul's image; yet as often as I approach the test a great terror falls upon me.

"A new subject has come to me in a strange fashion. Strolling one evening in the suburbs the soft notes of a cradle song set my index vibrating in unison. I noted that the house whence the sounds came was next to that of a friend, and so it came about that I met Margaret Van Meter. Her family, who are of old Huguenot stock, came here after the war to nurse their broken fortunes. The father is now for the second time a widower, and there are two sets of children, all in Margaret's care. I now go there often. Col. Van Meter, an old gentleman of the grand style, is delightfully reminiscent; and Margaret is a luminary shedding toned light all about her. It is not easy to say wherein her fascination resides. She is

not regularly beautiful; yet a blind man hearing her voice and receiving the influences from her personality would believe her to be lovely. She has seen little of the world, and has scant culture beyond that of books and heredity. But my studies have taught me that the unselfish soul receives a cosmic discipline. I have a great desire to study her kalonograph, and have gone prepared to take it a score of times; but, as in the case of my own, my nerve fails me.

"I have had an amazing experience, and realize what it means to play with transcendent forces. I believe I know how Phaëton felt after his tumble from the sun-chariot. In truth I can only state the facts; I do not as yet see through them. Could it have been that in my abstraction I drew the apparatus from my pocket as I talked? I was spending the evening with Margaret. It was one of those rare hours when

> "Soft stillness, and the night,
> Become the touches of sweet harmony."

"For a time Margaret played some of Chopin's music, and then we walked the veranda. She told the simple annals of her life; her plans for the comfort of her father's declining years and the careers of her brothers and sisters. The purity and harmony of it entered into my soul. The mellow tones of her voice blended with the dreamy song of a mocking-bird in the magnolia tree, and a subtle fragrance that floated on the air had the effect of an emanation from her spirit. As we reached a shadowed corner of the veranda, I yielded to an overmastering impulse and offered her my life's devotion, pleading that I could help to carry out her plans. The fine outlines of her face gleamed faintly in the darkness like a statute of Atropos, while she said, very gently:

" 'I found this path already marked out for me, and while it may seem narrow, I have learned to love it. To accept your offer, however I might try to disguise it to myself, would be the substitution of a hypothetical duty for a certain one, and I should no longer have a single heart. Besides that, you are a man of science, and I am an unlessoned girl that could only hinder your career.'

" 'Oh,' cried I, 'you do not understand how all the science

I have ever mastered has but taught me to discern the relative value of our souls.'

"As I spoke a soft light, as of the rising moon, shone on her face, and her look of perplexity dissolved into wonder and fear. Half turning my head in obedience to her silent gesture, I saw in the darkness as on a black tablet, two luminous images—Margaret's and my own. The one was a magnificent composite of the Greek ideal and the Christian Madonna —the expression of her life's perfect harmony and the possibilities wrought by obedience to the inward light. Over against her hung a spectre, only half in clear outline—the sketch or nucleus of a man, reflecting not radiating light, and suggesting a plant long grown in the darkness and suddenly starting to thrive under newly admitted light. All this passed in less time than has gone to the telling of it. A deep sigh aroused me, and I turned just in time to catch the tottering form of Margaret.

"Bearing her within, and calling the family, I hastened out to seek a physician. She was ill for weeks afterwards, and I have never seen her since; nor do I desire to meet her again until a life kindred with her own has fitted me to stand unabashed in her presence. I have ceased to concern myself about the soul-growth of others, seeing my own in such a state. Reality is now the one tremendous thought of life."

Here the journal stopped short. I am told that Mr. Martin's ill health set in about this time. I do not know what to think of his revolutionary invention. The apparatus and memoranda are in my keeping, but I have not yet mastered the requisite processes. I must confess to some of Martin's repugnance to a personal trial. Truly, every man walks in a vain show; while over against him, like an invisible shadow, —still the only reality,—moves his psychic double, his balance of character. I can see the great moment of this discovery, if it turns out to be valid. Education, government, criminology, charity, and psychic science would be transformed. It may be that society is not yet ready for such a development. I shall be glad to make over Mr. Martin's papers and apparatus to any properly accredited scientific body that may desire to continue his experiments.

WHO IS THE INFIDEL?

BY SAM WALTER FOSS.

Who is the infidel? 'Tis he
Who deems man's thought should not be free,
Who'd veil truth's faintest ray of light
From breaking on the human sight;
'Tis he who purposes to bind
The slightest fetter on the mind,
Who fears lest wreck and wrong be wrought
To leave man loose with his own thought;
Who, in the clash of brain with brain,
Is fearful lest the truth be slain,
That wrong may win and right may flee—
This is the infidel. 'Tis he.

Who is the infidel? 'Tis he
Who puts a bound on what may be;
Who fears time's upward slope shall end
On some far summit—and descend;
Who trembles lest the long-borne light,
Far-seen, shall lose itself in night;
Who doubts that life shall rise from death
When the old order perisheth;
That all God's spaces may be cross't
And not a single soul be lost—
Who doubts all this, whoe'er he be,
This is the infidel. 'Tis he.

Who is the infidel? 'Tis he
Who from his soul's own light would flee,
Who drowns with creeds of noise and din
The still small voice that speaks within;
'Tis he whose jangled soul has leaned
To that bad lesson of the fiend,
That worlds roll on in lawless dance,
Nowhither through the gulfs of chance;
And that some feet may never press
A pathway through the wilderness
From midnight to the morn-to-be—
This is the infidel. 'Tis he.

Who is the infidel? 'Tis he
Who sees no beauty in a tree;
For whom no world-deep music hides
In the wide anthem of the tides;
For whom no glad bird-carol thrills
From off the million-throated hills;
Who sees no order in the high
Procession of the star-sown sky;
Who never feels his heart beguiled
By the glad prattle of a child;
Who has no dreams of things to be—
This is the infidel. 'Tis he.

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

THE POLICEMAN IN CIVILIZATION.

THERE is more in a policeman than appears on the surface. He is not so much a person as a fact. He is representative of much and expressive of little. He is said to stand for the state. If so, the state has a remarkable manner of revealing herself to the senses. This is true in particular of the Christian state. The Christian state is a sort of a professional entity that ought for the sake of consistency to be represented by something different from a bluecoat, a leer, and a billy.

It seems, however, that civilization demands a policeman. If we are to reason from the facts, the higher stage of the civilized life requires an increased supply of policemen. This is what I am trying to explain. The more we civilize, the more we enlarge the Department of Public Protection. The Indians had no policemen. The seventy thousand inhabitants of Iceland have only one. A small Christian town in America requires several. The city must have many; the metropolis, an army. New York requires five thousand to keep her from robbing and killing herself.

The sophists tell us that civilization must have in it "a sanction of force." They teach that society in order to be moral must first be brutal. Philosophy is pitched in this key. The professor of Social Science tells his Seniors that the body politic has to be held in shape on one side with the moral law and on the other side with the Tombs. The pulpit spends most of its force in trying to make the moral law and the Tombs consist. The policeman in modern civilization stands between the moral law and the station-house. One end of his beat is the altar, and the other end is the Tombs; he represents both.

It is surprising to note how well the sophistry satisfies the moralists and philosophers. Not one of them seems to have the discernment and the courage to point out the moral delusions involved in such a scheme of society. The police of the

thirty largest cities of the United States cost ten times as much as the thirty largest universities of the United States. It would appear therefore that the American university is a subordinate bureau in the Department of Public Safety.

INDIA RUBBER AND INIQUITY.

From the *Pharmaceutical Era* of June 24, 1897, I make the following extract:

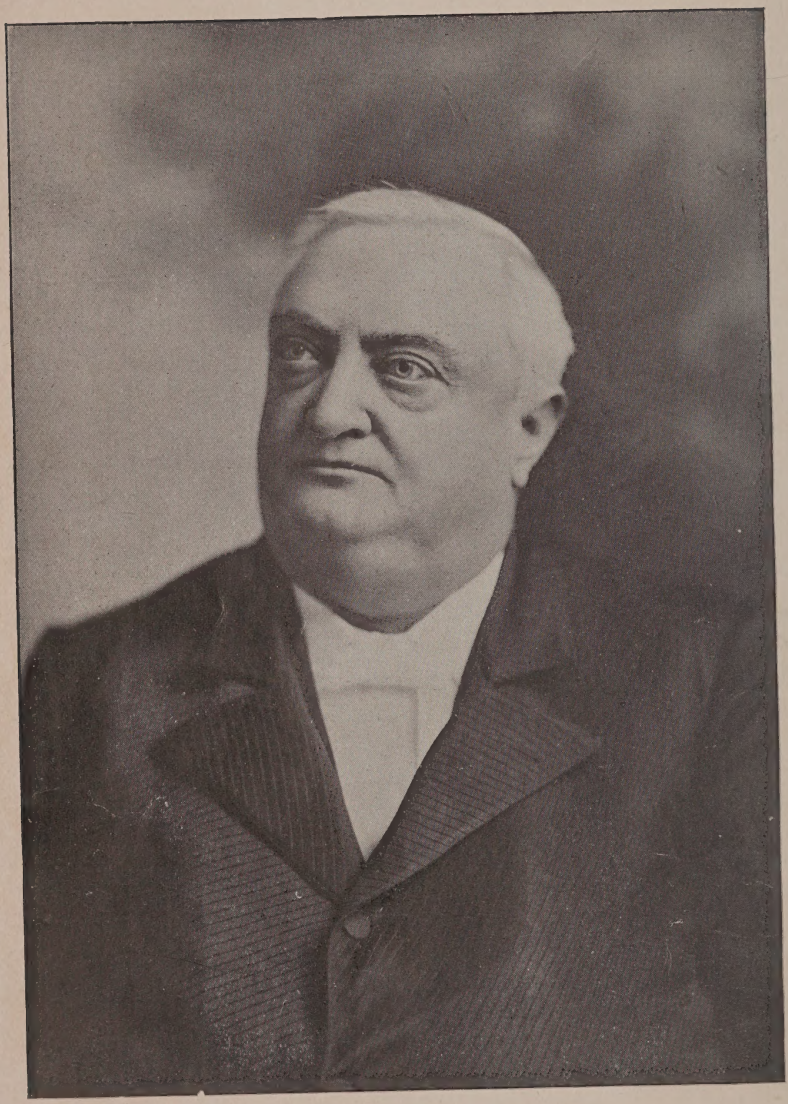
A Danish missionary has been making some startling revelations concerning the rubber trade on the Upper Congo. He says that the white man wants india-rubber, and is in a hurry to be rich; and to terrify the black into rendering the utmost possible amount of labor the rubber-gatherers whose quantity falls below a certain weight are either shot or deprived of their hands. Rows of hands stuck on trees or heaps of them forwarded in baskets to European officers, or to native sergeants under their command, serve as an object-lesson to all. Rubber-gathering is a slow and difficult task, and whole villages are depopulated in order that their inhabitants, men, women, and children, may be sent on the search. Companies of black troops organized by white officers impress the villagers into this new species of slavery, and the reverend gentleman declares that he has seen forty-five villages burnt down and two abandoned through the rubber trouble. If these statements are reliable, the amount of iniquity represented by a stock of rubber goods must be alarming.

It is in this manner, then, that the brutal, Christless commercial spirit coins the blood of barbarians into thalers, and francs, and pounds sterling.

FLIGHT AND FAILING.

To reach out to the glittering stars—to know
  Some little thing about the upper deep;
  To drift adown the shoreless blue—to sweep
A-wing above the Universal Flow;
To walk upon the bursting suns, and go
  Unscorched amid their flames—to scale the steep
  Into the sunless Silence, and to leap
Beyond it all into the Darkness—oh!

I too have made this voyage! I have tried
  To wrench from out the mystery some scheme
    Of Life and Reason to appease the breast!
Now, baffled with the problem and defied
  By space and time, I come back to the dream
    Of our Humanity—and sink to rest.



HON. DANIEL L. RUSSELL,

GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA.

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into *the arena*,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—*Heine.*

THE ARENA.

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USURPATIONS OF THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY IN THE INTEREST OF THE MONEY POWER.

BY HON. DANIEL L. RUSSELL,
Governor of North Carolina.

THE Constitution is illusively supposed to be the creation of the Convention of 1787. After a hundred years of its existence and expansion, the major part of it is the creation of progressive judicial construction. To prove this requires more space than the scope of this article permits; but it will hardly be denied by capable constitutional lawyers.

First there were forty years of liberal and progressive interpretation, then thirty years of strict construction, then a reaction, and now a period of construction, either expansive or restricted according to the demands of concentrated wealth. The judicial policy of this day is to strike down the States and yet to narrow the delegated powers of the national legislature wherever necessary to barricade against the advancing hosts of populism.

It is perhaps well that there should be a tribunal like the Supreme Court, with power to interpret the Constitution and to stay the hand of Congress. In this there is nothing dangerous in the long run. These judicial arbitrators under our federal system, although nominally and apparently independent of the people, are really subject to their control. Every federal court is the creation of the legislative will. The power that made it can unmake it. The Supreme Court

itself can be controlled by the authority residing in Congress to reduce or enlarge its membership.

Right here the supreme struggle must come. To swing back the country to the control of the people, to reverse false doctrines and pernicious constitutional constructions, to prevent the failure of this last and best attempt at free government, it is important to get a House, Senate, and President that will reorganize the existing judicial system, abolish the judges who stand for plutocratic privilege, and establish courts commanded by judges who stand for the rights of man.

By this means the popular will may be exerted and enforced. The framers of the Constitution hardly thought that they were conferring upon the Supreme Court the power to veto the acts of the House, Senate, and President—a veto which is exercised whenever the Court chooses to think the act is unconstitutional. And their thinking it so is generally because they want it to be so.

Nor is there in this anything novel or startling. It is just what was done by Jefferson and the Congress who came in after the defeat of the Federalists in 1800. When William of Orange was contending with a reluctant or hostile House of Lords he gruffly informed them that they could pass his measures or he would *reorganize* them, he would pack their House by converting his Dutch guards into peers of the realm. Reorganizing courts for the purpose of enforcing obedience to parliamentary will is not unknown in the history of that constitutional monarchy which is so much adored in the high society of American money lords.

In part proof of the assertion that we are approaching a period of intolerable judicial supremacy, let certain recent cases be cited.

The national external and internal taxes are insufficient to meet the expenses of the government. To meet this deficiency the country wants a tax on the incomes of the rich. This is enacted into law. From the nation's court comes a veto—a veto so prompt that in the days of the fathers, when sentiment was not so debauched by the struggle for wealth, it would have been regarded as premature. So prompt was the Court to get in its work that it would not wait for a

bona-fide case to be brought to its bar. It rushed in to give its decision in a case that was not a genuine controversy between parties with opposing interests, but was virtually fictitious, was manifestly concocted to extract from the Court an opinion against the income law, and was clearly collusive between the parties. The supreme issue was on. The millionaires demanded exemption from federal taxation. They were not afraid of the States. If one State seriously taxed their incomes they would move to another. No State could afford to offend them for fear of driving them out. They could congregate on one State by acquiring in it actual or nominal residence. As to that matter they could buy a State or so and use them as pocket boroughs for their own convenience. The only way to tax their incomes is by Congress. Take from Congress that power and they are safely landed above and beyond the law. Says the Constitution: "Direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States according to numbers." This makes a direct tax impracticable. To get rid of the income tax then the Courts must hold that income taxes are direct taxes. The framers of the Constitution thought that the only direct taxes were taxes on land and polls. So thought the lawyers and judges and statesmen of the republic for a hundred years. But these judicial arbitrators of last resort, by a vote of five to four, upturn the settled interpretation of the Constitution and decree that the overgrown rich shall not be taxed. Their victory is apparently complete. Nothing can defeat them but a constitutional amendment or a reorganization of the Supreme Court.

In North Carolina the reorganization syndicate of the Richmond and Danville Railroad Company, now converted into the Southern Railway Company, obtained from certain agents of the State its great central railroad two hundred and twenty-three miles long, and forming an indispensable connecting link between the northern and southern sections of the Southern railway system. They acquired this great property by getting a lease upon it to them for ninety-nine years. This was substantially a sale. The Governor of North Carolina, in a message to the legislature, charged that the terms of the sale were unfair to the State, that the sale was procured

by false pretence and by fraud, that the price paid was flagrantly inadequate when taken in connection with the fact that the Southern Railway Company, with its thousands of miles of railroad and its hundreds of millions of investments and securities, was absolutely dependent for its own existence upon this North Carolina railroad. The sale was secretly made. Another railroad system offered to raise the price fifty per cent. The Southern Railway Company rushed into the federal courts, demanded an injunction against the State to prohibit it from asserting its rights in the State courts and a decree in equity affirming the validity of the sale.

Courts of equity will never entertain a complaint unless it appears that no adequate remedy can be given by the law courts. This principle of equity jurisprudence was affirmed, asserted, and proclaimed in England by Hale and Hardwicke, by Erskine, Eldon, and Mansfield, and by all the great lawyers and chancellors who preceded and succeeded them, and in America by Story and John Marshall and their associates, and by all their successors up to the organization of the impending judicial and political conspiracy for the subversion of popular government and the conversion of this republic into a consolidated plutocratic absolutism. Equity courts owe their very existence to the fact that cases arose where the common-law courts, by reason of the limitations upon their processes, could not give relief. Thousands of suitors through the centuries in equity courts have been driven from their doors and told to go and get their relief in the statutory or common-law courts. This principle in equity has been consistently and uniformly applied to ordinary controversies between man and man.

In this North Carolina case, this great railway syndicate had their remedy in the law courts—a remedy sufficient, adequate, and complete. Every allegation made against the State or its agents could have been set up by way of defence in the threatened action which the complainant sought to enjoin. But this was no ordinary case. Shylock and Mammon were the plaintiffs. The taxpayers of North Carolina, robbed of their property, were the defendants. To plunder the one and legalize their spoliation by the other, the rock-ribbed

principles of equity jurisprudence must be undone. The State itself by wicked and wanton force must be brought up for judgment before these federal proconsuls. Its sovereignty must be despised. Its rights, reserved to it by the federal Constitution, must be denied. The power of every little federal judge to annihilate it must be assumed and asserted. And this too is the State—*the one* of the original thirteen—which refused to ratify the United States Constitution until it had assurance of the adoption of the Tenth Amendment: "The powers not delegated to the United States by this Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The State of Tennessee established by its law a board of assessors for the purpose of ascertaining and fixing the valuations of railroad properties. Nobody ever questioned the power of the State to do this, until the recent and present conspiracy to annihilate the States by the usurpation of federal judges. The Tennessee assessors fixed their appraisements according to the market value of the stocks and bonds of the railroad corporations. In substance they fixed the value of railroads according to their income-producing or net earning power. This is the rule which is universally applied in fixing the taxable valuations of fields and forests, of mines and mills, and of the property of ordinary persons. But in this federal forum the laws which govern the common people have no application to the corporation nabobs. So in went the non-resident holders of these railroad bonds to a federal judge for an injunction against the State of Tennessee to restrain it from exercising its sovereign power of taxation. And out went his injunction, which vacated the assessments of the State and virtually substituted such as were agreeable to the views of the corporation judge sitting on the federal bench.

He obtains his jurisdiction by reason of the diversity of the citizenship of the parties. But suppose an individual non-resident owner of a house or horse had gone to this court for an injunction to stop the local officers from enforcing an assessment alleged to be excessive. He would have been told that he must look for his remedy to the revenue laws of Tennessee, that these statutes had provided the form and manner

and procedure of assessing property and for the correction of abuses resulting from unlawful assessments, and that, in the absence of illegal action by the assessors, they could not be interfered with because of excessive valuations. They are the jury established by law with power to fix the valuation. If they abuse this power by making an excessive assessment, there is no remedy. Why? Because it is better that this power should reside in a jury than in the one man sitting as a judge. But when the money kings come into court, there sits on the bench a prince of the blood, exercising prerogatives that are cognate to, if they are not substantially the same as, the dispensing power which was claimed by the house of Stuart, and which brought one of them to the block.

This Tennessee case is entitled to enduring renown because of its enunciation of the doctrine that railroads shall not be taxed upon their true value, because in some precinct or county other assessors appraised lands and mules at less than their worth.

In the State of Texas it seems that a federal judge has discharged upon a habeas corpus a defendant duly indicted and under process from the criminal courts for the violation of the anti-trust laws of that State. These laws do not violate the Constitution of the United States. If they do, then the remedy is by proceedings in the nature of an appeal from the ultimate court of the State. This federal judge, without the authority of any act of Congress, issues his writ, discharges the criminal, and says to the State of Texas, "You shall not enforce your criminal laws."

In the State of Virginia, a bill in equity is brought in the federal court by non-resident complainants seeking to sequester the assets of a domestic corporation upon allegations of insolvency and to hold its officers *in personam* liable for its debts because of fraudulent conversions of its property. The court has jurisdiction because of the diversity of citizenship of the parties. It properly entertains the bill, appoints a receiver, and makes reference to a master for an account. While this suit in equity is pending, the State of Virginia through a grand jury makes declaration against one of these corporation officers for a violation of its criminal laws. The

sovereign State indicts him for embezzling the funds of the corporation. Thereupon a federal jurge discharges him on a habeas corpus, on the ground that *his* court has obtained jurisdiction of the party in the equity suit. Thus he undertakes to exercise his dispensing power and thereby veto the criminal laws of Virginia.

Within the last year or two, two great railway systems, operating through many Southern States, engaged in a fierce competition for freights. They went into a rate war with each other. The mortgage bondholders of these systems applied to a Federal Court and obtained an injunction against their own and the other competing system to prohibit them from cutting rates on freight traffic. The complainants allege that their bonded railroads will not be able to earn the interest on their bonds watered and unwatered if rate reductions are permitted. That is to say, that these Federal Courts are not to permit legitimate competition among these common carriers who are governing the country by owning its highways. The farmers, the manufacturers, the toilers, and all the producers of the country must be left to the cold and cruel and relentless competition of the markets of the world, but the combinations of concentrated capital, the princes of mammon, the idle consumers of the wealth produced by the toilers, must not be subject to competition in their domain. If *they* fight each other, the federal courts must stop it. The benefits of competition among the carriers of the products of the country must be denied to the toilers who make those products. No more monstrous arrogation of the right to rob and run over the masses of mankind has ever been set up by the despots of the earth, from the period of Sulla and Crassus and Pontius Pilate and Caligula, down to the days of the Rothschilds and Havemeyer and Shiras and Pierpont Morgan. True it is that this particular injunction did not issue. The monarchs of the highways got together and put up the rates. But be it remembered that the federal court seriously entertained the bill for the injunction. And this was done by a federal judge who is justly entitled to the reputation of having more heart and sympathy with the struggling millions than almost any other of the whole lay-out.

The framers of the Constitution made a magnificent structure of government. Great powers were delegated by the States to the general government. The genius of the great Chief Justice, John Marshall, construed, explained, and amplified these delegations of power so as to make them intelligible and useful and adapted to the growth of the great republic. But the reserved rights of the States none knew better than he, and none were more sincere in protecting and preserving them. Were he living to-day he would stand aghast and indignant at the judicial usurpation which is revolutionizing the republic from a union of free States into an imperial moneyed oligarchy, run by the financial man-eaters of New York and London, sustained by the idle rich who stand in with their class, and supported by their grand army of hirelings throughout the land.

DIRECT NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES BY THE PEOPLE.

BY JOHN S. HOPKINS.

OUTSIDE and independent of the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the several States, there has evolved a complex and monstrous delegate system, without legal sanction, that is crushing out the patriotism of the people and threatening to subvert the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence.

So well is this stifling, dangerous, and corrupting system understood, that many of our independent magazines and newspapers, from time to time, have had leading articles on "How to reform the primary-election system," "The danger point in American politics," "Attend the primaries," "Ballot reform," "Politics is an iridescent dream," or otherwise-headed articles, calling attention to the failure of the people to turn out and run the primaries, to reform politics, and to see that the best men are chosen to represent them.

Preceding every election, "the people" hear and read about this same old story of reform, and, if I may be allowed to use an expressive phrase, they still "go it blind." Are the people afraid of their own power and mighty shadow? They have either failed to comprehend or are afraid to enforce the primary principles of this government, so thoroughly epitomized in the ever-memorable declaration of Abraham Lincoln as to "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Our political system, that is, our delegate system of nominating candidates by conventions, from the President of the United States down to a road overseer, is not of the people, by the people, or for the people, but is a machine—an American Juggernaut—managed, governed, and controlled by a few self-chosen, cunning, scheming, and ambitious politicians, masters of political chicanery, for what influence, power,

glory, and money they may be able to extract from official positions.

Under our present delegate system of choosing and nominating official servants, the people have no voice that can be heard above a whisper. The whole matter of selecting candidates seems, and is in fact, left to the judgment of a few "self-constituted regulators of public opinion," who work under an unwritten and unformulated code of procedure, and in ways devious and dark.

The people are tired of platforms and meaningless platform planks, and of allowing any "set of fellows" to set up platforms for them. The people are tired of turning out to primaries that are usually packed and prearranged. The people are tired of voting for the "expedient candidates" selected by the professional bosses and engineers of political machines. And the people are ready and waiting for a simple and practical primary-election law, under which they may nominate directly, by their votes, candidates for office.

Can one be enacted? I think so. Having carefully noted all that was said under the head of "How to reform the primary-election system" by Edward Insley, in THE ARENA for June, 1897; having been for many years studying the problem of a practical primary system; and having examined many of the plans and State primary laws referred to by Mr. Insley in his article; and believing, as he does, that a reform of the primary system is of paramount importance, I wish to add, not another theory in support of my opinion, but a practical primary system that has been in actual and continuous operation for nineteen years—a system (framed by the writer) that has been used by the Republicans of Jackson County, Kansas, by common consent in their county, township, and city primary elections, each and every year since 1877, except at one election.

In order that the whole of this simple *modus operandi* of the people, by the people, and for the people for nominating candidates can be seen at a glance, understood, and commented upon, the Republican primary-election call, the official vote of the Republican primary election, and the official

vote of the general election of the year 1895 are shown in full, and are as follows:

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY ELECTION CALL.

A primary election for the nomination of the following officers, viz: Sheriff, county clerk, county treasurer, register of deeds, county surveyor, and coroner; also, commissioner of the third district, one central committeeman for each township in the county, and one for each ward in the city of Holton, and one committeeman at large for the county, will be held at the usual voting precincts, on Saturday, July 13, 1895, from 2 P. M. until 7 o'clock P. M. The various precincts will be entitled to the following representative vote:

Holton, First ward, 9; Second ward, 10; Third ward, 10; Franklin, 5; Denison, 7; Larkin, 1; Straight Creek, 6; Whiting, 8; Netawaka, 7; Liberty, 7; Jefferson, 11; Soldier, 9; Banner, 7; Grant, 2; Avoca, 3; Mayetta, 5; Cedar Grove, 3; Hoyt, 9; Point Pleasant, 2; Swinburn, 2; Cross Creek, 2; Adrian, 3.

The County Central Committee will meet on Tuesday, July 16, 1895, at 11 o'clock A. M. to canvass the vote and declare the result. All questions of contest must be presented to the committee at that time.

The following supervisors of elections have been appointed to conduct such elections, whose duty it shall be to organize the election boards and see that the rules hereby adopted and the state law of 1891 governing primary elections are strictly complied with:

Holton, First ward, J. C. Chase; Second ward, G. H. Barker; Third ward, A. W. Glenn; Franklin, W. Parmenter; Denison, J. W. Seneder; Larkin, E. B. Moffett; Straight Creek, A. Newton; Whiting, W. W. Brown; Netawaka, H. B. Cox; Liberty, O. H. Clark; Jefferson, S. Early; Soldier, Ben Mickle; Banner, Peter Dickson; Grant, R. D. Osborne; Avoca, D. H. Hagar; Mayetta, John Kelly; Cedar Grove, I. C. Myers; Hoyt, Eli Fultz; Point Pleasant, Ben Erwin; Swinburn, Joseph Stach; Cross Creek, John Franz; Adrian, E. L. Stalker.

Every person known to be a legal Republican voter will be entitled to vote at this election.

The tickets prepared for this election shall have printed thereon the names of all the candidates for the various offices to be filled, and each voter shall mark a cross thus [x] in the printed square at the left of the names of the candidates he desires to vote for, and no voter shall vote for more than one candidate for each office.

It shall be the duty of the supervisor at each precinct, or, in case of his absence, then some member designated by the board, to make return of said election to the chairman of the central committee at Holton, on or before 11 A. M., Tuesday, July 16, 1895.

H. F. GRAHAM, Chairman.

M. M. BECK, Secretary.

TABLE No. 1.

Official Vote of the Republican Primary Election, Held Saturday, July 13, 1895.

CANDIDATES.	HOLTON.			Franklin	Whiting	Netawaka	Straight Creek	Liberty	Jefferson	Soldier	Larkin	Denison	Grant	Banner	Avoca	Cedar Grove	Mayetta	Point Pleasant	Hoyt	Swinburn	Cross Creek	Adrian	Total Vote	Representative Vote
	First Ward	Sec'd Ward	Third Ward																					
For Sheriff:																								
J. T. Hancher	....	1	1	....	49	18	18	2	....	11	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	101	6.8
W. H. Reasoner	23	37	16	12	....	10	....	3	10	4	1	18	....	3	2	2	1	1	7	2	....	1	153	9.87
S. T. Black	19	30	23	5	1	5	4	9	7	2	2	1	1	7	....	....	....	2	6	....	....	2	126	8.21
R. B. Francis	21	32	25	5	6	9	8	4	7	18	6	2	....	4	1	....	....	....	7	4	3	2	169	12.47
J. E. Hoagland	6	8	9	....	33	10	29	3	17	8	2	7	....	....	5	1	2	....	21	....	1	3	165	12.43
Geo. N. Haas	38	34	46	35	4	20	11	39	97	36	9	22	22	69	32	15	15	9	14	4	3	17	591	41.90
Ed. S. Bateman	6	8	5	3	....	4	2	35	16	....	....	3	1	3	....	1	....	....	....	....	3	3	93	6.06
Ohio Miller	13	8	11	8	5	15	2	1	11	5	1	18	10	5	3	39	83	9	49	23	9	6	334	16.50
M. C. Gates	6	8	15	9	11	8	2	1	10	39	2	42	....	3	....	5	5	5	26	....	....	2	199	13.76
For County Clerk:																								
A. J. Basye	94	83	102	57	89	79	48	55	97	73	10	49	20	72	23	23	42	18	77	30	15	19	1,225	80.43
W. H. Webster	37	87	47	24	20	19	27	46	71	47	11	62	12	16	12	39	59	8	52	4	1	14	715	47.57
For County Treasurer:																								
J. B. Gardiner	19	26	27	11	20	8	15	14	12	27	8	5	2	4	5	1	5	2	8	1	1	2	221	16.68
Peter Bryant	28	38	55	21	26	14	17	17	14	38	....	2	2	57	18	3	14	1	15	17	14	3	414	28.61
J. W. McConnell	34	42	33	24	24	12	20	31	12	12	8	96	4	11	1	52	59	14	61	1	....	14	565	35.76
Arch D. Abel	51	59	39	21	38	65	25	35	135	42	6	10	26	22	18	6	25	9	38	13	4	15	702	46.95
For Register of Deeds:																								
J. W. Atwater	32	21	21	1	83	91	56	18	57	19	2	26	4	4	3	16	10	3	6	3	2	2	480	31.86
J. C. Suter	2	6	2	....	1	....	....	1	27	87	....	....	6	....	11	....	....	1	2	1	....	4	151	12.73
W. E. Rippetoe	22	24	33	2	3	3	8	5	9	6	3	27	4	2	3	12	17	10	97	9	9	9	305	21.99
Geo. M. Klusmier	15	30	23	3	....	4	....	11	36	2	2	8	6	12	4	11	29	6	2	10	3	3	220	14.92
J. L. Armor	8	11	20	1	20	....	8	4	3	4	11	40	....	4	1	25	12	2	3	1	....	3	181	13.75
Harmon Clark	49	74	52	71	1	1	5	62	39	6	3	10	13	72	20	5	28	4	17	9	4	14	559	33.55
For Surveyor:																								
M. Z. Jones	74	101	101	50	58	45	40	50	81	76	9	50	19	48	24	30	62	17	76	12	12	11	1,046	76.38
Grant Davis	49	51	37	21	35	36	27	42	74	38	6	48	14	40	15	31	34	7	37	19	6	23	690	51.62
For Coroner:																								
Dr. Reed	30	1	93	4	....	30	....	....	32	62	....	....	8	17	23	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	298	.....
For Commissioner, 3d District:																								
J. C. Franz	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	10	42	25	17	49	5	45	27	17	20	257	19.68
J. F. Davis	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	40	9	44	42	19	66	4	2	14	252	18.42
For Committeeman at Large:																								
H. F. Graham	34	30	101	14	32	39	19	36	86	48	....	51	23	34	41	35	35	13	26	8	2	1	618	.....

TABLE No. 2.

OFFICAL VOTE OF THE ELECTION HELD IN JACKSON COUNTY, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1895.[1]

CANDIDATES.	HOLTON.			Franklin	Whiting	Netawaka	Straight Creek	Liberty	Jefferson	Soldier	Larkin	Denison	Grant	Banner	Avoca	Cedar Grove	Mayetta	Point Pleasant	Hoyt	Swinburn	Cross Creek	Adrian	Total	Majority
	First Ward	Sec'd Ward	Third Ward																					
FOR CHIEF JUSTICE SUPREME COURT:																								
*David Martin	106	107	109	68	86	100	60	89	135	117	15	90	23	75	46	42	75	36	105	35	20	43	1,582	1,331
§Charles K. Holliday	8	8	10	15	24	12	2	11	38	22	3	6	5	5	4	7	10	4	17	....	27	13	251	
FOR COUNTY CLERK:																								
*A. J. Basye	121	124	127	91	108	126	70	105	175	134	22	111	27	93	54	53	86	36	126	43	35	64	1,951	.....
FOR SHERIFF:																								
*Geo. N. Haas	110	118	114	83	101	108	69	96	169	136	18	101	26	95	50	49	88	34	118	38	35	54	1,810	756
†J. D. Poling	30	38	39	92	63	102	35	51	96	66	19	54	42	20	28	34	45	29	75	13	54	29	1,054	
FOR COUNTY TREASURER:																								
*Arch D. Abel	108	104	108	79	102	107	69	92	163	120	21	102	25	74	38	51	69	33	111	36	29	29	1,670	693
‡W. H. Lasswell	33	49	39	67	44	65	21	50	102	83	13	29	34	34	33	12	55	19	55	20	49	71	977	
FOR REGISTER OF DEEDS:																								
*Harmon Clark	117	128	128	108	97	117	66	104	167	125	19	101	23	100	44	49	81	35	117	34	29	55	1,844	948
†Austin Aikins	15	18	21	66	64	81	35	30	79	62	18	48	39	10	34	32	47	26	66	13	57	35	896	
FOR SURVEYOR:																								
*M. Z. Jones	111	116	110	80	87	111	67	98	167	125	19	103	27	88	48	46	79	35	119	36	33	58	1,763	708
†‡J. D. Bender	25	38	41	83	83	92	33	44	87	73	22	51	38	17	30	35	51	31	75	14	56	36	1,055	
FOR CORONER:																								
*S. S. Reed	92	94	89	68	93	108	67	94	160	124	19	97	24	88	48	48	75	34	118	32	30	56	1,658	526
†‡R. Y. Henry	47	54	61	89	74	98	33	45	95	85	21	50	40	19	28	33	47	29	80	16	54	34	1,132	
FOR COMMISSIONER, 3D DISTRICT:																								
*J. C. Franz	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	23	87	46	41	76	31	103	39	35	58	539	129
†M. L. Akers	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	39	18	26	39	50	34	89	19	60	36	410	

[1] Republicans are designated thus, *; Independent thus, §; People's Party thus, †; Democrats thus, ‡; Fusion thus, †‡.

Now let me call attention to a few facts developed by the people's mode.

First. A delegate convention (the root of all evil) is abandoned.

Second. From the Primary-Election Call it can be seen, among other things, that committeemen are nominated and selected, one from each ward, one from each township in the county, and one committeeman at large, to maintain the organization of the party.

Third. Each voting precinct is entitled to its proper number of "representative votes," that is, its proper representation, based, for instance, on the vote cast for some State official at some preceding general election.

Fourth. That no delegates are elected, none are required. Political conventions are wiped out.

Fifth. That the Australian ballot system applies, so far as applicable, to the manner of voting.

Sixth. Returns of the primary election are made to the chairman of the central committee.

From Table No. 2 it appears that the greatest number of votes any Republican candidate received at the general fall election, in the contest between the candidates of all parties, was 1,951. And from Table No. 1 it appears that the greatest number of votes cast by Republican voters for candidates at the Republican primaries was 1,931, showing twenty more Republican votes only cast at the general election than at the primary election; showing the great interest "the people" take in selecting their own candidates,—an unanswerable argument in favor of the system here presented; and showing still further that the people will turn out to primary elections to a man, and vote, if allowed to control and manage their own affairs.

(a) For the past nineteen years, at each and every primary election, the Republican voters of this county have been turning out in about the same proportion to the increase or decrease of the Republican electors.

(b) The Republican voters of this county have not yet found the system complicated in the least.

(c) This free-for-all race has given the greatest satisfac-

tion. The professional politician and the wire-pullers, however, grumble, and prefer the old corrupt delegate system.

(d) There has been no bolting by defeated applicants; each having been satisfied that his friends did all they could for him, in turn cheered the winner who won in the race of the primaries.

Seventh. The applicant for a nomination who receives the largest number of representative votes of all the precincts is declared the nominee of the party, not the person who receives the greatest number of votes.

For example (see the "Call"): Whiting precinct was entitled to eight representative votes for Sheriff, Netawaka precinct to seven representative votes, and Hoyt precinct to nine representative votes. The number of votes that J. T. Hancher received in Whiting Township was forty-nine of the total number (109) of votes cast at that precinct. Hancher therefore received 49-109 of eight representative votes in that precinct; and in the Netawaka precinct, received 18-99 of seven representative votes; and in Hoyt precinct 1-56 of nine representative votes; and so on. While George N. Haas, the successful applicant and nominee, received only four votes at Whiting precinct, therefore only 4-109 of eight representative votes; 20-99 of seven representative votes at Netawaka; and 14-56 of nine representative votes at Hoyt; and so on. The other applicants received votes, and each counted his just share of the representative vote of each precinct in the proportion of the number of votes cast for him to the whole number cast therein. Anyone who has leisure can figure out from the "Primary Election Call" and "Table No. 1" exactly and very quickly by decimal fractions how many representative votes and parts of a representative vote each applicant received, and who became the nominees of the Republican party for the year 1895.

The judges of the election precinct count the number of votes each applicant receives, figure out the share of the representative votes of each applicant, and make return of the votes and their calculations to the chairman of the central committee. Afterwards the central committee review the

votes and the calculations, if necessary, and declare who are the nominees.

Eighth. It will be noticed that, in the column next to the last of "Table No. 1," the total number of votes cast for each candidate is given, and that in the last column of the same table, under the head of "Representative Votes," is given the number of representative votes each applicant became entitled to. Of course, under the system, it followed that the applicant who received the greatest number of representative votes was entitled to and did become the candidate of the party.

(a) Local favoritism or prejudice cannot seriously affect any applicant. The few fight it out in each precinct, and have it all over there without necessarily embroiling the whole party, to its lasting damage. The strength of each applicant is counted by his shares of the representative votes of all the precincts in which he obtains votes. He cannot be "traded" out of a nomination. The weakest applicant, all round, fails. The strongest applicant, all round, wins the nomination.

(b) No contest over a nomination has ever been made by an applicant under this system.

(c) The system has been used by Republicans only.

(d) This manner of choosing candidates was adopted by the common consent of Republican voters. There is no law regulating or recognizing the system.

(e) A law to enforce and regulate such a primary election can be easily drafted. We want a different and a better primary law than either the Kentucky or the Missouri law.

(f) The law must be mandatory, and must apply to all political parties nominating candidates for office; and all primaries of all parties must be held on the same day and at the same hours.

(g) A penalty for ignoring the law should so operate as to make any candidate elected by any political party ineligible to demand or hold the office to which he might be ostensibly elected, the incumbent to hold over.

The system above outlined, if applied to the nomination of United States Senators and Representatives, would prove to be the great safety valve of this democracy. The immediate results and greatest gain to be made by the direct nomination

of candidates would be in the nomination of Representatives for Congress. Until the people adopt the direct nomination of Representatives through primary elections, there never will be an election of a United States Senator by the people.

Once, if I may use the paradoxical expression, let the people have the permission of the politicians to nominate Representatives, and it would not be long before the people would elect Representatives in touch with them, who would cause to be submitted to their constituents, for adoption, a constitutional amendment authorizing the election of United States senators by the people.

Under a system of direct nominations by the people, any citizen who has "radical ideas" can, by obtaining the requisite number of petitioners, and by becoming an applicant for nomination, secure opportunities to address his fellow citizens and argue his peculiar theories.

Under such a system any "crank" may apply in the same manner for a nomination, and secure an opportunity to address and convince the people of the necessity of any law, of any reform measure, of pure socialistic doctrines, of the single-tax theory, of the initiative and referendum, of proportional representation, of public ownership of railroads, telegraphs, express transportation, mines, insurance, municipal ownership of all municipal rights and franchises, and so on and so on.

Such a system would prove to be the great common school of politics. It would be the arena for every gauntlet of reform. It will do away with the necessity of shooting down "reformers," and of increasing our standing army. All who love freedom must remember that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and that all the people only are vigilant. Under this system all representatives must apply for a nomination, and would be compelled to state and define their position on all public questions before receiving votes of the people. Under this system the people would be the masters and governors of their representatives, and not their representatives' very humble constituents and voters. Under this system the people would go into the reform business in earnest,

and this nation would teach all other nations of the earth that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

Anarchy! Communism! Socialism! If there is danger to our American institutions in allowing the people to select their own public servants and rulers, then the sooner this nation adopts England's constitutional monarchy the better. Is there an office-seeker, a politician, a statesman, or a ward-heeler who dares publicly to assert that the people cannot be trusted to select their own officials, their own public rulers? Is there a "class" of fellow citizens better qualified to decide what the people want than all the people themselves? Is this a government of oligarchies? Thrice has this government been nearly rent in twain by political factions, yet never once has it been disturbed by the voice of the people. The greater the number of educated citizens, the greater the danger to the stability of this government if even the voice of a minority is in any manner stifled and suppressed.

Will not the people see that reforms can be accomplished expeditously and thoroughly only by representatives nominated directly by their votes at primary elections? Reformers have been talking and writing incessantly for years about how "we allow ourselves to be oppressed by an impersonal, irresponsible, extra-legal body, without conscience and without remorse. How it rules caucuses, names delegates, appoints committees, dominates the councils of the party, dictates, nominates, makes platforms, dispenses patronage, controls State legislatures, stifles opposition, punishes independence, and elects United States Senators." Cannot, will not, the people see that, by establishing direct nomination of candidates at primary elections, a way is open to overturn all wrong, a way for all reforms, a way for all social revolution.

Cease grumbling, writing, and talking about our present deplorable political conditions, and agree upon a plan for the direct nomination of candidates by the people, that will upturn conditions. We want a stronger government for the people than we now have, and we will have a stronger government of the people, by the people, and for the people quickly, after the people once get a taste of choosing and nominating their own candidates by direct vote, and not until then.

The party which adopts the direct-nomination system and makes the same the leading plank of its platform will first become the dominant and invincible party of the United States. The Republican party will not adopt it; its politicians are in power. The Democratic party may not; its politicians are not reformers. The Populist party should, if it would lead and become the party of the people.

I second the motion of Edward Insley, that "There should be a national organization to collect information and statistics on this subject for the education of the people and of the lawmakers."

HOLTON, KANSAS.

THE DECADENCE OF PATRIOTISM, AND WHAT IT MEANS.

BY HENRY E. FOSTER.

IF patriotism is declining we are nearing some great and disastrous epoch in our national life. Patriotism is the love of country. It is the cohesive element which holds a popular government together. If this element becomes weak and disintegrated, the government cannot long withstand serious dissensions from within or strong assaults from without, and it is only a question of time when it will go to pieces, to be succeeded perhaps, after a reign of anarchistic terror, by "the man on horseback."

In monarchies national patriotism can in large measure be dispensed with. Standing armies and navies constitute an effective substitute for commanding the loyalty of a nation of unlettered peasants and unarmed proletariats. With a republican government like ours, it is different. Patriotism with us means absolute security against every internal or external foe. It means improvement and progress. It means a high average of public morals and a fair degree of prosperity and contentment among the mass of people, for patriotism cannot largely exist where these conditions and attainments are not. The absence of patriotism means the atrophy of national virility and vitality. It means insecurity and decrepitude, and presages a cataclysm in which popular government would disappear.

One ought to tremble in propounding the question whether the national spirit, the love of country, with us is declining, if he expects to receive a serious and truthful answer. The affirmative evidence of decline cannot be brushed aside by the agreeable optimism of the well-fed, well-clothed, and well-circumstanced gentleman who is prone to fancy that everybody ought to feel as comfortable and hopeful of the future as himself. Inferential evidence that patriotism has reached a dangerously low level is found in the artificial expedients

that are being employed to stimulate and increase it. Disrespect for the flag has become so pronounced that national and state legislation has been invoked to arrest it. Since the memorable campaign of 1896, when the national ensign of the American people was monopolized by the President-maker and made a vote-catching party device, some half-a-dozen bills have been introduced in the two Houses of Congress, having for their common purpose the protection of the flag from wanton insult and partisan and mercenary degradation. The provisions of a number of these bills, among other inhibited acts, make it unlawful for any of our countrymen to divert or amuse themselves by trampling on their flag, dragging it through the mire, or by burning or tearing it in pieces. Neither will the enterprising tradesman or the astute campaign patriot be permitted to use the Stars and Stripes for gainful or political purposes. At the late session of the legislature of the Empire State a bill of similar import passed both Houses almost without opposition. The supposed need for such laws to protect "Old Glory" at home among our own people would have been almost unthinkable three decades ago. Yet in a number of our commonwealths it has also been thought necessary to replenish the declining stock of patriotism by laws directing that the Stars and Stripes be hoisted over public-school buildings. In addition to this expedient, annual "flag days" have been inaugurated for teaching or impressing sentiments of patriotism; and among other befitting exercises in some of the schools the children are taught in concert to "pledge allegiance to the flag and to the Republic for which it stands," etc. In the Empire State the means already mentioned for promoting loyalty and veneration for the government are evidently feared to be inadequate, and so a bill was introduced at the last session of the legislature at Albany requiring text-books to be provided in which our governmental history shall be dished up in a laudatory manner intended to create a spirit of national pride and devotion.

Such devices of statecraft clearly indicate that there is a dearth of patriotism, but they are superficial and unavailing remedies. You cannot legislate patriotism into a people by laws compelling men to abstain from desecrating their flag,

or by flaunting the flag before the eyes of school children, or by fulsome recitals glorifying this country on flag days, or by specially prepared text-books. School children, as they grow older and begin to face the problems of life, will be disillusioned if garish impressions have been made upon their minds which facts of experience and observation do not sustain. They will reason, and will come to the conclusion that the flag of their country, to be worthy of veneration, must be something more than a piece of bunting. They will look beyond sentiment to serious fact. They will begin to ask what the flag stands for, not theoretically, but actually, and many of them in the aggregate will bitterly reflect on the fact that it has even failed to protect themselves, while in youthful innocence and inexperience, from numerous pitfalls set for them in every populous community. They will find that their flag does not protect the home, the unit of the state, but that vice, with its slimy arms and polluting fingers, partly in league with the government itself, may pluck from the home its brightest jewels of sons or daughters. The serious truth will have to be faced some day, that the patriotism of a people cannot be preserved without preserving their morals. Character is an essential part of patriotism. It is its heart and vitals. It was character which made Cromwell's "Ironsides" invincible; character which brought into existence this republic; character in our soldiers of the sixties which preserved it.

Is character among the masses under the reign of licensed and tolerated evil declining? If so, the average of patriotism and manly valor is declining with it. But what seem to be the facts? We can get some idea of them by a brief analysis of our population. In the first place there is a very large percentage of foreign-born who are not wholly in accord with our laws and institutions, especially such as they regard as a restraint upon personal liberty. At best, these exotics can only have such love for our flag as has been acquired by a sojourn, short or long, in an adopted country. Then, life and property are menaced by an army of 750,000 criminals. Murders and other homicides for 1896 exceeded 10,000, a fearful increase over previous years; and for the past year

they probably reached 11,000. The increase of crime is a timely and frequent topic for comment in the daily press. At times there is a carnival of lawlessness in the larger cities. Not long since there were ten hold-ups in Denver in a single night. In Chicago 5,000 people are said to have been "held up" within the past two years, and the great majority of residences have been entered by burglars. Thugs have not hesitated to kill their victims if they offered the least resistance. Newspaper enterprise has elicited the fact that some forty millionaires of the Western metropolis have fled that city, and it is reasonable to presume that some of them at least were induced to do so from fear. Other cities have contributed their share of lawlessness. An army of hundreds of thousands of tramps shades off with no nicely drawn demarcation into the army of crooks and thugs. The liquor traffic in the cities has turned out another army of inebriates and bums. Take as a single illustration the Quaker City, where, if anywhere, we should expect to find sobriety. In that city during the twenty-four hours of last Christmas 2,000 persons were arrested for drunkenness. Probably several men were more or less intoxicated to every one that fell into the clutches of the police. This was in part the manner in which the anniversary of the birth of the world's Redeemer was celebrated in what we incline to view as a model city. In other municipalities it may have been worse. A metropolitan paper published an editorial under the caption "Christmas Drunkenness." Another journal gave prominence to the homicides and burglaries committed on that day. In the cities there is a large class of professional politicians who, ethically considered, are not greatly superior to the professional thieves. The list may be completed by mention of the innumerable courtesans that infest every populous centre and their licentious consorts, equally "fallen" and "lost," if sin and frailty be viewed by impartial eyes. These various classes combined would form no inconsiderable percentage of the whole population, and, obviously, these hundreds of thousands of murderers, thugs, crooks, tramps, bums, curbstone politicians, and libertines are not patriots. On the contrary, they reduce the average of patriotism to an alarming extent.

There is a religious, or, if you prefer, an irreligious, phase to this subject. While there have been magnificent patriots like Tom Paine who were rank infidels or atheists, yet, as a rule, men without belief in a hereafter and an intelligent and beneficent Ruler of the Universe do not make the best citizens and the most reliable defenders of their country. "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die," is apt to be their guiding creed, and it does not suggest great love for the flag, or much sacrifice in a trying emergency for its honor or defence. Whenever you find an anarchist who hates government and wants to destroy it, you find an atheist; and to whatever extent infidelity prevails, in the churches or outside of them, to that extent is there apt to be a relaxation of home ties and state ties, which is an antecedent condition to the disregard for all the regulations of organized society and a sure symptom of national decay. That clergy and laity have become much infected with disbelief in their own creeds and even in the integrity and inspiration of the Scriptures, admits of no doubt. To this fact, in large part, as well as to the lack of what may be called Christian democracy, may be attributed the church's loss of power over the masses. When Henry Ward Beecher said that a fact *outside* of the Bible has and ought to have preference over a declaration *in* the Bible, he only had the courage to express a measure of unfaith in which many of his fellow preachers shared. But the clergy have become bolder now, and doctrines which would have been viewed as rank heresies a few years ago, are countenanced as "broad-minded" and "progressive." The growing tendency is to make parables and allegories of everything in Holy Writ which savors of the unnatural or miraculous, and care is taken by many Gospel-expounders to square their scriptural texts with the latest speculations on biology, geology, and the "higher criticism." Not long since one prominent divine in the metropolis went so far as to declare from his fashionable pulpit that civilization had outgrown all religions, including Christianity, and that he was casting about to find a new religion to take its place.

It is not our purpose to criticise this ecclesiastical license further than to make the point that a weak and uncertain

faith in the essentials of Christianity is the precursor and concomitant of weak and debilitated patriotism. In this connection it may be mentioned that the church has to a large extent adopted the policy of conquering the world by compromising conformity with it, and still the temples of worship are frequented by only about twenty per cent of the population. Of late years the churches have become a factor in politics. They were particularly so regarded in our last Presidential campaign. This is not necessarily an unpropitious omen; but if the churches elect to cast their influence upon the side of wealth and power and "respectability," they will lose the respect and confidence of the masses and diminish in them the sum of patriotic devotion. When intelligent, honest voters see their ticket and policies go down in defeat before the combined forces of great corporations, trusts, millionaires, stock-gamblers, political bosses, and finally the churches, they naturally and with practical accuracy point to this aggregation as the "government," but it will arouse in them loathing and contempt instead of veneration or love.

Whether it be called progress or retrogression, it is true that as a nation we are drifting away from old-time landmarks, from old-time theology, from old-time simplicity, from old-time morality, from old-time statesmanship, and old-time conditions of material and social equality. None of these changed and still changing conditions are promoters of a national spirit. They tend to divide into antagonistic classes, instead of to unify the people. They tend to destroy patriotism, not to create it. They lead up to the conviction that the general trend of the main current of national life is towards a lower level where clouds and shadows hang gloomily over waters that are turbulent and beset with rocks. It may be apprehended that we have made perceptible progress in this direction. When a government stands in fear of violence from a considerable element among its own citizens, it may well be inferred that the love of country is alarmingly deficient. Yet the beginnings of such a fear are already discernible. They may be seen in the mistrust and suspicion with which the industrial classes are viewed by capitalistic interests and legal authority. They may be seen in the ap-

peals made a few months ago to the courts to curtail the free use of the public highways and the exercise of free assemblage to the industrial classes. They may be seen in the purpose seriously entertained to construct the more costly government buildings hereafter so that they can be protected with Gatling guns, should serious trouble with the populace arise. It is understood that the governmental building in Chicago will be, or can be, so protected, and the same is true of the mint building in Philadelphia. The sense of domestic danger has become so keen that inventors, quick to respond to every desideratum, have devised what is known as a "riot gun." It is so light and portable that a gunner can readily carry it about, and yet so destructive that in a few seconds it could mow down a multitude of people with its continuous discharge of leaden hail. It might be asked of what avail this riot gun would be in the hands of a defender of organized society when one or a dozen of the same diabolical contrivances might be in the possession of the mob. But we only care in this connection to offer cumulative evidence of the weakening attachment for law and constituted authority which is shown in the growing fear and suspicion which the masses inspire.

Take another view. One can form some notion of the patriotism of a people by the character of the politics of the alternately dominant parties. When Charles Sumner said that "Politics is morality applied to public affairs," everybody accepted the definition as correct, and it was not regarded as ideal merely, but something which should exist in practice. But some decades have passed since statesmen like Sumner were shaping governmental affairs, and politicians and partisan bosses have largely taken their place. If we want another definition of politics, one that is up-to-date, we can deduce it from the twin propositions of ex-Senator John Ingalls. Mr. Ingalls has declared that "The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in politics," and that "The purification of parties is an iridescent dream." Another modern patriot of opposing party affiliation laid down the rule that "To the victors belong the spoils." This dictum, though loudly condemned and diametrically opposed to civil-service law, has

been for years essentially followed by both the old parties. Present-day politics is a hustle for office. Money has become a great factor in securing it. The saloons and the churches are other factors, and when these three forces are arrayed on the same side, which is not at all inconceivable, the opposing party, however meritorious may be its policies and its candidates, is destined to be vanquished at the polls. The end is made to justify the means, and the end is the spoils of office. In these days the place-seeker who wants a fat public job goes straight after it. The idea of a man with political ambitions to satisfy sitting down with high-minded composure waiting for an office to look him up, would strike one as being supremely funny. But the average American citizen is not a fool, and when he comes to think it all over he discovers that the "government" and the "flag" concerning which he has been given such fine and lofty conceptions, are practically and in effect these selfsame hustlers for office and emolument who sit in upholstered chairs, smoke high-priced cigars, and draw salaries several times larger than they could possibly earn by honest effort in any legitimate vocation. His veneration for his country, therefore, will be graduated by the respect or detestation in which he holds the men who administer the affairs of state and draw the salaries which he is taxed to pay.

Evidently patriotism cannot and ought not to exist without a reasonable basis, and it may just as well be confessed that such basis is very deficient. In the light of bitter experience it is found that the Declaration of Independence is a brilliant delusion. In plain fact, men are not "created equal." An ever-increasing number of them in this country are created very unequal. Neither, in the wide sense of the term, are they born free. They are the slaves of circumstance, and, as a rule, may not choose a higher and a happier lot than that of their near progenitors. Year by year the inequality of material possession and social position becomes more strongly marked and affects a larger number of persons on the one hand, and a fewer number on the other. According to the last census report, fifty-two per cent of our population are born in poverty and consigned to a life of servitude as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Here are more than half of

our 75,000,000 of people, yet they own but three per cent of the national wealth, practically all of which the labor of their class has created. Some 40,000 families own more than half the aggregate wealth, while a paltry one-seventieth part of the population has secured possession of two-thirds of it. But under the malefic influence of unequal and exorbitant taxation, of trust and syndicate robbery, and of a financial system with its ever-appreciating dollar created and maintained by and for the creditor classes and the class with fixed incomes, the centralization of wealth has made rapid progress since 1890, and is making rapid progress now. The middle class is constantly being crowded down into the already congested ranks of labor, while fabulous wealth is accumulating more and more in the hands of a favored few. The facts and figures which the next census will present may well be anticipated with alarm. Class favoritism, unequal opportunity and poverty for the majority of our citizens may make tramps, criminals, perverts, and anarchists, but cannot make patriots. Whether the fact will be generally recognized or not, we are as a nation going with a full head of steam straight towards a social upheaval. Existing tendencies cannot continue many years longer without making serfs of all but a handful of our population, and the masses are too enlightened to submit to that consummation. Vassalage and our common schools cannot coexist. If wise and just policies do not supervene, the worm will turn at last, and when it does, woe betide the Shylocks, the multi-millionaires, the trust magnates, the plutocrats, the corrupt party bosses, and all the vampires who have wantoned in luxury by sucking the blood of the people. Secular events appear to be shaping fast to fulfil the Scriptural prophecy—"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire."

In one of his happy efforts, Dr. Chauncey M. Depew said to the students of Chicago University, that "Every young man should be an optimist." But since he made that fascinating address, three of the students of that institution, who

not unlikely listened to him, are reported by President Harper to have literally died of starvation. Scores of others were said to have been in a famishing condition. Even Dr. Depew's optimism would not be proof against such a heritage of poverty and suffering as that. It may be well to challenge the declaration of Sam Small, that "Civilization is a failure," but optimism and patriotism must stand or fall on facts; they cannot subsist on sentiment or theories. Men will love their country and look with hopeful assurance at the future, when their stomachs are filled and their backs clothed, and when favoring laws and conditions enable them to live in reasonable prosperity in their own homes and rear their children with possibilities in life other than to become the despairing drudges of circumstance, chained to the wheels of capital. You make a patriot out of a man when you make him contented and happy.

Another evidence of discontent and unrest is found in the floating vote, which grows larger every year, and which pendulates fitfully back and forth, first carrying an election for one party, then for the other, but satisfied with neither. This floating vote is made up of the masses; made up of hirelings at starvations wages; made up of renters, or owners of modest homes that are covered with mortgages; made up in part of men who are of better estate, but who feel that they are oppressed by discriminating laws and unjust taxation. It is not in human nature for these men to be moved with patriotic emotion at the sight of their country's banner. But, paradoxical as it may appear, the capitalistic class have still less patriotism. How much love of country have the stock-gamblers and money-speculators of Wall Street? The question is sufficiently answered in their craven, inhuman, and utterly un-American attitude towards the Cuban patriots. The people of that ill-starred island may be huddled together and starved like wild beasts; their stock may be driven off or killed, and their houses burned; their children may be massacred, and their wives and daughters violated; their prisoners of war may be shot, and the sick and wounded inmates of their hospitals may be hacked to pieces, but none of these things move the money-loaners and security speculators. Up

to the hour of this writing they have given their orders to the present administration, as they did to the preceding one, to offer no interference, to put forth no policy for bringing the cruel war to a close, because it might "disturb business" and interrupt their all-absorbing occupation of heaping up wealth. The attitude of our Shylocks towards the Armenians when they were being slaughtered like sheep was equally un-American and brutal.

Where then shall we look for patriots to hold this confederacy together and successfully guide the ship of state, when both extremes of our population fail us? True, there is the middle class, and there is the honest, conservative farming class. But both are in a state of material and social subsidence. The small merchant must gradually give way to the great department store; and the syndicates and combines are steadily acquiring a monopoly of all competitive industry and all trade, forcing out of business and into poverty thousands of otherwise prosperous men. The farmer has had a little spurt of good fortune this year, by reason of the misfortune which overtook millions of agriculturists in other lands. But such conditions are not likely soon to be repeated. Our farmers will fare worse and worse as the purchasing power of the gold dollar increases and the prices of the products of the soil decline. The farmer, like the laborer, will begin to think there is something wrong with his government when his wheat and other cereals sell for less than the cost of production, and he finds it impossible to make ends meet.

But why, some one may ask, draw this lurid and doleful picture? Might not the artist with hope and courage open up to us a vista in which moral and religious evangels and organized, aggressive agencies pushing for political and economic reforms should occupy the near perspective, while warm, bright rays of light and cheer illuminate the distant scene? Yes, there are word painters who can do this, and the world needs the products of their genius and the stimulation of their pleasing imagery. But the world also needs that other and darker picture, with the shadowy outlines of its menacing spectres looming up in the distance, because it needs the truth. Without mincing matters we are prepared to say, in

conclusion, that, because colossal blunders have been made and perpetuated, this country is getting dangerously permeated with the spirit of discontent and unrest. Things may appear fairly smooth on the surface, but seismic forces of resistless power slumber underneath. If we do not change the direction in which we are going, these forces will some day let go with an uncontrollable energy that will shake this continent, wreck all authority, and level every social and material estate and condition. Then the cry of "anarchy" which fell so glibly from partisan lips in the last presidential campaign will be a dread reality more dire than was ever conceived in the fanciful brain of any aristocrat or demagogue. A thousand warning indices, great and small, admonish us that we are going the wrong way—the way towards national destruction.

What shall be done? In general, we answer, reverse the engine. Check the centralization of wealth and its growing domination in a democratic government. Give equal opportunities for material acquisition and the pursuit of happiness to all the people. Abolish class favoritism. Turn down the party boss. Crush every character-destroying vice that flourishes under sanction of law. Make towering wealth bear its share of the public burdens. Smash the combines. Legislate for the people, not for Dives. Make the masses contented and happy by enabling them to prosper on their labor, which is the productive source of all our national wealth. Enable the humblest elector to feel that he is the governing "sovereign" in fact which he is in theory. Then we shall have patriotism. Then there will be no need of State and federal laws to protect the flag from overt insult, or from being prostituted to commercial or partisan uses. Then there will be no need of Gatling guns to protect public property by shooting down prospective mobs of our own people.

But will these wise and prudent policies be adopted? In fine, will the engine be reversed? We do not know. But we do know that the conviction is becoming fixed in a multitude of observant minds, that if within a few years at most the engine is not reversed, a fearful collision, which will be politically historic, is inevitable.

THE ELEMENTS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION.

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ALL the laws of life, whatever their nature, are valid in their degree throughout the organic world. They control the life processes of man, those of the lower animals, and those of "our brother organisms, the plants." The fact that the laws of heredity, for example, extend unchanged in essence from one extreme of organic life to another, is one of the most vital to our understanding of the nature of life. For such homology as this, for any fact of homology whatsoever, we have found but one explanation, the influence of common descent.

There are many elements or factors which enter into the processes of organic evolution, and they stand in varied relations to each other. It is not possible to make a classification of them in which there shall not be inequality and overlapping of elements. For the purpose of our present discussion we may group these forces and factors under eight principal heads:

I. *Heredity.* This is "the law of persistence in a series of organisms." Throughout nature each creature tends to reproduce its own qualities and those of its ancestors. "Like begets like." Creatures resemble their ancestors. The single germ cell specialized for purposes of reproduction is capable in its development "of repeating the whole with the precision of a work of art." Heredity is the great conservative force of evolution. Its influence is shown in the persistence of type, in the existence of broad homologies among living forms, in the possibility of natural systems of classification in any group, in the retention of vestigial organs, in the development in the youth of the individual of outworn structures and conditions useful in the earlier history of the race or type.

The physical basis of heredity has been in recent years the

subject of many elaborate investigations. The close homology of the germ cell with the one-celled animals, or protozoa, is now generally recognized, and there is large reason to believe that in the bands and loops of the nucleus of the germ cell is found the visible vehicle by which the hereditary tendencies are transmitted.

II. *Irritability.* All living beings are affected by their surroundings. Living matter must always respond in some degree to every external stimulus. All living beings are moved by, or react from, every phase of their surroundings. The nervous system and its associated sense organs are directly related to the conditions of life. They are concessions made to the environment. The power of motion, whatever it may be, requires the guidance obtained from the impressions made by external things. In all animals this knowledge, whatever its degree of completeness, tends to work itself out in action. In plants the same thing is in some degree true. The essential difference is that, having no power of locomotion, the plant is without a general sensorium. The parts that move, growing rootlets, tips of branches, and the like, have sensibility and power of motion in the same series of cells. The animal, a colony of cells which move as a whole, has a specialized nervous system which serves the whole.

As a rule the environment does not act directly on the individual. Its influence is felt chiefly in modifying its action, in increasing, diminishing, or changing its efforts. The effects of environment are practically recognized in processes of education, of agriculture, the "care and culture of men" and of horses and trees and wheat. Evil surroundings produce evil effects. Easy surroundings, reducing the stimulus to effort, tend to produce organic degeneration. In larger ways response to environment produces a long series of "concessions." A character or condition in itself of the nature of a response to outside stimulus may be called a concession. Among such concessions are the skin, the eyes, the brain, the sense of pain, in fact in the ultimate analysis every organ and every function of the body. For without environment all these would be unnecessary. They would be inconceivable. For life without environment is the philosopher's dream only.

To conquer or create one's own environment is the noblest function of the human will, itself one of the factors in evolution.

III. *Individuality.* No two organisms are exactly alike. There is in each individual of whatever species "a divine initiative" which prevents it from being the slavish copy of any which have gone before. The "survival of the fittest" rests on the existence of different degrees and kinds of fitness. This it is the part of the laws of variation to produce. Every step in divergence or specialization gives room for more life. Its abundance is dependent upon its variety. Thus the world is never full, for there is always room for organisms better or differently adapted to each set of its varied conditions. The arrangement of double parentage tends to promote variety in life. Each new individual has all the ancestors of its father as well as all those of its mother, and with each one these are brought into new combinations. The process of amphimixis, the mingling of the hereditary characters of the two germ cells, male and female, to form a new fertilized cell, has as its essential function the promotion of variation. The processes of karyokinesis, the subdivision of the nuclear material in the formation of a new cell, tend in the same direction. By the result of the subdivisions incident in forming the sperm-cell or the ovum, no one of these is left exactly like any other. From this point of view we say that variation is, as Professor Osborn has said, in reality a phase of heredity. The same structures that provide for the continuance of the species prevent the actual repetition of the individual.

Besides these sources of germinal variation there are the forces of laws which produce acceleration or retardation in the processes of early development. Much of the advance in power or specialization among organisms comes from the saving of time in the process of development. As growth goes on the forms we call lower pass slowly through the various stages of life. Their growth is finished before any high degree of specialization is reached. The embryo of the higher form passes through the same course, but with a rapidity in some degree proportioned to its future possibility. Less time is spent on non-essentials, and we may say that by the saving

of time and force it is enabled to push on to higher development.

The gill structures of the fish, by which its blood is purified by contact with air dissolved in water, last its whole lifetime. The fish never outgrows this structure, and never acquires the function of breathing atmospheric air. The frog is fishlike for a period in its life, but the development is accelerated, organs for breathing atmospheric air are produced, and the gills become atrophied and disappear from view. Their traces remain, for by the law of heredity no creature can ever wholly let go of its past. That its ancestors once breathed in water can never be forgotten. With bird or mammal the acceleration is still more marked, and the gill structure has passed into modification before the egg is hatched or the animal born. The force of acceleration hurries the embryo along through these temporary stages, and with this shortening of useless steps comes the possibility of higher development.

In like manner retarded development brings about degeneration, while variations in either direction with species or organs has the larger purpose of increasing variation, of promoting individuality.

Similar results are brought about by variations in use or in effort. The organ which is used thrives, while the unused function disappears with the organ on which it depends. These changes affect the individual vitally and directly. Whether they are transmitted from generation to generation in any degree is still unknown. Characters resulting from the use, effort, or experience of the individual are known as acquired characters. Such acquired characters are the strong arm of the blacksmith, the skilled hand of the artist, the trained ear of the musician. These characters are not subject to inheritance by the laws of heredity in the same way or in the same degree that unborn characters are. Nevertheless it is claimed by a large number of evolutionists, the so-called Neo-Lamarckian school, that there is a law of the transmission of acquired characters. Such a law was formulated by Lamarck as his fourth law of evolution in these words:

"All that has been acquired, begun, or changed in the

structure of individuals in their lifetime is preserved in reproduction and transmitted to the new individuals which spring from those who have inherited the change."

In the words of Herbert Spencer, the leader of the Neo-Lamarckians, "Change of function produces changes of structure; it is a tenable hypothesis that changes of structure so produced are inherited."

The transmission of acquired characters is still one of the hypothetical factors of evolution, and we may here give it only this passing reference. Among the remaining factors which promote variety in life must be reckoned variation in environment. No two organisms can have exactly the same surroundings, and the surroundings modify development. With this goes the destruction of the unadapted, the various phases of the great sifting process known collectively as natural selection. The "survival of the fittest" must rest on the existence of the fittest. The "origin of the fittest" involves a series of difficult problems, some of them still unsolved.

IV. *Natural Selection.* The great motive power of organic evolution is the force or process of natural selection. In the conditions of life those organisms last longest which are best fitted to these conditions. This is the essential fact upon which rests Herbert Spencer's law of "the survival of the fittest." At the same time the survival of the fittest does not tell the whole story of natural selection. But a small part of the actual characters of animals and plants can be traced directly and solely to the principle of utility. The survival of the existing is a large element also in the great process of natural selection. Thus, a water bird will have web feet. The webbing is useful in swimming. Its presence is due to its utility. The survival of the fittest in water birds may mean the survival of the best swimmer, and the best swimmer is the one with the most useful webbing. But a character quite as persistent may be a perfectly useless one, as a special arrangement of the plates on the tarsus, or the flattening of a single claw. This may have in itself no utility at all. Its presence may not be due to the survial of the fittest. It persists because such a character was possessed by some ancestor.

It has been retained through heredity. The nails must have some form, the plates some arrangement, the wing coverts some color. This ancestral form or color is as good as some other would be. Hence comes its persistence, which is simply a *survival of the existing*, no question of relative fitness being involved. But as this is also a natural adjustment produced by natural relations as distinguished from artificial selection produced by the act of man, we may still include it under the head of natural selection. Whatever result is brought about in the struggle for existence by the resultants of natural forces without human aid is natural selection in the sense in which Darwin used the term.

Throughout all nature the number of organisms brought into life is far in excess of the number of those which can come to maturity. All live that can live, and in general those that can not live are those whose individual variations are least favorable. Only a small minority of the whole reach their full growth. The destruction of the others, to use Bergen's words, is "not indiscriminate, but it will first and mainly comprise those individuals least able to resist attack."

The term "fitness" in these discussions means, of course, only the power to win in the particular kind of contest that may be in question, no moral element and no element of general progress being necessarily involved. The term "natural selection" originated from the use of the word "selection" by breeders of animals to indicate the process of "weeding out" by which they improved their breeds. For the method by which in nature a new species is brought into existence seems to be precisely parallel to that by which we may artificially produce a new breed of cows or of dogs, a new race of pigeons, or a new variety of roses. "Natural selection" is, however, an affirmative phrase for what is largely a negative process. "Natural extinction," or the destruction of the unfittest, would sometimes express the same idea better.

No more striking statement of the universality of the struggle for existence and of its power to compel some form of selection—natural of course—has ever been made, than that given by Darwin in the "Origin of Species." From this I quote:

"I use this term, struggle for existence, in a large and metaphorical sense, including dependence of one being on another, and including (which is more important) not only the life of the individual, but success in leaving progeny. Two canine animals, in time of dearth, may be truly said to struggle with each other which shall get food and live. But a plant on the edge of a desert is said to struggle for life against the drouth, though more properly it should be said to be dependent on the moisture. A plant which annually produces a thousand seeds, of which only one on an average comes to maturity, may be more truly said to struggle with plants of the same and other kinds which already clothe the ground. The mistletoe is dependent on the apple and a few other trees, but can only in a far-fetched sense be said to struggle with these trees, for if too many of these parasites grow on the same tree, it languishes and dies. But several seedling mistletoes growing close together on the same branch may more truly be said to struggle with each other. As the mistletoe is disseminated by birds, its existence depends on them; and it may metaphorically be said to struggle with other fruit-bearing plants in tempting the birds to devour and thus disseminate its seeds. In these several senses, which pass into each other, I use for convenience' sake the general term of 'struggle for existence.'

"A struggle for existence inevitably follows from the high rate at which all organic beings tend to increase. Every being, which during its natural lifetime produces several eggs or seeds, must suffer destruction during some period of its life, and during some season or occasionally year; otherwise, on the principle of geometric increase, the numbers would quickly become so inordinately great that no country could support the product.

"Hence . . . there must in every case be a struggle for existence, either one individual with another of the same species, or with the individuals of distinct species, or with the physical conditions of life. It is the doctrine of Malthus applied with manifold force to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms; for in this case there can be no artificial increase of food, and no prudential restraint from marriage.

Although some species may be now increasing, more or less rapidly, in numbers, all cannot do so, for the world would not hold them. There is no exception to the rule that every organic being naturally increases at so high a rate, that if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by the progeny of a single pair. Even slow-breeding man has doubled in twenty-five years, and at this rate, in less than a thousand years, there would literally not be standing-room for his progeny. . . . The elephant is reckoned the slowest breeder of all known animals, and I have taken some pains to estimate its probable minimum rate of increase; it will be safest to assume that it begins breeding when thirty years old, and goes on breeding until ninety years old, bringing forth six young in the interval, and surviving till one hundred years old; if this be so, after a period of from 740 to 840 years there would be nearly nineteen million elephants alive, descended from the first pair.

"I have found that the visits of bees are necessary for the fertilization of some kinds of clover; for instance, twenty heads of white clover (*Trifolium repens*) yielded 2,290 seeds, but twenty other heads protected from bees produced not one. Again, one hundred heads of red clover (*Trifolium pratense*) produced 2,700 seeds, but the same number of protected heads produced not a single seed. Humble-bees alone visit red clover, as other bees cannot reach the nectar. . . . Hence we may infer as highly probable that, if the whole genus of humble-bees became extinct or very rare in England, the heartsease and red clover would become very rare or wholly disappear. The number of humble-bees in any district depends in a great measure on the number of field-mice, which destroy their combs and nests; and Col. Newman, who has long attended to the habits of humble-bees, believes that more than two-thirds of them are thus destroyed all over England. Now the number of mice is largely dependent, as everyone knows, on the number of cats; and Col. Newman says: 'Near villages and small towns I have found the nests of humble-bees more numerous than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of cats which destroy the mice. Hence it is quite credible that the presence of feline animals in large numbers

in a district might determine, through the intervention first of mice and then of bees, the frequency of certain flowers in that district.' "

A calculation has been lately made that at the normal rate of increase from a pair of English sparrows, if none were to die except of old age, it would take but twenty-five years to give one sparrow to every square inch of the State of Indiana. But such increase is impossible, for more than a hundred other species of birds are disputing the same territory, and there cannot be place or food for all. With such conditions, the struggle for existence between sparrow and sparrow, and between sparrows and other birds, grows yearly more severe. Each year now the sparrow gains a little and other birds lose correspondingly; but sooner or later with each species a point will be reached when the loss exactly balances the increase. This produces a condition of apparent equilibrium—the equilibrium of nature; a sort of armed neutrality which a superficial observer mistakes for real peace and permanence. But this equilibrium is broken as soon as any individual or group of individuals appears that can do something more than merely hold its own in a struggle for existence.

The struggle for existence appears under a threefold form: the struggle of creatures with like creatures; the struggle with unlike forms; and the struggle with the conditions of the environment. In general when the environment is most favorable, the competition of individual with individual will be most severe. Where this environment is alike favorable for many different forms or species, the struggle between species and species becomes intensified. Where conditions are adverse, the number of forms able to maintain themselves will be smaller, but those which acquire adaptation, not being crowded by competing forms, often exist in countless numbers.

The distribution of fishes may illustrate this. The most favorable condition for fish life is found about coral reefs, in the clear, equable waters of the tropics. Here many forms find favorable conditions, but the competition among their individuals is severe. In Arctic waters but few species ap-

pear; the most are excluded by the temperature itself. But these few forms are represented each by myriads of individuals. But few kinds can enter into competition. The struggle is not that of species against species; it is the survival of those that can react from the environment, that can maintain themselves against the hard conditions of life. But these conditions are not hard to these individuals. The Arctic life is the life they are fitted for. The struggle for existence is never felt as a stress or strain by the adapted.

Hence comes the fact noticed by Darwin, that, while all intelligent men admit the struggle for existence, very few realize it. Men in general are fitted to the struggle as it came to their ancestors, as they are fitted to the pressure of the air. They do not realize the pressure itself, but only its fluctuations. Hence it comes that many writers have supposed that the struggle for existence belonged only to animals, that man is or should be exempt from it. Competition has been identified with injustice, fraud, or trickery, and it has been supposed that some act of legislation would put an end to it forever. But competition is inseparable from life. The struggle for existence may be hidden in social conventions, but it can never be extinguished. Nor should it be, for it is the essential force in the progress of life. Were it not for the principle of competition there could not be on the earth to-day an organism higher than a toadstool.

Malthus's law of population referred to above is in substance this: man tends to increase by a geometrical ratio, that is by multiplication; the increase of food supply is by arithmetical ratio, that is by addition; hence, whatever may be the ratio of increase, a geometrical progression will sooner or later outrun an arithmetical one. Hence sooner or later the world would be overstocked, did not vice, misery, or prudence come in as checks, reducing the ratio of multiplication. This law has been criticised as a partial truth, so far as man is concerned. This means simply that there are other factors also in evolution than those recognized by Malthus. Nevertheless Malthus's law is a sound statement of one great factor. And this law is simply the expression of the struggle for existence as it appears among men.

In a world limited in extent and in possibilities any rate of increase among organisms must bring about a struggle for existence. The ratio of increases is in itself a matter of minor importance, for each species would fill up the whole world at last. It is the ratio of actual increase which determines the fate of a species. Those increase and maintain themselves in which the death rate does not exceed the rate of increase. Those who live "beyond their means" must sooner or later perish.

Thus it comes about through natural selection that there is everywhere seemingly perfect adaptation, the "fitting of the dough to the pan," of the river to its bed. But this fitting is never wholly perfect, for still more complete adaptation may come; and as conditions change, adaptations must change also. Progress follows organic dissatisfaction. Where there is no reason for change, there is no progress; degeneration may set in, and degeneration of one sort or another follows withdrawal from the current of the struggle for existence. "Whatever is desirable," says Weismann, "becomes necessary as soon as it is possible." Whatever is not needed tends to decline and disappear.

In our discussion of social evolution we need sometimes to remember that the very perfection of society must always appear as imperfection; for a highly developed society is dynamic. It is moving on. A static society, no matter how perfect it may seem, whether a Utopia, Icaria, or "City of the Sun," is in a condition of arrested development. Its growth has ceased, and its perfection is that of death. The most highly advanced social conditions are the most unstable. The individual man counts for most under those conditions; for the growth of the individual man is the only justification for the institutions of which he forms part. The most highly developed organism shows the greatest imperfections. The most perfect adaptation to conditions needs readaptation, as conditions themselves speedily change. The dream of a static millennium, when struggle and change shall be over, when all shall be secure and happy, finds no warrant in our knowledge of man and the world. Self-realization in life is only possible when self-perdition is also possible. When cruelty and hate

are excluded by force, charity and helpfulness will go with them. Strength and virtue have their roots within man, not without. They may be checked but they can not be greatly stimulated by institutions and statutes.

In this connection we have also to remember that the struggle for existence in human society does not mean brutality. It is not necessarily a war to the knife, or a struggle with fists or with balances of trade. The elements of ultimate success in the struggle are not teeth, or claws, or brute strength, or trickery. The elements of ultimate success are rather what we know as the Christian virtues, though they have been virtues as long as man has known good from evil.

By good, or right, in human development, we mean simply the opportunity for more life or higher life. That is good which makes me strong and gives strength to my neighbors. Might does not make right; but whatever is right will justify itself in persistence; and persistence is strength. That which is weak dies. We only know God's purposes by what he permits. That which persists and grows must be in line with such purposes. A law is only an observed generalization of what is. There is no law which reads, "This and this ought to be, but is not."

V. *Self-Activity.* Another factor in evolution is furnished by the functional activity of the individual. Nature is a thrifty investor. She withdraws all unused capital. The old parable of the talents, wherein the owner of the unused talent lost all that he had, describes the workings of nature. The unused organ loses its power, and dwindles away. What comes out of a man determines his character. What he has done in the past furnishes the law of his future. The essence of individual character-building, with lower animal as with man, lies in action. Whatever he is he must make of himself. Heredity only furnishes the tools, and the environment is the leverage. Nor is this great law confined to animals alone. Even with plants the function must justify the organ. The branch which does not carry sap withers and dies. The fruit which does not ripen is cast to the ground. In a sense, too, the function must precede the organ. Where something is to

be done, there will be a better method of doing it, and this better method will survive in natural selection.

Among the higher animals functional activity is the basis of individual happiness. There is no permanent feeling of joy except through functional activity. Dissipation, stimulation, tricks on the nervous system of any sort whatever, give only a counterfeit pleasure. Subjective joys are followed by subjective misery. There is "no pleasure in them."

There is a wild joy in "nature red in tooth and claw" that is not found in static life. And while higher development brings higher pleasures, these bear the same relation to self-activity. The pressure of environment gives only pain in itself. Ennui is chronic pain, nature's warning against the dry rot of functional inactivity. To enjoy life, man or animal must be doing, working, thinking, fighting, loving, helping,—something positive. And no thought or feeling of the mind is complete till it has somehow wrought itself into action. "The very fiends weave ropes of sand rather than taste pure hell in idleness."

When men have made themselves wise in the lore of others, in the learning which ends in self and does not extend itself to action, they have been neither virtuous nor happy. "Much learning is a weariness of the flesh." Thought without action ends in intense fatigue of the soul, the disgust with all the "sorry scheme of things entire" which is the mark of the unwholesome and insane philosophy of pessimism, a philosophy never yet translated into pure and wholesome life.

VI. *Altruism.* Another of the great forces in organic development is the law of mutual help, or altruism. Where organisms come into any sort of relations one with another, there must be some relations more favorable than others. The law of altruism is the survival of the best relation of one organism to another of its own kind or type. The words good, better, are expressive of human relations. They are subjective terms, referring to the welfare of the individual. In the general sense, that is good which makes more or higher life possible. That is good in nature which "gives life more abundantly." It is good to "make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before." It is good also to make possi-

ble the growth of a specialized and highly adapted form, where only creatures of a lowly organization had existed before. Altruism is the expression of the strength of mutual respect and mutual forbearance. The rule we call golden is the expression of strength as well as of right. That which is right will justify itself sooner or later by becoming might. Cruelty, vice, and selfishness are wrong as the expression of weakness, of low vitality, of conditions which make abundance of life impossible.

Altruism is in no sense confined to man. There is no part of the animal kingdom in which it is unknown, no part of the vegetable kingdom without its traces. Favorable interrelations are possible wherever life is. The expression of such relations is altruism.

It can be shown that social virtues are powerful aids to survival in the struggle for existence. The race is not "to the swift" nor "the battle to the strong," but "to them who can keep together." The care of the young is a far more effective agency in the survival of the species than iron muscles or huge jaws. The willingness to die for the young is a guarantee that the young may live.

"More ancient than competition," says Oscar McCulloch, "is combination. The little, feeble, fluttering folk of God, like the spinning insects, the little mice in the meadow, the rat in the cellar, the crane on the marshes, or the booming bittern —all these have learned that God's greatest word is together and not alone. He who is striving to make God's blessing and bounty possible to most is stepping into line with nature. The selfish man is the isolated man."

Altruism is a robust sentiment set deep in the breast of organic life, and not in danger of extinction, no more needing coddling than hunger. It expresses itself in all acts that make the human life sane, joyous, effective. Science is herself a consummate result of the altruism of the ages, whereby no man's experiences belong to himself alone, but become part of the heritage of all who follow him. Human institutions have grown out of the social instinct. They are the fossils of past altruism. All forms of art, literature, music, religion arise and are developed through mutual help. And while

the relations of altruism tend to limit the freedom of the individual, it is only through such limitations that the individual can exist or his freedom be worth having.

The gigantic fact of sex, with all its developments of parental love, conjugal love, and filial love, and the resultant facts of variation and heredity are expressions of altruism. Among the one-celled animals the conjugation of cells, that arrangement whereby for variation's sake two minute organisms meet and exchange parts of their substance, is the beginning of sex.

The process of aggregation of cells whereby the progeny of the cell-division of a single cell are united to form a compound animal, is the expression of altruism. The human body is an alliance of myriads of cell units, coöperating to form tissues and organs, each living not for itself alone, but for the good of the whole.

In like fashion does the individual man relate himself to society. The essential difference is the obvious one that the individual man moves, lives, and dies as an individual, while the individual cell is confined to its place by physical limitations.

In recognizing the fact that the parallelism exists, it is not necessary to push it too far. From the aggregation of cells result specialization of parts, division of labor among organs, progress, and adaptation; and ultimately from the same source springs the necessity for organic death. Being bound together by physical bonds, the wearing out of one organ means the decay of the whole. In like manner, from the altruism of the individual result the strength of the state, the division of labor among men, and the consequent increase of effectiveness, the progress of knowledge, and the amenities of life. We do not need to say that a society or a nation must die for like reasons, for its units are bound not by physical bonds, but by invisible forces, and the wearing out of one organ could not necessarily destroy the whole. But the complex animal and the complex society are alike manifestations of the law of altruism.

VII. *Isolation.* A great factor in the production of variant forms is the isolation of groups of individuals from the

mass of their species. The barriers of the earth, separating one group of individuals from other individuals of the same kind, cause them to be exposed to different influences. The reaction from environment is different in one case from another. As a result the presence of barriers shows itself in specific variation.

Each species of animal or plant tends to expand and to cover the world. That a given species has not occupied any certain area is due to one of three causes: either (a) the species has never entered the district; or (b) having entered it, it could not maintain itself; or (c) having maintained itself, the changed conditions have made of it another species.

Thus we may say that the reason why the civet cat is not found in New England is because it has never been able to reach that district in its movements. The skylark, which has been brought there, has not maintained itself because, in the individual cases at least, it could not; while the European rabbit, introduced years ago into Porto Santo in the Madeiras, does not exist because its descendants are so much altered that we can not recognize them as the same species.

With one of these three general propositions, self-evident no doubt, all the facts of geographical distribution may be connected. Each species extends its range wherever it can, maintains itself if it can, and undergoes change wherever its members are brought into new conditions or separated by barriers from the mass of their kind.

The characters to be attributed directly to isolation are for the most part those of minor importance, the superficial traits of the species rather than the deep-seated qualities of the group. But these are none the less real, and to this series of influences much of the variety of the life of the globe must be attributed. Still other factors in organic evolution may be more or less clearly defined, either in connection with those above-mentioned or as fundamentally distinct.

Some of these are the following: The transmission of characters of the parent as distinct from proper heredity. A starved hill of corn means ill-nourished grains. The plants produced from ill-nourished seeds may be stunted by lack of vitality or lack of starch, without deficiency in the germ itself.

In like manner feeble children may owe their traits to the temporary illnesses of a strong mother. A sound mind demands a sound body, and a sound body is necessary to well-nourished offspring. With the characters of the germ-cell these conditions have nothing to do, and their homologue is found in such defects as insufficiency of milk.

VIII. *Inheritance of Acquired Characters.* The inheritance of acquired characters, a process of transmission possibly different from germ-heredity, has been lately the subject of much discussion. To this the present writer does not care to add. According to some writers, as Herbert Spencer, this inheritance is a prominent factor in evolution. According to August Weismann it is simply a myth, invented to explain phenomena the causes of which are unknown. Most of the arguments on both sides have been theoretical only, based on no inductive evidence; and in science arguments of this sort are without value. Both suppositions rest, as Professor H. F. Osborn has said, less "in fact than upon the logical improbabilities of other theories."

"Certainly," Professor Osborn goes on to say, "we shall not arrest research with any evolution factor grounded upon logic rather than upon inductive demonstration. A retrograde chapter in the history of science would open if we should do so, and should accept, as established, laws which rest so largely upon negative reasoning. Darwin's survival of the fittest we may alone regard as absolutely demonstrated as a real factor, without committing ourselves as to the origin of fitness. The (next) step is to recognize that there may be an unknown factor or factors which will cause quite as great a surprise as Darwin's. The feeling that there is such first came to the writer in 1890 in considering the want of an explanation for the definite and apparently purposeful character of certain variations. Since then a similar feeling has been voiced by Romanes and others, and quite lately by Scott; but the most extreme expression of it has recently come [in the assertion] that there is a factor not unknown but unknowable! . . . We are far from finally testing or dismissing these old factors, but the reaction from speculation upon them is itself a silent admission that we must reach out for some un-

known quantity. If such does exist there is little hope that we shall discover it except by the most laborious research; and while we may predict that conclusive evidence of its existence will be found in morphology, it is safe to add that the fortunate discoverer will be a physiologist.

"Chief among the unknown factors are the relations between the various stages of development and the environment."

Prof. Osborn concludes this discussion with the belief that "Progressive inheritance is rather a process of substitution of certain characters and potentialities than the actual elimination implied by Weismann." "My last word is," he says, "that we are entering the threshold of the evolution problem instead of standing within the portals. The harder tasks lie before us, not behind us, and their solution will carry us well into the twentieth century."

PROFESSOR BRIGGS AND THE BIBLE.

BY OWEN B. JENKINS.

PROFESSOR BRIGGS, in an article on "Works of the Imagination in the Old Testament," in the *North American Review* for March, 1897, began his paper with some general praise of the Bible. As is well known, the Protestant form of the Holy Scriptures is a collection of sixty-six books, the works of different authors and the productions of widely distant centuries, bound into one volume and termed, by way of distinction, the Bible, or in anglicized form, *The Books*. From the very nature of its contents, it being an excerpt of all that was best in Hebrew literature during at least ten centuries of authorship, a stranger to its merits would approach the volume with a reasonable expectation of finding it a remarkable and interesting compilation. But if, prior to opening its lids, he were familiar with the teachings of Confucius, the principles of Mencius, and the treatises of Lao-tse,—teachers whose sayings have been the goads to virtue and the spiritual help of millions of men, and who, prior to the Christian era, taught that man was godlike only so far as he was righteous, that it was man's duty to direct his steps in humility and to requite injury with kindness, and that human nature is intrinsically good, and who paid so striking a regard to youth and its possibilities that it cannot be duplicated except in modern literature,—and if our hypothetical stranger had also some knowledge of the Greek tragic poets, of the biography of Socrates, of the dialogues of Plato, and the precepts of Epictetus, and had learned from Buddhist disciples of the incarnation of Gautama and of his great renunciation,—he would probably be surprised, in view of the claims of the book, to find within it little startlingly new or of very great ethical or intellectual superiority.

To anyone having even a slight acquaintance with the literatures of the ancient world, who has heard of the Vedas and

the Upanishads, who is aware of the existence of the Zend Avesta, or has bent with interest over Accadian cosmogony, and learned with wonder of the Egyptian "Book of the Dead," or perused with delight Greek and Latin anthologies, Jewish letters, including the Bible, assume a somewhat different aspect from that belonging to them in his early Sunday-school days. To him the conclusion becomes inevitable that the difference between ancient Jewish and Gentile literatures is one of degree and not of kind; nor is the comparison always favorable to the scribes of Palestine. They have neither the exclusive Alpine elevation nor the sole Siberian area in the topography of their letters that Dr. Briggs ascribes to them. Indeed, there are some provinces in the domain of learning that lie wholly outside their boundaries. The Bible books contain not one scientific work, while Aristotle, who lived before the completion of the Old Testament canon and was the successor of a long line of Greek philosophers, and can be fairly put in competition with the ancient Jews, colors with his blood the veins of modern investigators in physical science, and alternately stirs our wonder at the accuracy of his observations and the width of his views. The drama, in the pure sense of that word, is another form of literature that the Bible does not contain. "Comedy, that renders man ashamed of his follies and vices, and tragedy, that awakens all the sympathies of the human heart," are not to be found in their strict form on its pages. To mention Job and the Song of Songs in any such connection is to beg the question of their literary form and to substitute the spirit of rhapsodic monologues and musical lyrics for the regular plots and Roscian buskin of the legitimate play that had reached a fine finish before the Christian era on both the Greek and Latin stages.

Nor, according to Prof. Briggs himself, does the literature of the Bible afford any good specimen of historical composition. On the contrary, in the department of history, in his own words, it is "quite disappointing." Neither, if we accept the authority of the vast body of the clergy, who are supposed to be expert witnesses on any topic of scriptural erudition, is that venerable tome embellished by any work of fiction.

However, while enumerating the forms of the Old Testa-

ment writings for the purpose of ascertaining their variety and estimating their literary value, it would be evidently unfair to take this position against Prof. Briggs, who alleges, in effect, that the "novel with a purpose" is there. It is simply necessary for us to remember that the testimony of multitudes of witnesses, eminent for their respectability and employment, points the other way.

If, then, a collection of antique Israelitish books has many phases of thought common to Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese, Egyptian, and Greek authors, and has no ideas very different from some one or more of them, and a varying elevation of sentiment and beauty of conception that have their analogues in other literatures, and has the uniform characteristics of the sacred books of all peoples, and yet possesses notable deficiences in matter and form such as have been indicated, it can hardly be regarded as an accurate use of language to style such a production "a marvel of literature," much less to intimate that it is a compendium of "the varied form of the *world's* literature" (p. 356).

The true reason for this exaggeration of the literary merit of the Bible lies in its theological importance to orthodox ecclesiastics. It arises from the confusion created by viewing that volume as a piece of literature, and as also a direct, divinely inspired message from God to mankind. One looking on it as the latter cannot hold an unprejudiced opinion of it as the former. Toward other writings such a person resembles the Mohammedan who, it is alleged, ordered the destruction of the Alexandrian library because its multitudinous rolls either supplemented or contradicted the Koran; in the one case they were unnecessary, in the other baneful. Anyone who believes the Bible to be "given to men," "a divine revelation for all classes of people, for all races and for all nations," "to approach all people in the way in which they can be reached" (p. 356), comes to the judgment seat to compare the work of its heavenly Author with a non-divine, merely human screed, the victim of an *a priori* favoritism of which he cannot divest himself, and, like Swedenborg, having once heard the musical voices of angels, all the tongues of men are to him henceforth harsh and hissing. From such a

bibliolater there is an appeal to the higher court of enlightened humanity. In the name of Koheleth or whoever was the author of the verse in Ecclesiastes, that long before the day of movable types declared, "of the making of many books there is no end," how dare such a one pronounce "inspired" that and a few of its compatriot manuscripts, the elaboration of "much study that is a weariness to the flesh," to the derogation of entire literatures of many great and powerful peoples, whose written and acted thought has in countless instances during the course of many centuries illustrated and enforced every moral and social virtue in public and private life, and presented mankind with innumerable ideals of genius and nobility?

The orthodox wrong their Deity in limiting His literary influence to the area of Judea. The upholders of the doctrine of inspiration, whether it be of the "verbal, plenary, or limited variety," were they not blinded by the unintentional bigotry resulting from their religious opinions, would be dismayed at the smallness of the gauge needed to measure whatever superiority Hebrew literature of divine editing may have over that of the Gentile world with its simple human composition. The gap between them, either in artistic form, truth of information, comprehension of statement, severity of morals, or science of the Godhead, is not so great as, in a world where natural law is prevalent, to call for any arbitrary, supernatural interference to account for their creation. There is not so great a gulf between the Hebraic divine books and the Sanskrit books averred by the Brahmanic priesthood to be divine, as there is between these latter and the traditions of the aboriginal clergy of the Polynesian Islands, likewise contended by them to have had their origin in divinity. If either novelty in theology or excellence in literature be the proof of divine inspiration, there is not so much warrant for deciding the Bible to be inspired of God, and that its predecessors and contemporaries among other nations were purely human in origin and purpose, as there is to find that Victor Hugo was the mouthpiece of the Deity, because he surpassed Sir Thomas Malory in the talents requisite to make a book a work of genius.

The scientific and common-sense method of regarding Biblical literature is that of analogy and comparison with other literatures. Such a procedure, if honestly conducted, will result in a belief of the human and natural origin of the book as opposed to a divine and supernatural one. If Prof. Briggs,—although he may be like a present-day Peter who has not yet seen the great sheet let down from heaven containing within its four corners the mental feast of universal literature, including its creeping and crawling species, or heard the voice cry, "Arise, slay and eat; call not that unclean which I have cleansed,"—by an argument that, with truly Levitical discrimination, confines its materials exclusively to Hebraic sources, as if the multiform productions of all other antique scholarships were unfit for use, can logically show with reasonable certainty the imaginary character of the heretofore supposed historical incidents of the three books, Jonah, Ruth, and Esther, then the same method of procedure, conducted in a catholic spirit, on a wider basis of fact, and with eyes for other than simply the Hebrew horizon, will end in proving the Bible neither a supernatural source of theology nor a uniquely inspired set of books. Its authors were not the inventors of doctrines concerning the Deity, nor the discoverers of God. The Jews were neither the most ancient of peoples nor the instructors of mankind. They took their tutelage at the feet of the Egyptians. When released from that bondage they frequently borrowed their morals and their religion from their neighbors in Palestine, with whom they shared for many and long intervals barely distinguishable national entities. Nor did their captivity in Babylon visit them without its compensating advantages. It was in that illustrious seat of ancient civilization that the Hebrews are truly thought to have acquired, among many other things, the opening chapters of Genesis, which are still regarded by a large part of the Christian world as a veritable account of creation, but which we now know to be a bit of Accadian fable, and which Prof. Briggs airily refers to as "interesting poems" (p. 357).

It is the secondary origin of most of the books of the Bible that robs them of their authority and their inspiration. Dr.

Lyman Abbott, who is not the best authority on the subject, but who bases his statements on well-known conclusions long ago held by many learned gentlemen outside the pale of the church, and who, as a clergyman, is less liable to the charge of infidelity and is fully acceptable to believers in the doctrine of inspiration, states that the first seventeen books of the Bible, which trace the history of Israel, are not original productions by contemporaries and eye-witnesses of the events they describe, but are compilations from earlier writings. If, in the language of Napoleon, history is a fable agreed upon, what fine opportunities for the manufacture of heroes were there here! And who can believe that imagination played no part in the construction of these books, that include Ruth and Esther, which latter Professor Briggs expressly declares to be pure fiction? Anyone who reads this section of the Old Testament will finds its imaginative qualities of varying brilliancy; but from the very nature of the composition, when it is admitted that centuries intervened between the occurrence of the events described and the date of their last redaction, the fabulous must have acquired with successive copyists equal authority with the real. The insertions and additions that Prof. Briggs admits were made in the books of Esther (p. 372) and Job (p. 358), and like interpolations that scholars justly contend distort many biblical pages, must, in the course of time, necessarily have altered the text of Israelitish history as narrated in the Hexateuch, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles.

If the researches of modern scholarship have driven from their throne the first seven kings of Rome, including the founder of the Eternal City, the story of whose reigns was graced by the pen of Livy and celebrated by the muse of Vergil, and who for centuries held their historical position with undisputed sway not only in the Roman world, but also throughout Christendom, where their sonorous names still roll in rich resonance from the lips of young collegiates, there is nothing to necessarily prevent a similar revolution in Jewish chronicles when once the X-rays of scientific investigation are turned in full vigor upon those obscure compilations. We may soon hear that Saul and his obliging witch of Endor have

gone to join Numa Pompilius and his gentle nymph Egeria in the shades of fable, just as Gideon and Jephthah may hereafter keep company in the realms of fancy with William Tell and Arnold Winkelried. It is not to be understood that a strict and rigorous examination of the admittedly composite contents of these first seventeen books of the Bible will show them to be uniformly legendary, but it will convince one that the rise and development of historical myths is neither confined to any one people, nor absent from inspired annals.

These seventeen works do not include Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, or the chapters of Jonah, all of which books Prof. Briggs classes as works of the imagination: the poetical ones on account of their structure and nature, the poet being "of imagination all compact;" and the prose ones from his argument based an analogy and internal evidence. There is nothing left to name but the prophets, whose work, we are told, "may be compared to the oratory of other nations" (p. 357), and whose imagination, exerted upon religious topics, makes them the "instructors of mankind." Thus we have reached the end of the canon supposed to have been written during the old dispensation, after a specific survey of its books, only to find imagination everywhere present. It is decidedly a work of supererogation on the part of Prof. Briggs to argue the existence of works of the imagination in the Old Testament, when it is difficult to decide from what one of its pages they are absent. The constant assertion of alleged facts now clearly known to be imaginary and unreal, the well-nigh continuous use of imaginative form in the recital of what may have been meant by the scribe to be a true narrative, and the visible use of the imagination in many of its best portions conclusively show it to have been profoundly influenced from beginning to end by that transcendent quality of the human intellect that distinguishes the poet, the novelist, and the liar from a common clod of adamitic clay.

The introduction of so human an element as an imaginative author in the composition of divine books must necessarily be attended with danger to the measure of their technical inspiration. Alas for the credit of Phœbus Apollo if the

Pythian priestess, possessed with the frenzy of the god, should in a moment of temporary sanity color his statements with some hues of her own natural fancy, and sad for the oaks of Dodona if the oracles of Zeus should sometimes be uttered by lips that falter in human speech. As Huxley pointed out, some of the upholders of the doctrine of inspiration escape from this dilemma by contracting the sphere of infallibility as rapidly as modern exploration enlarges the regions of inaccuracy and of repetition of fable from pre-Israelite sources, but the untouched portion of the scriptures is regarded as inspired with as much tenacity as ever. Without being familiar with the processes of inspiration, one would judge, if the human element had any play at all in the making of the divine book, that such freedom was granted man more especially in its works of fiction, where choice of materials, development of plot, and all the resources of invention are called into exercise.

In the part of the Bible confined to a bare recital of events, of which the human agent had knowledge only through revelation, man was not much more than an amanuensis for the divine mind. This may not be a correct theory of the literary partnership between God and man that produced the book, but it seems to be a logical one, only that it results in the disastrous conclusion of giving Jehovah credit for the stupid and mistaken parts of the Bible, and man the glory of its poetic and imaginative portions. It may be true that heaven can inspire fiction as well as the recital of fact, but, when a writing cannot stand the test of examination so as to square with historic and scientific truth, and the inspired qualities of Esther, Jonah, and Ruth are preserved only by a retreat to the position that they are fiction, the same divine inspiration that controlled the recital of fact has its flank mercilessly exposed when the alleged fact is found incorrect. That the blow of the battle is felt is evident by the attempt of Prof. Briggs, among others, to draw off these squadrons under the wings of Ariel. Hence we hear of the "epic of the fall of mankind," which is a very short and absurd passage to deserve so high-sounding a name. The stories of the creation and that of the deluge are classified as poems (p. 357). None of these

in their Hebrew or in their English form ever were poems or meant to be poetic; they have a style and a meaning as prosaic and literal as the dullest chapter of Proverbs.

It is curious that the books worshipped as the special message of divinity should not only frequently contradict in one chapter what is asserted in another, but should also widely and repeatedly differ from the facts of nature, which in a very superior way, as has been said, are God's words, and are emblazoned upon the universe.

Neither is there any necessity for the dictate of the Bible's inspiration. Every important lesson that it teaches had already been given to the world from uninspired channels, and has since been improved upon by uninspired actors. If the writer of Jonah had to require a special ministration from heaven to perceive the practical identity of race between himself and the population of Nineveh, was the transaction anything different from the one that occurred to Wilberforce when he went many steps farther, and announced that the black African was "a man and a brother"? It will not do to say that the first principle included the second, or to credit Jonah with the doctrines of the Abolition Society, any more than we can credit Sir Isaac Newton with the invention of the telespectroscope because he experimented with a prism. The one resolves a ray of sunlight into its constituent colors; the other analyzes the chemical substances of almost inconceivably distant stars. If Judaizing Greeks at or about the beginning of our era felt the deficiencies of Esther so keenly as to compel their insertion in it of several prayers (p. 372) in order that some share of piety and religion might be found within its chapters, it is odd that a learned professor at the end of the nineteenth century should still maintain the sanctity of the dismantled tale, whose "morals are not of the highest order, and whose religion is conspicuous for its absence" (p. 372), and contend that it is inspired by God to teach *our* wives and daughters the lessons of patriotism. What is to become of Cornelia, of Joan of Arc, of Isabella of Spain, and of the countless American women whose deeds in behalf of our country and its flag during the civil war are personified in the myth of Barbara Frietchie?

Nor is the attitude of Christians toward their own sacred books much conducive to belief in their sanctity. Among both Jews and Christians the number and names of their holy manuscripts were a long while doubtful. Some authors have been at one time within and then again without the sacred harbor of the canon. Ecclesiastes, Esther, Canticles, and Proverbs were all assailed by early Christians, and came near being excluded. They finally found shelter within it, but those there are only a few vessels of a large fleet the major part of which has gone down in the open sea to oceanic oblivion before the storm and stress of time. Our libraries still shield, as in a dry dock, a contingent of the original armament that Protestant authorities refuse to regard as of utility. I refer to those books styled apocryphal, of which Prof. Briggs says, "they are all stories invented by the imagination of their respective authors" (p. 361). We also have the names of some, of whose contents nothing is known. The proceedings of the catholic council of Laodicea, held A. D. 363, when our present Biblical canon is supposed to have been chosen, do not so differ, either in manner of selection or subject of choice, from those of the Buddhist council of Patilaputra on the Ganges, assembled about 250 B. C., as to confer any supernatural distinction upon the work of the former. Both were men dealing with human things; and with reference to the claims of both as to the excellent and exclusive quality of their divine revelations, one is reminded of Shelley's question: "If God has spoken, why is not the Universe convinced?"

If every people has had its system of theology, its more or less highly developed ritual of worship, and its code of ethics, which, short or long, resembles that of other nations, including the Hebrews, is it not reasonable and right to look upon this universal worship as the manifestation of a common quality in man, and as a growth and unfolding of his nature strikingly characteristic of him, and not as a greatness thrust upon him by some exterior force, and that, too, with efficacy only in the Jewish quarter?

If the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Hindus, the Persians, the Greeks, and others of our fellow men produce a literature

filled with high and ennobling thoughts and lofty morals, and these reach such an elevation as to create a dispute among partisans concerning the brilliancy with which they eclipse or rival Hebrew letters, and yet are admittedly uninspired, why should these latter be regarded as inspired? When we have learned that one of the most valuable lessons the world can teach us is the universal presence of law that is felt equally in the religious as in any other sphere of life, we shall not believe that its majesty has been violated to give Jewish tradition and authorship, by a singular and sole inspiration, a supernatural and extraordinary worth which, in comparison with the works of the rest of mankind, does not essentially belong to them, and which they can only have by virtue of our admission that the law which we have found has been broken in this one instance. Rather, this uniform and beautiful growth everywhere shown in religious flora, with its ritual blossom and ethical fruit giving sweet and succulent food to social life, is rained on by one and the same enveloping heaven which with impartial showers lets fall its blessings upon systems just and unjust, those in their first stages of life, those now ripening, and those soon to pass away. Let us not direct the eyes of our soul on the spiritual flowers of only one clime to the disregard of the perpetual and omnipresent bloom that girdles the earth. Without being blind to their beauty, we can say with Landor, "Is Hesperus the only star in heaven? Is the rose the only flower in the garden?"

RESTRICTIVE MEDICAL LEGISLATION AND THE PUBLIC WEAL.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

IN the discussion of restrictive medical laws, as in the serious consideration of any grave problem which deals with the rights and liberties of the people, no less than with the cause of scientific progress, it is important that all personalities, offensive epithets, and innuendoes be discarded, in order that the major claims or fundamental propositions involved may be dispassionately examined. In this manner the reader is enabled to arrive at a clear understanding of the question without having his passions or prejudices unduly aroused. I shall, therefore, confine myself to an examination of some historical facts bearing on this question, and to a consideration of the leading propositions advanced by those who are engaged in the conflict now in progress over medical class legislation.

It would, of course, be idle to claim that all who favor medical class legislation are actuated by selfish motives. The friends of restrictive medical laws may be divided into three classes: (1) those who honestly believe that these laws will further science and benefit humanity; (2) those who believe that the cause of education and progress will be advanced by restrictive laws, and who also to a certain degree are actuated by selfish motives, such, for example, as the wish to increase the attendance in colleges in which the interested parties are professors, or a desire for place, power, or emolument; and (3) physicians who are eking out a more or less precarious livelihood, and who regard with indignation the growing practice of irregular practitioners and healers, many of whom use no medicine, but who appear to cure where the regular physician has failed, or at least to secure the confidence of the public to

such a degree that, as the years pass, these irregular practitioners increase in number and in practice, while the demand for the regular physician lessens rather than increases.

I think this is a fair summary of the position of those who advocate medical class legislation. The facts, that the result obtained by such legislation operates to the advantage of the class which thus petitions for special privileges, and that such laws place the general public at the mercy of the class which enjoys the benefits of this legislation, naturally give rise to the suspicion that the determining factor inspiring the fight for class privileges is the same selfish passion for wealth, place, or power as actuates the promoters of monopolies and trusts. It is not surprising, then, that the enemies of these measures have boldly charged that the part of the profession which is working for class laws is seeking to form what, in effect, are trusts or monopolies, and that their pretensions of lofty purpose are a hypocritical cloak used to mask selfish and sordid motives; or, as Herbert Spencer puts it, they are "moved as are the projectors of a railway, by nine parts of self-interest gilt over with one part philanthropy." This is the view which has been taken by many opponents of medical protective laws, embracing leading philosophers, scientists, professors, and orthodox medical practitioners, as we shall presently see. But though I think all will admit that with many physicians such selfish motives are the mainspring of action, it is unfair to ignore the fact that many able and conscientious physicians are primarily, if not entirely, actuated by loftier aims and convictions.

On the other hand, it is equally unfair and absurd to claim that all those practitioners who oppose medical laws are "quacks," "charlatans," "frauds," "scamps," "unscrupulous pretenders," or "irresponsible cranks." That there are quacks, pretenders, and unscrupulous persons within as well as without the regular profession of medicine goes without saying; but to assume that all persons are quacks outside of orthodox medicine, and to indulge in a plethora of disparaging epithets, as has so frequently marked the medical conflict in recent years, is at once unjust and a pitiful exhibition of begging the real question.

II.

Let us now briefly notice some historical facts having a special bearing upon the question under consideration. The struggle between orthodoxy and heterodoxy in the field of medicine is by no means a new battle, though it has been only during the past forty or fifty years that powerful medical bodies have felt it necessary to appeal to the state to give them protection, and also the power through the machinery of law to stamp out what they regard as medical heresy.

The early history of homœopathy affords a striking illustration of the bitter and relentless opposition waged by the older school of practice against the illustrious Hahnemann and his followers. It will be remembered how the new theory of practice, so fundamentally opposed to current ideas, called forth the ridicule, scorn, and bitter persecution of a school which has never been noted for toleration, and which has ever looked with scant favor on new ideas, especially when these have been in the lines of less crude agencies.

Hahnemann, it will be remembered, felt the force of the medical bigotry he had aroused when in 1821 he was forced to leave Leipsic, being forbidden to longer dispense his remedies. It is stated that the full fury of this opposition did not break upon him until he had proved the remarkable success of his method over the orthodox practice in the treatment of a number of cases of typhoid fever. The experience of Hahnemann and the conflict of homœopathy were but early exemplifications of the hostility which has been shown to beneficent innovations that have arisen outside the profession, or such as ran counter to accepted canons within the ranks of orthodox medicine, as was witnessed in the struggles of hydropathy, electricity, massage, and other effective innovations whose introduction has modified, where it has not in a manner revolutionized, the orthodox practice of two generations ago. The jealousy and intolerance of orthodox medicine, then, are nothing new; but the losing tactics of fighting heterodoxy along the old lines have changed.

During the past forty years powerful organizations, not unlike trades unions, have year by year besieged our lawmak-

ing bodies. In England and America the activity has been very marked, and whoever has watched the result of powerfully organized bodies ceaselessly besieging legislatures for special privileges, with no organized force contesting, knows how certainly the powerful and persistent body will, sooner or later, gain its point, unless the opposition unites and opposes organization with organization. As an illustration of this fact, we have only to call to mind the immensely valuable franchises and the vast tracts of valuable lands which have been ceded to railways and other corporations, or the special privileges granted to wealthy classes, by virtue of which millions upon millions of dollars are annually acquired by monopolies or trusts. The fact that class medical laws have been enacted in various States does not prove that those laws are beneficial, any more than the fact that the immensely valuable special privileges obtained by trusts and monopolies prove that such legislation is a benefit to the people. In both instances the securing of these class privileges has been rendered possible only by the powerful influence of determined organizations urged on very largely by the ever-strong motive of self-interest, while the people have been unorganized. The claim which has so strenuously been made of late years, that because several States have passed restrictive laws there is a public demand for them, is not warranted by the facts; and this truth becomes more and more apparent as one studies the history of the attempt to secure these restrictive laws in England and America. Herbert Spencer thus refers to the activity of physicians in seeking protective legislation in England: "Physicians are vigorously striving to erect a medical establishment akin to our religious one. Little do the public at large know how actively professional publications are agitating for state-appointed overseers of the public health."* Few people have any idea how great has been this professional activity in this country during the past quarter of a century; still less do they dream to what extent powerful bodies have been systematically attempting to secure class laws, which, whatever may have been the primary or prin-

* "Social Statics," p. 409.

cipal actuating motive, were such as to immensely aid the class which secured this special legislation.*

III.

Two principal claims are urged by the profession for medical restrictive laws, and two leading arguments are presented against such legislation by those who are fighting for medical freedom. We are assured by the profession, first, that the cause of scientific progress demands such laws; and, secondly, that people require protection from ignorant quacks and unscrupulous pretenders. These contentions merit serious attention.

I. The "educational reason," as physicians are pleased to term it. It is urged that the cause of scientific progress demands a higher standard of medical education than that which has prevailed; that the ignorance which has flourished under freedom discourages medical research and checks educational progress. This sounds fair and plausible, but does freedom check scientific advance in this domain of experimental knowledge? Is not the assumption upon which the premise is based, fatally faulty? Can it be truthfully claimed that in an exact or a scientific sense medicine even approaches a science? Is it not fair to say that the most that can be justly claimed for it is that it is a progressive art? Certainly this is the case if we are to accept the candid utterances of many of the most illustrious names in the world of regular medicine.

But it is not necessary to appeal to orthodox physicians; the facts are too obvious to be refuted. Medical practice is constantly being revolutionized. To appreciate the fact, we have only to refer to the orthodox practice of a century or of even fifty years ago. Then such heroic treatments as bleeding, blistering, and the free use of mercurial medication were all but universal. Cold water was long held to be little better

* A very interesting chapter could be written, giving the history of the enactmen of medical class laws in the United States. It would be a revelation to many, displaying a persistency on the part of medical organizations and a resort to extraordinary methods, as, for example, in one instance in Massachusetts, where fifty secret letters were sent to the medical censors throughout the State, each signed by thirty-one physicians, urging the censor to induce the family physician to influence the representative in favor of a medical bill to be introduced. The discovery and exposure of this attempt prevented any measure from being enacted. Owing to lack of space, however, it will be impossible for me to go into this phase of the question at the present time.

than poison for fever patients, and fresh air was guarded against as though it was freighted with death, where now it is welcomed as a curative agent. No medical authority of to-day will claim that the treatment which George Washington received during his last illness would be countenanced at the present time. We read with amazement and horror the orthodox prescriptions of a century ago, and rejoice at the progress which has been made; but we must not lose sight of the important fact that many of the greatest innovations in the healing art, many of the most powerful factors which have sensibly modified the treatment of the sick, have sprung from outside the regular profession, and that these innovations, together with reforms which have originated with individual physicians themselves, have in most instances been bitterly opposed by the profession at large as either absurd or dangerous.

The reception by the regular profession of the claims of water, electricity, massage, magnetism, anæsthetics, and other therapeutic agents whose virtues are now freely recognized, did not differ in spirit from the hostile opposition which drove Hahnemann from Leipsic, which declared that mesmerism was wholly a fraud or a delusion, and which later ridiculed the immensely valuable results which crowned the patient scientific investigations of Dr. Braid into the domain previously explored by Mesmer. Now, the fact that radical and progressive changes mark the history of medical practice, even though many of them have been forced upon the orthodox schools after bitter struggles, is a cause for congratulation; but the fact that they have been accepted, and that medical practice has been thereby modified and revolutionized, while a credit to the profession in that it proves its capacity for growth, nevertheless proves our contention, that medicine is a progressive art rather than a science in any true sense of the term. If this is the case, the assumption upon which the friends of medical restrictive laws base one of their two cardinal propositions is fatally faulty. If medicine, instead of being a science, is at best an ever-changing progressive art, largely influenced, modified, and revolutionized by innovations, many of which come from without, and most of which

have to fight their way into recognition, we may well challenge the claim that laws which would restrict the practice of the art would aid progress. In confirmation of my position I quote some utterances made on March 2, 1898, before the Health Committee of the Massachusetts legislature by Professor William James, M. D., one of the most illustrious members of the faculty of Harvard University, and a professor in Harvard Medical College.* Professor James, as many of our readers are aware, is also the author of one of the ablest and most exhaustive works on psychology of recent years. This eminent physician, educator, and scientist said:

"*Mr. Chairman:* I rise to protest against this bill. I come to represent no body of persons with special interests, but simply as a private citizen interested in good laws and in the growth of medical knowledge. The medical profession are urging the bill in the interests, as they believe, of true science. Those who oppose it, they think, can do so only in the interests of ignorance and quackery. I hold a medical degree from Harvard University. I belonged for many years to the most scientific of our medical societies. I have taught Anatomy and Physiology, and now teach Mental Pathology, in Harvard College. The presumption is that I am also interested in science. I am indeed; and it is, in fact, because I see in this bill (along with some good intentions) a movement in favor of ignorance, that I am here to oppose it.

"It will inevitably trammel the growth of medical experience and knowledge. Were medicine at present a finished science, with all practitioners in agreement about methods of treatment, such a bill as this, to make it penal to treat a patient without having passed an examination, would be unobjectionable. But it would also be unnecessary. No one would attempt to cure people without the instruction required.

"But the present condition of medical knowledge is widely different from such a state. Both as to principle and as to practice our knowledge is deplorably imperfect. The whole

* It is immensely to the credit of Harvard University that it is great enough to accord freedom to this leading thinker. One of the gravest charges made against our educational institutions in recent years has been that the faculty is not given the freedom of expression which manhood calls for. It seems that there is at least one great college against which this criticism cannot be made.

face of medicine changes unexpectedly from one generation to another, in consequence of widening experience; and as we look back, with a mixture of amusement and horror, at the practice of our grandfathers, so we cannot be sure how large a portion of our present practice will awaken similar feelings in our posterity.

"Each generation adds something, it is to be hoped, to the treatment that will not pass away. Few of us recall the introduction of the water-cure, but many now living can recall the discovery of anæsthetics. Most of us recollect when medical electricity and massage came in, and we have all witnessed the spreading triumphs of antiseptic surgery, and are now hearing of the anti-toxins and of the way in which hypnotic suggestion, and all the other purely mental therapeutic methods, are achieving cures.

"Some of these therapeutic methods arose inside of the regular profession, others outside of it."

To thinking persons who approach this question broadly, without bias or prejudice, it must, I think, be clear that, in a domain of research so largely experimental, the ends of science and progress would be best conserved by the widest possible freedom and a generous and hospitable spirit extended to every earnest investigator. The history of the past unquestionably tends to prove that Professor James is correct in his positive claim, that restrictive bills, instead of aiding science, foster ignorance.

Let us advance a step. Even the theory of medicine is in dispute. In the opinion of multitudes of intelligent persons, the philosophy on which homœopathy is based is more scientific and its practice more certain than that of the regular school. It would be futile to attempt to convince these persons that restrictive legislation, which would have crushed out this theory of practice in its infancy, would have been advantageous to science; while a large number of persons who are not homœopaths hold, and, I think, correctly, that the small doses of Hahnemann and his disciples have exercised a most salutary influence in diminishing and modifying the drugging of the regular school. Moreover,

homœopathy offers a vast mass of data and experience in support of its claims and the beneficent results of its practice. But, even in the presence of these facts, the regular profession is unconvinced. Speaking of its attitude, Professor James said:

"It stands firm in its belief that such experience is worthless, and that the whole history is one of quackery and delusion. In spite of the rival schools appealing to experience, their conflict is much more like that of two philosophers or two theologies. *Your* experience, says one side to the other, simply isn't fit to *count*.

"So we have great schools of medical practice, each with its well-satisfied adherents, living on in absolute ignorance of each other and of each other's experience. How many of the graduates, recent or early, of the Harvard Medical School have spent twenty-four hours of their lives in experimentally testing homœopathic remedies, or seeing them tested? Probably not ten in the whole Commonwealth. How many of my learned medical friends, who to-day are so freely denouncing mind-cure methods as an abominable superstition, have taken the pains to follow up the cases of some mind-curer, one by one, so as to acquaint themselves with the results? I doubt if there be a single individual. 'Of such experience as that,' they say, 'give me ignorance rather than knowledge.' And the club-opinion of the Massachusetts Medical Society pats them on the head and backs them up."

This orthodox attitude is as unscientific as it is narrow and unworthy of our age. And what is true of homœopathy is in a great measure true of Christian Science and mind cure, as the Harvard professor intimates. A wonderful mass of evidence has been accumulated in support of the claims of Christian Science healers and other practitioners who hold to the theory of mental causation. No well-informed physician will deny that the theory of mind cure, which has been so ridiculed and assailed, has suffered no more in this respect than did homœopathy during its early struggle; and yet, in spite of popular prejudice and the united opposition of the medical profession, no theory of cure in the history of the healing art

has grown in favor so rapidly among intelligent people as mental therapeutics. Of those who believe in this theory of cure, Professor James says:

"A large number of our citizens, persons as intelligent and well-educated as you or I, persons whose number seems daily to increase, are convinced that they do achieve them [the cures attributed to them in the treatment of disease], are persuaded that a valuable new department of medical experience is by them being opened up."*

The same authority points out the unscientific attitude of the advocates of restrictive medical law in these words:

"One would suppose that any set of sane persons interested in the growth of medical truth would rejoice if other persons were found willing to push out their experiences in the mental-healing direction, and provide a mass of material out of which the conditions and limits of such therapeutic methods may at last become clear. One would suppose that our orthodox medical brethren might so rejoice; but instead of rejoicing they adopt the fiercely partisan attitude of a powerful trades union demanding legislation against the competition of the 'scabs.' They summon the state to disregard absolutely all the peculiar conditions under which the mental-healing operations flourish to-day, and to say to the mind-curers, 'Pass our State examinations, or go to our State's prison.' Abstractly it sounds magnificent to say that our State protects its citizens against the ignorance of practitioners. In the living concreteness of the matter, however, not only is such a claim an utter farce, but in this particular business of mental healing there can be no doubt that if the proposed law were really enforced it would stamp out and arrest the acquisition of one large branch of medical experience. What the real interests of medicine require is that mental therapeutics should *not* be stamped out, but studied, and its laws ascertained. For that, the mind-curers must at least be suffered to make their experiments."

I think any intelligent person, not biassed by preconceived

* Address before the Health Committee of the Massachusetts legislature, March 2, 1898.

opinion, will agree that the position of the eminent professor in Harvard Medical College, is correct, is in line with the thought of the broadest thinkers of our time, who view this question without the prejudice which comes to those whose mental vision is necessarily limited by confining their thoughts to a narrow range of facts or theories. This proposition—that it is wisest, safest, and most wholesome to have freedom in medical practice—is in accord with the views of Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Youmans, and other leaders in the world of scientific thought. The late Professor Youmans, in an editorial in the *Popular Science Monthly* in the summer of 1890, said:

"We believe that the science of medicine would advance far more rapidly, and, on the whole, the public health would be far better, if every man were left perfectly free to employ anyone he chose to attend his sickness. At present every licensed practitioner feels himself authorized to call every unlicensed practitioner a quack. How much real quackery is now concealed by the license to practise, it might distress a confiding public to know."

Huxley, who, it will be remembered, studied medicine when at college, when discussing this question in 1884, said:*

"The first question which a plain man is disposed to ask himself is, why should the state interfere with the profession of medicine? The answers which are given to this question are various, and most of them, I think, are bad. I think it is very much more wholesome for the public to take care of itself in this as in other matters."

And he urges that the state has no right to meddle with medical matters save in the selection of its own servants, such as physicians "for army, navy, and civil medical officers." On this point he says:

"In my judgment the intervention of the state in the affairs of the medical profession can be justified, not upon any pretence of protecting the public, and still less upon that of protecting the medical profession, but simply and solely upon the

* "Science and Education Essays." Chapter on "The State and the Medical Profession."

fact that the state employs medical men for certain purposes, and as an employer has a right to define the conditions upon which it will accept services. It has a right to dictate conditions upon which it will appoint persons to the vast number of naval, military, and civil offices held under the government. Here, and here only, it appears to me, lies the justification of intervention of the state in medical affairs."

Apart from laying down conditions for physicians connected with the government, Huxley declares that the state has no right to interfere in this connection. He affirms that "the state should say to the public, 'Practise medicine if you like, and go and be practiced upon by anybody'; and to the medical practitioner, 'Have a qualification or do not have a qualification if the public does not mind it.'" It will not do to say that the world's greatest working scientists, philosophers, and educators, such as Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Youmans, and Professor James, are less competent to judge as to what will best further the cause of science or protect the rights of the people than physicians personally interested in the success of class legislation.

The specious claim that irregular practitioners and the general public are not competent to judge, and that the fitness of a person to treat the sick should rest with a board of educated physicians, might have some force if medicine were an exact science, governed by hard and fast rules, like sanitary plumbing for example; but it will be found manifestly weak when we remember not only that the practice of medicine is largely empirical, but that its very theory is in dispute. Even the two schools which ask a practical monopoly in healing the sick are at deadly war on this question of theory. If the regular profession is correct, the theory of homœopathy is false. If homœopathy is correct, the regular school is blundering along in the dark, working on a false theory, or on no theory at all, and with deadly medicines; while, if the claims of mental therapeutics be true, both systems are incorrect. In a word, the theory of medicine is, like theology, largely speculative. The practice is uncertain; the claims of each school are supported by a vast mass of data which is con-

clusive to those who believe in the school which offers it, while it is judged worthless by partisans of other schools.

Physicians who have been taught to believe in one school or theory of practice, and to hold as false all other theories, naturally come to look at the question in a narrow, partial, and prejudiced manner. Unless they are exceptionally broadminded, they cannot escape being biassed in their judgment. This is as true of medicine as it is of theology, because both systems of thought are largely speculative, and have always been extremely dogmatic. In medicine, as in religion, no combination of sects or schools has yet proved great enough to impartially sit in judgment on those who teach and practise what may perchance be a nobler philosophy in speculative theology or a less dangerous method of cure, and who radically differ from their judges.

Would not the Presbyterian Church hold that a council of Catholic priests was not competent to judge of the fitness of their clergy? Would not Unitarians hold that an examining board composed of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Episcopalians was not qualified to pass on the tenets of their school of religious thought? Would not Catholics protest against their priests being placed at the mercy of a board of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists? And yet the action of the churches in the past, when powerful enough to compel submission, was supported by arguments exactly analagous to those which to-day are advanced in support of medical class laws. It was so with the Catholics when they strove to stamp out heresy, which they regard as far more dangerous than quackery; it was so with Calvin when he became the master spirit in Geneva; it was so with the Puritans in our own commonwealth when they sought to stamp out the Baptist and Quaker heretics. On this point Herbert Spencer well observes:*

"There is a manifest analogy between committing to government guardianship the physical health of the people, and committing to it their moral health. The two proceedings are equally reasonable, may be defended by similar argu-

* "Social Statics." Chapter on "Sanitary Supervision," pp. 408-9. New York, D. Appleton & Co.

ments, and must stand or fall together. If the welfare of men's souls can be fitly dealt with by acts of parliament, why then the welfare of their bodies can be fitly dealt with likewise. He who thinks the state commissioned to administer spiritual remedies may consistently think that it should administer material ones. The disinfecting society from vice may naturally be quoted as a precedent for disinfecting it from pestilence. Purifying the haunts of men from noxious vapors may be held quite as legitimate as purifying their moral atmosphere. The fear that false doctrines may be instilled by unauthorized preachers has its analogue in the fear that unauthorized practitioners may give deleterious medicines or advice, and the persecution once committed to prevent the one evil, will countenance the penalties used to put down the other. Contrariwise, the arguments employed by the dissenter to show that the moral sanity of the people is not a matter for state superintendence, are applicable, with a slight change of terms, to their physical sanity also. Let no one think this analogy is imaginary. The two notions are not only theoretically related; we have facts proving that they tried to embody themselves in similar institutions. There is an evident inclination on the part of the medical profession to get itself organized after the fashion of the clergy."

Briefly, then, first: The assumption or implication that medicine is a science in any strict sense of the term is incorrect, and no hard and fast rules can be laid down, such as are practicable in departments of learning which are approximately exact in nature.

Second: The theory of medicine is in dispute; even the two great schools which have united to drive out weaker practitioners and newer theories are radically antagonistic in their theory of cure; while the schools which practise mental therapeutics lift the seat of the cause of disease from the physical body to the thought world. This growing class of practitioners may be broadly grouped into two schools, one addressing itself to the soul, which its advocates hold to be the real ego, or an eternal manifestation of the Divine Mind, which is all-powerful when sufficiently awakened to realize its at-one-

ment with God; the other holding to mental causation, and seeking in the ideas or mental images which lie beyond the abnormal expression, for the cause of the inharmony or dis-eased physical condition—holding that an idea or mental image may be transmitted, or the disease may result from a thought-picture photographed on the mind and fostered by fear. Now, these new schools, whose phenomenal growth is largely due to the great number of remarkable cures wrought after the regular practitioners have failed, have nothing in common with the materialistic school, whether allopathic, homœopathic, or eclectic. The theories are mutually exclusive; hence it is manifestly absurd to claim that either school is competent to sit in judgment on the other. To compel regular practitioners or homœopaths to pass examinations conducted by Christian Scientists or mental healers, before they could practise, or *vice versâ*, would be unjust; and to deny either school, which is so well fortified with apparently unimpeachable data as to its success, from practice would be to check science and to wrong society.

Third: Had it not been for freedom, homœopathy could never have risen to its present commanding position. The laws which are now being enacted, had they been passed less than a century ago, would have crushed a medical philosophy which has grown to such fair proportions, and in which to-day millions of intelligent people believe.

Fourth: It is a universally admitted fact that medicine has ever been largely experimental, and that the action of remedies is uncertain. Medicines in general use in one generation are frequently almost entirely discarded as worthless in the next. The practice of the healing art is ever changing, yielding to revolutionary theories and to the results of enlarged experience, reinforced by the acquisition of new facts.

Almost all the innovations, whether originating within or without the profession, which have broadened the professional view and blessed humanity, have been ridiculed and resolutely opposed by the regular school. It is safe to say that their most enlightened practice to-day is largely indebted to the truths which have been fostered in the general atmosphere of freedom; therefore, however valid the reasoning may seem

for enacting medical class laws for the protection of the people, the cause of scientific progress does not demand this abridgment of liberty, and Professor James is correct in holding that such laws are in reality movements in favor of ignorance. In medicine, as in other fields of speculative thought and experimental research, liberty fosters science, and freedom is the handmaid of progress.

II. Let us now deal with the argument for the protection of the people. It is urged that the people are not competent to select those who should treat them in the hour of sickness, and that, therefore, they should be protected from themselves by the state placing this right in the hands of boards composed, not of representatives of all schools of practice, but of representatives of one, two, or possibly three schools. The fact that fifty years ago homœopathy and eclecticism would have been crushed by this abridgment of freedom is not emphasized by those who plead for a monopoly, but it is a fact that will suggest itself to every person familiar with medical history. But we are told that there are many quacks and charlatans who claim to possess medical education which they do not possess, and to be graduates of colleges which they never attended, and that in this manner people are imposed upon. To protect the people from such impostors would be proper, and the regular profession would find no more zealous aids in this laudable work than the majority of those who strenuously oppose medical class laws. In Massachusetts, for instance, when, in the latter part of the eighties, the medical profession petitioned for a protective law, making the above allegation as part of its stock argument, the attorney for the remonstrants urged that, in lieu of the proposed measure, an act should be passed compelling each practitioner not only to display his qualification or lack of qualification in his office, but to put on his sign and his cards and on any device used to convey to the public a notice of his profession, a statement of the kind of physician or healer he claimed to be, and from what institution he graduated; whereas, if he were not a graduate of any school, that fact was to be stated. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the advocates of special medical legislation, who, if they could not have a law which would

give them the benefits of a monopoly at the expense of the liberty of the people, preferred to have no law at all. In 1890, physicians again petitioned the legislature for a protective law, and again the remonstrants suggested, in lieu of the proposed class law, a compulsory measure embodying the above provision, and providing that every practitioner be compelled to file a copy of his diploma with the county clerk or town clerk, or, if he had none, so to state to the proper officer, who was then to give him a statement embodying that fact, which was to be hung in the practitioner's office. Again the profession chose to have no law rather than one which would thus satisfy the chief claims upon which it based its demands for a class law. When the next attempt was made, the promoting physicians, finding that it also was going to prove fruitless, and arguing that to secure the machinery for the enforcement of medical restrictive laws would be an "opening wedge," accepted most of the provisions urged by the remonstrants on the preceding occasions, added to these the creation of a board of examiners; and this measure was passed. The "opening wedge" thus secured, however, was far from being what the interested regulars desired, so this year they came up again with a sweeping bill which would have taken from the people the rights which have been so jealously guarded during the past half-century.

At the hearing before the Health Committee, however, the people were out in force, and scores of intelligent and influential persons were present who desired to testify to their cure by Christian Scientists and other irregular practitioners after leading regular practitioners had given them up. Among those who opposed the bill were William Lloyd Garrison, Prof. William James, Rev. E. A. Horton, Rev. B. Fay Mills, Rev. T. Ernest Allen, and many other men eminent in scientific, medical, and religious walks. The committee, after listening to both sides, unanimously reported that it was "inexpedient to legislate," so the attempt of the monopoly-seekers was again frustrated.

It is perfectly right and proper for the state to compel physicians to acquaint the people with their qualifications or lack of qualifications, but it is a very different matter for our

lawmakers, at the behest and in the interest of a body, sect, or school, to go a step beyond and say to a non-qualified healer: "You shall not practise without the permission of the two older schools of practice, neither of which believes in your method, and both of which are jealous of your success;" and to the citizen: "You shall receive treatment only from those whom our orthodox board permits to practise." It is urged that the people will not employ regular physicians, and that therefore the irregulars should be weeded out in order to protect the people. This presumptuous claim, which insults the intelligence and invades the rights of the individual in the interest of a class, is denied by those who favor medical freedom. They urge that the exact reverse is true, and many are the reasons advanced in support of their position. Among these reasons are the following:

1. Any laws or conditions which remove the wholesome free competition and rivalry which exist where men of diverse views are striving for success tend to make a large percentage of the profession enjoying a monopoly careless and less alert than they are when others are sharply competing with them. One of the most impressive lessons taught by history and confirmed by general observation is that a large proportion of the members of any class or profession become careless when they feel secure; and this is very noticeable in the medical profession.

As long as there are strong rivals and a perfectly free field, and people have the right and power to choose whomsoever they desire, the most successful practitioners will win the best patronage; hence all who would live must do their best. Moreover, so long as a physician has strong competitors, who represent rival methods, watching him, he will be careful not to make mistakes, for there is too much danger that he will be held responsible for his blunders. But when the law steps in and removes the security which such conditions afford, a large proportion of physicians become careless. They have little to fear, for all or most of their competitors of other schools and methods are outlawed, and the people are compelled to employ them, while the argus eyes of those who do not believe as they do are no longer upon them. They have also the comfortable

assurance that behind them stands a powerful body, bound to them by a common cause and interest. When this is the case the people are in real danger, especially if the physicians are those who employ powerful or deadly remedies.

I have a record of a number of cases illustrating this important fact, but lack of space forbids my giving more than one of them. It, however, is a typical one. In the untimely death of the late Richard Proctor we have a striking example of professional recklessness in a medical-trust-ridden State. In Proctor's death the world sustained a great loss, and the most terrible feature of his untimely taking off lay in the fact that, from all appearances, his death was due to the culpable ignorance of regular physicians of New York, who, according to regular physicians of Florida, made the grave blunder of mistaking malarial hæmorragia for yellow fever, and who, owing to this ignorance, had the great scientist taken from his warm bed at midnight out into a chilly atmosphere surcharged with moisture, and conveyed some distance to a hospital, where, as would naturally be supposed, he died in a very short time. The well-known journalist, Mr. Joseph Howard, writing to the Boston *Globe*, said:

"Surely, if any life was precious to the world, his was. The facts are, he was taken ill, grew very much worse, but on Tuesday afternoon seemed better. A terrific thunder shower flooded the city at night. At midnight the rain had ceased. Proctor was taken from his warm bed and carried in an ambulance through chilled and damp air to a gloomy hospital some distance away. His favorable symptoms disappeared. He became delirious, and after a series of frightful convulsions died unconscious. Poor Proctor has been added to the list of premature, untimely, unnecessary deaths."

But this is not all, else the regular physicians would have declared that laymen were not competent to pass opinions on such things. In this case Southern physicians, who were sufficiently familiar with yellow fever to recognize its symptoms, felt so keenly the disgraceful ignorance of their New York brethren that they denounced the mistake in no uncertain

words, as will be seen from the following despatch from Ocala, Fla., published in the Boston *Herald:*

"At a meeting of physicians representing the boards of health of several of the interior counties of this State, held in the city yesterday, every physician present ridiculed the idea of Professor Proctor having died of yellow fever, as reported by his attending physicians and the health authorities of New York city. The opinion was unanimous that the symptoms given by physicians attending him from the day he left his home until the hour he was hurried out of the hotel to his death, plainly and unmistakably pointed to one conclusion,—that the disease of which the unfortunate astronomer died was malarial hæmorragia, and not yellow fever."

If absolute freedom had existed in New York, and every physician had felt that strong representatives of rival schools were watching every important case, and that each physician would be held individually responsible for mistakes, would this terrible blunder have been possible?

2. The assumption that restrictive laws would prove a protection to the people is weak, in that those who ask for medical monopoly are those who employ the most deadly remedies and heroic treatments. We have heard much about the conservative character of the regular school, and it is true that there is a sense in which it is conservative. It usually distrusts the newer and less dangerous methods of cure until the people have shown their confidence in them to such an extent that old-school practitioners feel compelled to recognize the merits of innovations or to crush those who have brought a new truth to the attention of the public.

I now wish to notice a very interesting fact in the history of the healing art—a fact which corresponds in its trend to the evolution of life from the crude and simple form, without sensation or thought, to man, standing to-day at the outskirts of the psychic realm and peering into the marvellous domain of mind.

Every great irregular step in the history of medicine has been a protest against the barbarities of old methods, and a

rational appeal from the lower and more crude to the higher and more subtle curative agents. Eclecticism was an appeal from the mineral world to the vegetable kingdom, a step from the gross, inert realm of earth, stone, and metal to the living flora, employing as it does the numerous common plants, whose value had been unknown or ignored by regular practice. Homœopathy was a pronounced protest against the enormous dosing of the regular school, demanding that the stomach should no longer be converted into an apothecary shop. It was also an earnest attempt to reduce the healing art to a system, and to discover the underlying laws governing abnormal conditions. Here again we note: (a) a step toward a higher and more subtle method of treatment; (b) an attempt to break away from empiricism and quackery. Hydropathy, electricity, and magnetism marked other upward steps, teaching how much might be accomplished by external treatment; and each, after a fierce battle, succeeded in compelling recognition in greater or less degree, even from the school which once savagely assailed it. Note this steady evolutionary process in the healing art from dependence on the mineral kingdom to appreciation of the vegetable; from the vegetable to a recognition of the subtle curative power of the animal world, as seen in magnetism; and from the enormous doses of crude and poisonous drugs to greatly reduced doses, and to an appreciation of external treatment. Every step has been from the gross and crude toward the subtle and refined. The trend has been upward, and the methods have been safer.

3. But we are not yet at the end of the triumphant progress achieved through innovations in the healing art. We have ascended from the bowels of the mineral world to the very threshold of the loftiest domain known to man, the mysteries of which we know so little, the power of which is being felt in wider scope than ever before—the profound realm of mind, soul, or spirit. Whatever opinions may be held of the merits or demerits of the strange power possessed by the metaphysicians, Christian Scientists, and other mental healers throughout the land, the fact remains that thousands of Americans boldly affirm that they have been restored to health by those

who, discarding all drug medication, rely wholly upon the subtle power above, or on the unexplained influence of thought. It matters not for our present discussion what the explanation may be; the important fact to be considered is that these healers are curing large numbers of persons after regular practitioners have failed to give relief. This is a fact, or else the testimony of thousands of as intelligent and conscientious people as live in our land, who were sick with all manner of grave disorders, and who are now well, is worthless.

If a person dies under the treatment of a Christian Scientist, the announcement is heralded far and near, and every effort possible is made to prejudice the people against the new method of cure. The fact that the regular physicians lose a large proportion of their cases, and that a large proportion of those treated by metaphysicians and Christian Scientists do not go to these healers until the regular doctors have either pronounced them incurable, or at least have been given a fair trial, is studiously ignored, while a persistent effort is made to create the impression that death at the hand of the irregular practitioner is the result of the new method of treatment. Here is a case in point.

On April 3, at Mt. Holly, N. J., a young man died of phthisis, or consumption of the lungs, who during the last stages had been treated by a Christian Scientist. A sensational account of the death with scare headlines was published in the New York papers of the 5th. The facts, as given by all the journals, are briefly as follows: Frederick Bennett was in the last stage of consumption, a disease which all old-school and many homœopathic physicians admit cannot be cured by medicine. He had been for some time in the hands of a leading regular physician, who finally gave up the case, and Mr. George Hotchkiss offered to treat the young man without charge. Mr. Hotchkiss stated that he never said that the young man would recover. He treated him, however; the young man died, and thereupon a great cry was raised by the regular physicians because a man in the last stage of what they call an incurable disease died after putting himself under the care of a Christian Scientist.

How effective such agitation is on the non-professional pub-

lic which hastily reads the papers, none know better than the interested parties who foster these unjust and false impressions. The purpose served by these sensational reports is illustrated in the following views expressed by a friend in a conversation on the case. "I see," said he, "that a Christian Scientist has killed a man in New Jersey." I replied, "Why, the doctors have a law in that State to protect the people from irregular practice." "Oh! but the law is not strong enough. It forbids anyone to receive pay for treatment, but it does not stop people from having treatment from those who do not take pay; and this man treats without price." "What did the man die from?" I asked. "Consumption," he replied. "Yes," I observed, "and even the sensational reports state that he was in the last stages when the Christian Scientist took the case. Now, no regular practitioner in the town will contend that the man, who, they admit, was in the last stage of consumption, could be cured, yet when he died under the Christian Scientist, the fact is heralded far and near, and we are told that the healer is to be brought before the Grand Jury." My friend said he had not thought of the matter in that light before.

Our readers will remember how many consumptives, who at the time Dr. Koch proclaimed the discovery of his alleged cure for consumption were preparing to go to other climates in hopes of health, were induced to abandon the trips and be treated with the Koch injections. When these people died, nothing was said. And so is it with the thousands who are monthly filling graves, under the regular treatment for consumption. Nothing is said unless it be that the disease is incurable and that death is inevitable. But when one dies under the new treatment, the fact is telegraphed all over the country, and every effort possible is made to inflame the public mind.

A case bearing on this point is recently reported by Dr. E. D. Babbitt, M. D., LL. D.* He says:

"On my table is lying an account of a Christian Scientist, of Traverse City, Michigan, who lost a daughter by diphtheria. The physicians, indignant because they were not employed,

* *Twentieth Century*, April 2, 1898.

invaded her home, took forcible possession of the corpse, had a coroner's jury, and made a post-mortem examination, finally declaring that she 'died of diphtheria because she did not have a regular physician.'

"The mother, indignant at this treatment, instituted a general inquiry as to the success of the doctors themselves in that community. During the year, twenty cases of diphtheria had occurred, all of which were treated by anti-toxin, and two-thirds of the whole had died, making thus about 67 per cent of the cases lost."

The thirteen or fourteen cases out of twenty who die under the much-vaunted anti-toxin treatment call for no notice, but when one case dies under Christian Science, the regular physicians proclaim the fact far and wide as a death by Christian Science. Nothing is said of the thousands of cases which regular physicians year by year give up as hopeless, and which Christian Scientists and mental healers are curing. I should like to cite several score of these cases if space permitted; as it is, I will mention three or four typical ones.*

Case first: One of the most scholarly writers living in Boston, being taken seriously ill, sought able American physicians, then went to Paris and Berlin and was under the care of several physicians of international reputation. After treating him, all these physicians gave up the case. He returned to Boston, and in relating the story of his cure to me, he said: "Life was almost intolerable. I was in indescribable misery all the time. Each morning I hoped that I might die before night; each night I hoped I would die before morning." A friend persuaded him to go to a Christian Scientist for treatment. In a few weeks he was restored. That was

* It will be interesting to call attention here to the wonderful growth of Christian Science in the United States. The Boston church now has a membership of over 10,000, and it is said that between one and two thousand more persons are to be admitted this month (June). A large proportion of these members have been cured by Christian Science healers; many after regular physicians had passed the death sentence on them. *This is a fact I know to be true from personal investigation.* More than this, within the past three years the Christian Scientists have built or purchased and paid for over three hundred churches in the United States. This unparalleled growth is due chiefly to cures, as preaching is not permitted in Christian Science churches, but merely reading from the Bible and from the commentary or expository work on the Bible by Mrs. Eddy, known as "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures."

eleven or twelve years ago; he has enjoyed perfect health since, and has enriched our literature with four brilliant works which enjoy a national reputation.

Case second: Eight years ago a lady was given up by regular physicians, with what they all declared was cancer of the stomach. She was greatly emaciated, and her friends did not expect her to survive more than a few weeks; her pain was indescribable. She was entirely cured by a Christian Scientist, and has for the past eight years enjoyed excellent health. She and her husband are well known for noble humanitarian work; the husband is a member of one of the great business firms of Boston.

Case third: A gentleman who for twenty years was under the care of leading physicians, and who grew gradually but steadily worse until he became a complete wreck, was compelled to give up his business three years ago. He went to Florida, but grew worse; he then sought a leading sanitarium, but received no benefit, and returned home in far worse condition than when he left. He was cured by a Christian Scientist over a year ago, and for a year has enjoyed perfect health, being able to conduct his business without any difficulty.

The above are fair samples of scores of cases that I could cite, where cures have been performed upon prominent and representative citizens of Boston. They are typical of a vast army of persons who, had it not been for the metaphysicians or Christian Scientists, would to-day be in their graves. To attempt to dismiss these cures of thousands of our most intelligent citizens, a large proportion of whom had been given up by the regular physicians, as merely instances where the imagination was affected or the subjects were hysterical, is to charge the unsuccessful physicians who treated them with a degree of culpable ignorance which, to say the least, is not complimentary. And, what is more, all persons who have seriously investigated the wonderful cures performed in these new fields of healing know full well that all such absurd claims are born of pitiful ignorance or blind prejudice. Cancers are not imaginary; the pangs of maternity are not the offspring of imagination; and yet the cure of the one and the assuagement of the other are among the certified results that

have attended the practice of Christian Science and mental therapeutics. I am not arguing that the theories advanced to explain such results are correct; I am stating facts that are susceptible of proof. To prohibit the reader, or myself, or anyone else from employing any healer who may be desired, and to urge this for the protection of life, is to commit a crime against every human being, and to throw the robe of hypocrisy over the offence.

In actual working, restrictive medical laws make it a crime to cure the dying. One case will serve to illustrate this fact. Shortly after the passage of the medical restrictive bill in Iowa, a regular physician in Clinton, in that State, gave up the case of one of his patients. In their despair the family and friends summoned from Dubuque a Christian Scientist, Mrs. Lottie M. Post by name. She went to the bedside of the patient supposed to be dying, and under her treatment the sick recovered. Another person was very ill, and the friends, seeing this result in their neighbor's home, sent to Mrs. Post for aid, and this sick one was also cured. Now, when this woman, who had been a veritable angel of life in these homes, was preparing to take the train for her home, she was arrested and fined fifty dollars for, to use the exact words of the warrant of arrest, "*performing the act of healing on one Mrs. George B. Freeman and others, contrary to the laws of Iowa.*" A criminal for performing a cure! Was travesty on justice ever more flagrant?

Anyone who impartially investigates this subject will, I am satisfied, become convinced not only that the cause of science and progress calls for liberty, but that the safety of the people can be best conserved by carefully guarding their sacred right not only to have the services of whomosever they desire in the hour of sickness, but to pay for those services when they result in cure.

IV.

Let us now pass to the consideration of two arguments against this restrictive legislation:

1. The friends of medical freedom urge that these laws in active operation force upon thousands of law-abiding people

the terrible alternative of becoming lawbreakers or of seeing death take from the fireside loved ones who might be spared for many years if freedom prevailed. Few crimes more heinous can be conceived than that which a legislature commits when in response to the selfish demands of an interested class it takes from me the right to save my life or the lives of those dear to me, by methods not approved by a selfish and narrow-visioned medical censorship. It is a serious thing to take from a man the power to save the lives of those dearer to him than life; and yet this is, in fact, precisely what is compassed by medical restrictive laws—at least in the opinion of thousands of intelligent citizens. It is a moral crime to enact a statute which may force law-abiding citizens to become lawbreaking citizens.

2. There exist certain rights which belong to the individual, and which should ever be held inviolate by the state; the right, for example, of every man to employ whomsoever he desires to minister to his spiritual needs. This claim was long denied, and one of the bloodiest chapters of European history deals with the struggle of the church to crush out heresy,—a struggle in which many of the noblest minds and purest hearts were destroyed because of this fatal idea that a man should not be permitted to hold the belief that appealed to his judgment as right and proper. And now medical organizations are, to use Herbert Spencer's expression, "following in the track of the priesthood, for whose persecutions a similar excuse has always been set up."* Against this aggression of medical orthodoxy the opponents of class legislation urge the right of the individual to select whomsoever he desires to minister to his physical well-being in the time of sickness. They claim that, when the legislature of a State passes class laws, which give autocratic power to a board of medical examiners representing one or two schools, who are jealous of all other practitioners and blindly prejudiced against methods of cure whose theories antagonize their own so-called orthodox tenets, a right, than which none other is more sacred, is ruthlessly and tyrannically invaded. It is puerile to say that such a law does not prevent you from having the practitioner you

* "Social Statics," p. 411.

desire, if, in effect, it has outlawed the school of practice or the healer in whom you have confidence. On this point the words of the eminent Unitarian clergyman, Dr. Edward A. Horton,* are worth consideration:

"The moment we encroach on this right of private action, we not only perpetrate an injustice, but we begin to sap the foundation of that progressive development which comes from throwing responsibility on the citizen himself. I see no escape from this law. If we can advance a short distance in the way of dictating to others what they shall do under certain circumstances, there is no reason why we should not go still further. The law is supposed to take cognizance of actual crime. But a law like this now proposed is beyond that province."

It is reasonable to assume that, had there been no special privileges to be secured, no monopolistic advantages to be desired, there would have been no restrictive medical class laws to-day. Medical freedom, and not restrictive class laws, fosters science and aids progress; and the safety of the people is conserved under freedom. Class laws are a menace instead of a protection to the health and life of the people. The right of every man to employ whomsoever he desires in matters pertaining to his physical health is as sacred as his right to employ whomsoever he desires to minister to his spiritual welfare; and when, at the behest of a powerful organized class, and in the interest of any school, sect, class, or monopoly, the state ignores this right, it oversteps its rightful functions.

In closing this paper I wish to repeat in substance what I have said on another occasion. I am not assailing the regular school as a school. I am opposing what I consider to be unjust and un-American legislation which makes unfair distinctions and unconstitutional discriminations. I fully appreciate the services and faithful and conscientious endeavors of thousands of noble-minded medical men in the ranks of the regular practitioners, and I am not unmindful of the stringent re-

* Argument before the Health Committee of the Massachusetts legislature, March 2, 1898.

quirements of many of their educational institutions, though I think that much precious time is frequently wasted in digging in the cellar of the past, with the aid of very uncertain lights to guide the student. My arguments are directed not against any particular school as a school, but against oppression, injustice, and the dangerous class legislation which members of the regular school are year by year seeking to fasten upon the people. If homœopathy sought to outlaw its great rival school by proving that the practice of the latter was more fatal to life than the newer methods, I should defend the right of the free American citizen to employ a regular physician, because I hold that the passage of any such law would be unjust and oppressive, inasmuch as it would deprive every man who had faith in the old school of the liberty of employing the physician he desired.

In the name of science, whose prophets and torchbearers have time and again been denounced as impostors, charlatans, quacks, and dangerous characters; in the name of freedom, upon whose pathway progress ever makes her most rapid strides; in the name of that priceless and sacred right which, when wrested from a people, leaves them slaves to a degrading despotism; and, lastly, for the protection of the health and life of the people, I oppose these class laws, which so operate as to protect one or two schools at the expense of science, progress, justice, and the liberty of the citizen.

THE RELATION OF COLOR TO THE EMOTIONS.

BY HAROLD WILSON, M. D.

THE sensation of color is the most important, if not the only visual sensation of which the eye is capable. One philosopher* has gone so far as to say that "we derive nothing from the eye whatever but sensations of color," and while this opinion will hardly bear the test of scientific criticism, it really does express a fundamental truth concerning the ordinary and most essential operations of vision. It is true that our knowledge of the world of things about us comes to us largely through the aid of our color sense. The sky above us, the trees and flowers on all sides, the earth beneath our feet, all speak to us in the language of color. It is estimated that the human eye is capable of distinguishing 100,000 different colors, or hues, and twenty shades or tints of each hue, making a total of 2,000,000 color sensations which may be discriminated.† If we consider the infinite variations in the color of earth, of plants and their blossoms, of clouds, in fact of all natural objects, such an estimate as this hardly seems excessive, and it is not to be wondered at that color has played an important part in the development of the human race, nor that it has very intimate connections with our affective, or emotional, states.

The profusion of colors to be found in flowers and fruit, the gorgeous hues of insects and birds, indicate that in some way color plays or has played a vital role in the life history of these organisms. It is said that even infusoria show a preference for certain colors, and that if variously colored light is allowed to fall upon vessels in which they are kept, they will be found to congregate in those parts of the water which have a particular color, such as red, for example. Some observers‡ have noticed that infusorial life develops faster under the

* James Mill, "Analysis." † Rood, "Modern Chromatics."
‡ Downes and Burns, Babbit, "Light and Color," p. 387.

influence of red and yellow light. Seeds germinate most rapidly under the violet and blue rays, and the hatching of silkworms is greatly facilitated by placing the eggs under violet glass. It has been observed also that flies and other insects do not flourish, or are killed outright, by the light which comes through blue glass or blue gauze. When we come to the insect world, the very existence of flowers, with their almost endless gradations of color and tint, must be taken as a reasonably clear demonstration that color has some influence upon the feelings of flower-haunting butterflies, bees, and beetles, even though these feelings may be merely those of preference or indifference. It is claimed by some writers that it is through the exercise of these very feelings of preference that the present development of our floral magnificence has come about. Going a little higher, we find in the plumage of birds many of the most beautiful colors in nature; so beautiful and so marked, in fact, that they have been conceded by some of our most eminent naturalists to exist for the direct purpose of affording feelings of admiration and gratification to their possessors and their mates, thus admitting that these animals possess the capacity for æsthetic emotions in respect of color. It is a matter of common belief that bulls and turkey-cocks are excited to anger at the sight of red or scarlet. Speaking of instincts, James* says: "*A priori* there is no reason to suppose that *any* sensation might not in *some* animal cause any emotion and any impulse. To us it seems unnatural that an odor should directly excite anger or fear, or a color lust; yet there are creatures to which some smells are quite as frightful as any sounds, and very likely others to which colors are quite as much a sexual irritant as form." Since our knowledge of the psychology of the lower members of the animal kingdom is necessarily limited, we do not know much about their emotional nature, but the evidence is clear that color may powerfully move them, even though we may not name or classify the state of feeling which is produced.

Primitive man was no doubt likewise moved by color emotions, and we find illustrations of these influences among the so-called primitive races now living. The emotional nature

* James, "Psychology," p. 387.

of the uncivilized savage is so deeply stirred by a bit of red calico that he will barter an elephant's tusk for the possession of it. He daubs his body with ochre with feelings of substantial gratification at the sight of his reddened members. He has his colors for war and for peace. He selects his fruit according to its color, and like his frugivorous ancestors prefers red apples and purple berries, at first perhaps because their colors please him. He discovers that yellow plants are bitter; red, sour; green, rough or alkaline; white, sweet; and black, disagreeable or poisonous. The blue vault above him, the yellow sun which warms his limbs, the yellow or orange fire which cooks his meat, the green leaves, under the cool shadows of which he rests upon the grass, the red blood of his victims of chase or warfare, all tend toward the establishment of certain relations which these colors may come to have for him, as evolution lifts him upward and carries him onward into the world's history.

The theory was advanced by Magnus that the color sense was in part a comparatively recent acquisition by man, and that at so late a time as that of the early Greeks it existed in a more or less imperfect state. In the Homeric poems, for example, the sky is never called blue. The sea is sometimes termed violet, or cyan-blue, but the sky, never. In the Rig-Veda, the color of indigo dye—a greenish blue—is given to the sea and river water, but not to the sky. The Zend-Avesta nowhere speaks of the blue sky. It is said that neither the Egyptian nor the north Semitic languages have an adjective signifying blue. Such facts as these, with many others of a similar sort, have been offered as evidence that the perception of blue was deficient among these early peoples. Yet the Chinese called the sky blue, nearly 2,000 years B. C., and the Assyrian and Egyptian potters used blue pigments. In the Old Testament the sky was compared to the color of sapphire. Investigations among savage tribes have shown that a clear and accurate discrimination between colors may exist in the absence of names to identify them, and if it is true, as noted above, that we ourselves can distinguish some 2,000,000 different hues, it is certain that we have no words with which to name each color and tint and shade. In brief, the argu-

ment from language fails to prove the contention that our color sense is of recent growth. Its history must be traced back into those shadowy centuries which come before the period of written history, and even the earliest man would have had to look to his less than human ancestors for the key to his love for color.

The relations which color sustains to civilized mankind are much diversified. Everything with which we come into contact has some property of color. Absolute whiteness and absolute blackness are, like other pure sensations, merely mental abstractions. The savage used pigments to decorate his body. We use them infrequently for this purpose, but our clothes, houses, carpets, walls, furniture, food, and drink are stained, dyed, and painted with all the tints at our command. In order to satisfy our demands for color, we maintain conservatories for the propagation of flowers, factories for the production of dye-stuffs, paints, and pigments; and an army of workmen is constantly at work designing and executing new combinations and effects in colored fabrics of every description. Not only must our æsthetic sense be satisfied for itself, but we color our soups and puddings, our cakes and confectionery. Those whose business it is to purvey eatables for the public recognize these facts, and prepare their wares accordingly. Even the poor apple-woman at the street corner must supply herself with rows of red apples, each one carefully burnished, if she will succeed in business. The confectioner must charm the eye with cochineal, Prussian blue, and saffron, that his sweetmeats may find their readiest way into his customers' pockets; and the "pink lemonade" of the circus is proverbial.

At one time in the history of medicine, color was an important element in the choice of remedies, red medicines being considered good for fever, yellow medicines for the liver, for example. Only a few years ago there was a species of revival of this ancient doctrine, when the blue-light craze swept over the country. Dr. Ponza, director of the lunatic asylum at Alessandria in Piedmont, cured many of his insane patients by confining them in rooms the glass and walls of which were of some uniform color, such as red, or blue, or violet. One

taciturn melancholic became gay and talkative after a sojourn of three hours in a red chamber. Others, after having stayed in these colored rooms for a certain time, showed other equally great changes for the better in their mental condition. Not very long ago a paragraph was going the rounds of the newspapers to the effect that some surprising cures of smallpox had been effected by curtaining the windows of the sick rooms with red cloth. The physiological effects of the different portions of the spectrum are undoubtedly not identical, and some sort of chromo-therapy does not seem absolutely irrational, although it may not yet have reached the position of a definite science.

Perhaps the most important of the diversified relations which color has for man are those in the domain of æsthetics. Dugald Stewart, in discussing the successive transitions which the meaning of the word beauty has undergone, believed that "it must have originally connoted the pleasure of color, which he recognized as primitive." Among the lower races there is a lively satisfaction in brilliant colors, particularly in those belonging to the red end of the spectrum. Infants show an appreciation for red earlier than for other colors. In a brief inquiry respecting certain relations of color and feeling, which I have recently made by means of a series of questions, seventeen persons, mostly artists and musicians, and all persons of cultivated tastes, responded. Four-fifths of these expressed a preference for the colors in the lower half of the spectrum, such as red, orange, yellow, and their derivatives, as brown, pink, and scarlet. More than half confessed a positive dislike for magenta and other purple colors. Some forty years ago, more or less, when the aniline dyes were beginning to show some of their wonderful properties, owing to one of those curious waves which are continually ruffling the sea of fashion, magenta was in high favor and in great demand, somewhat as cerise is at the present time, only more so. But its credit was not long-lived, and it soon passed out, so that not long afterward writers referred to the time as "the horrible magenta period." Although the data on hand are hardly sufficient to demonstrate the fact, it seems highly probable that we must concede to magenta and other purple hues

less power of awakening pleasurable emotions than any of the pure spectral colors.

There is an undeniable pleasure in the contemplation of simple color. The yellow-green of a fresh meadow, the golden tints of a field of ripe grain, the blue of a clear sky, are very agreeable to the eye. It is possible that the pleasure thus excited is analogous to that derived from the sensation of pure musical tone independent of melody, and numerous attempts have been made to build this relationship into a definite æsthetic structure.

If the wave-lengths of the spectral colors be reduced to a mean proportion with that of red, we get such a series as this:

Red	100
Orange	89
Yellow	81
Green	75
Blue	66 2-3
Violet	60

Now, taking the wave-length of C as a standard, and calling this also 100, we get a series of ratios as we ascend the scale:

C	100
D	89
E	80.8
F	75
G	67
A	60
B	53

The analogy between these two series is certainly striking. The two scales, chromatic and musical, seem here to be constructed upon the same laws, and the development of what Kant has suggested, "an art of pure chromatics," seems as though it ought to be easy and natural. We might look forward, it would seem, from the art galleries of to-day, with their Titians and Raphaels, their Millets and Meissoniers, to those of to-morrow, with their great canvases reflecting the most delightful color harmonies, totally emancipated from the shackles of form. Turner is said to have approached near to such an art in some of his water colors and in a few oils.

If C, E, and G, with relative wave-lengths of 100, 80.8, and 67, form an agreeable concord to the ear, why should not red, yellow, and blue, with wave-lengths in the ratios of 100, 81, and 67, form a similarly pleasing triad? Ought not the concords of sound to be readily translatable into those of color, and those of color into sound? If this is so, "the music of the spheres may no longer be a mystery. It would only be necessary to write down the score of each star by spectrum analysis, and convert it into the corresponding musical chords to realize how

> 'Each smallest orb,
> In his motion, like an angel sings.'"

Some such relation of color to sound was noted by Plato, and Aristotle says somewhere, "Colors may mutually relate, like musical concords, for their pleasantest arrangement, like those concords, mutually proportionate."

A Jesuit priest named Father Castel, a hundred and sixty years ago, endeavored to realize these analogies, and spent the greater part of his life in the effort. He says:

"You may conceive what spectacle will be exhibited by a room covered with rigadoons and minuetts and sarabandes and pascailles, sonatas and cantatas, and if you choose, with the complete representation of an opera. Have your colors well diapasoned, and arrange them on a piece of canvas according to the exact series, combination, and mixture of tones, parts, and concords of the piece of music which you are desirous to paint, observing all the different values of the notes, minims, crotches, quavers, syncopes, rests, etc., and disposing all the parts according to the order of counterpoint. It may readily be seen that this is not impossible or even difficult to any person who has studied the elements of painting, and at any rate, that a piece of tapestry of this kind could be equal to those where the colors are applied as it were by hazard, in the same manner as they are in marble. Such a harpsichord would be an excellent school for painters, who might find in it all the secrets and combinations of colors. The design alone of a painting excites pleasure. There is certainly a design in a

piece of music, but it is not so sensible when the piece is played with rapidity. Here [that is, in his color-harpsichord] the eye will contemplate at leisure; it will see the concert, the contrast of all the parts; the effect of the one in opposition to the other; the fugues, imitations, expression, concatenation of the cadences and progress of the modulation. And can it be believed that those pathetic passages, those grand traits of harmony, those unexpected changes of tone that always cause suspension, languor, emotions, and a thousand unexpected changes in the soul which abandons itself to them, will lose any of their energy in passing from the ears to the eyes? It will be curious to see the deaf applauding the same passages as the blind. Green, which corresponds to *re*, is rural, agreeable, pastoral; red, which corresponds to *sol*, will excite the idea of a warlike and terrific tone; blue, which corresponds to *do*, of a noble, majestic tone."

Father Castel, with all his interesting flights of the imaginative faculty, and his twenty or thirty years of hard labor, never succeeded in perfecting his harpsichord so that it would work practically, and his beautiful fancies of color minuets and operas were never realized.

Several other speculators in the same field have met with a like fate. J. Crofts suggests the use of colored electric discharges in the construction of a color-organ. He says that in them "we have the means of expressing unity, variety, velocity, intensity, form, elevation, and depression—in short, all the complex properties of emotion; and it only requires a master mind to direct and adapt and reduce to system and order what is already in one's hands as raw material, for the world to possess a new art-medium of emotion, in all respects capable of rivalling music itself."*

Jamieson† assigns as reasons for Father Castel's failure: 1. The spaces of the colors were not commensurate to the time of the notes; 2. It was found impossible by any practical extension of inherent colors to produce a sensic [sensory] effect equivalent to that of aural music. He claims that he

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, N. S. vol. 35, p. 271.
† Quoted by Lady Campbell in "Rainbow Music."

himself has succeeded in obviating these difficulties, and has invented an apparatus, a brief description of which may not be without interest:

"A dark chamber lined with bright tin plates; twelve round apertures in the wall, holding glass globes containing translucent liquids of the prismatic colors and their semitonic intermediates; lamps on the outside of the bottles; mobile covers on the inside. A pianoforte connected with these covers, with power to elevate them on percussion of the keys to heights proportionate to the vibrative extent of their respective octaves. With each note, a strong color is evolved in the dark room and reflected by its sides, and the duration and extension of this color are greater or less according to the time and position of the note which it represents and accompanies. The factors of music and colorific exhibition being thus correlatively fixed, the performance of the one is attended with the other, which has an enchanting effect."

This instrument, like that of Father Castel, seems to have failed in rendering the art of color-music practicable. It is said that a color-organ has been made in this country, but I have not been able to obtain any definite facts concerning it.

In transforming sound into color, the various authors are not in entire agreement as to the scale to be adopted. Father Castel's color scale was as follows:

C ..... Blue
C-sharp ..... Sea-Green
D ..... Green
D-sharp ..... Green Gold
E ..... Yellow
F ..... Orange
F-sharp ..... Orange Red
G ..... Red
G-sharp ..... Crimson
A ..... Red Violet
A-sharp ..... Violet
B ..... Blue Violet
C ..... Pale Blue

Smith's scale is rather different.* According to him the major scale of C natural would be represented by the following colors in an ascending series: red, orange, yellow, green, blue, violet,—their spectral order,—the seventh being represented by the invisible ultra-violet rays. The major tonic triad, according to Castel, would be blue, yellow and red; according to Smith, red, yellow, and blue, an inversion of the first order. The chord of the seventh, G, B, D, F, would be represented by the former by red, blue-violet, green, and orange; by the latter by blue, ultra-violet, orange, and green.

The analogies which these experimentalists and speculators have observed between color and sound are of much interest, but their uniform failure to reach the end they have sought bears out the theoretical objections which may be urged against the proposition they have endeavored to establish. The essential nature of color, as a sensory experience as well as an objective fact, is radically different from that of sound, except perhaps that they are both modes of motion. The disparity in the quality of the sensations arising from the fundamental spectral colors is almost complete. Considered as sense impressions merely, yellow and green, for example, are "worlds away," whereas the musical tones D and E, to which these colors are said to correspond, produce sensations which are obviously of the same order. The note E, as a psychical experience, is known only by its relation to D or to some other note of the scale, whereas the sensation yellow is absolutely independent of green or red, or any other color. In the tonal scale, equal variations in wave length or frequency produce equal effects throughout its entire extent. In the chromatic scale, on the other hand, the eye is much more sensitive to small changes in wave length in the middle portions of the spectrum than at or near its extremities. The colored lights of Jamieson may be "enchanting to behold," and Castel's harpsichord may represent the labors of a lifetime, but they are very far from being the realization of true color-music. This art, in the sense in which it has been sought for, will, I fear, never be discovered, since the very natures of sound and light seem to indicate that it cannot exist.

*C. E. S. Smith, *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, vol. 8, p. 216.

There is, however, in certain individuals a psychical or physical relation between color and sound which is real and absolute. Without the aid of "color organs" or tin-plated dark rooms, and independent of arbitrary chromatic scales, these persons experience a definite, uniform, and involuntary sensation of color associated with sounds of various kinds. Thus, one of my correspondents says: "Harmonies often convey color; likewise tones and voices. Melba's voice at once reminds me of a rich shade of dark red. Lili Lehman's voice alternates between pink and yellow." Others affirm: "Pleasant sounds suggest bright colors; heavy, loud, roaring sounds, dark colors;" "Shades are associated with the lower tones on the piano, tints with the higher;" "Thunder is dark blue; a sharp sound has a light color." Another associates "involuntarily red with the cornet or horn, and pale or neutral color with a weak voice." The instance is well known of the man blind from birth to whom the note of a trumpet represented the notion of red.

Many other curious cases such as these have been made the subject of investigation by numerous observers. The peculiarity has received the name of pseudochromæsthesia, and includes not only the association of sound, but that of many other altogether foreign things, with color. In such subjects color sensations may be associated with letters of the alphabet, numbers, days of the week, dates, names of cities, epochs of history, musical notes, sounds of instruments, tastes, and the phases of human life. One said of a dog, that "its voice was pure red"; another, that a certain food "tasted so yellow she could not eat it." To one of my correspondents, Saturday and Sunday were light yellow or golden, Monday blue-gray. To another individual "Saturday was pure white, Sunday black, and Monday blue." Others attach color to vowel and consonantal sounds; e. g., *a*, white; *b*, blue; *c*, cream-colored; *d*, dark blue, etc. "The 'Instrumentalists,' whose spokesman is René Ghil," says Nordau,* "connect each sound with a feeling of color, and demand that words should not only awaken musical emotions, but at the same time operate æsthetically in producing a color harmony. This mad idea had its origin in

*Nordau, "Degeneration," p. 139.

a much-quoted sonnet by Arthur Rimbaud, *Les Voyelles* (the vowels), of which the first line runs thus: '*A* black, *e* white, *i* red, *u* green, *o* blue.' In the 'Traité du Verbe' René Ghil specifies the color value not only of individual vowels, but of musical instruments. 'Harps are white, violins blue,' etc."

These mystical connections between sound and color are quite different from their involuntary association in pseudo-chromæsthesia, and they are equally remote from being the expression of a genuine art feeling. The psychical relations of sound and color are fortuitous or arbitrary, their analogies misleading, and it is hardly to be doubted that the search for "color-music" will never result in the evolution of a new art.

The æsthetics of pure color, however, claim our most respectful recognition. The use of color in decoration and as an essential element in the creations of plastic art, from the jade implements of prehistoric man to the mural paintings in the World's Fair, has been universal. Indeed, we may believe color to have been a source of pleasurable feelings among our frugivorous prehuman ancestors. Although we have reached that point in artistic development where we can prefer to have our marble statuary white, the Greeks, whose classical models we still emulate, added color to perfect their beautiful handiwork. The art student passes from monochrome to color, and it is only when he has obtained a mastery of the tints upon his palette that he can express the highest art impulses of his nature. By means of color the painter strives to awaken in those who look upon his pictures emotions which he could never reach without its aid. The decorator seeks the help of color harmonies in heightening the effect of his ornamental creations. Everywhere about us, in the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the houses we live in, in our games and in our religion, we find the æsthetic attributes of color recognized and utilized. Color is so interwoven and applied to the environment in which we find ourselves, as a response to organic necessities, as mere decoration, and as symbol, that its final relation to the mass of our feelings as mature individuals is so complex, so indefinite, so variable, that its analysis in detail is impossible. Even the canons of color in art are more or less indefinite and arbitrary. In respect of

the mere harmonization of colors there is by no means entire agreement even among cultured people. It is commonly thought that blue and green do not form a good combination, yet such use of them is praised by Ruskin. Complementary colors are generally taken to be harmonious, but Schiffermueller declares them to be "crude and boorish." Although the combination of red and green is usually looked upon as good, Sir J. G. Wilkinson considered it as inferior. Among people of no authority, there is, of course, an endless diversity of opinion upon many similar points. We do not know precisely why spectral red and blue form an agreeable, and spectral red and violet a disagreeable, combination; or why the eye will accept with greater pleasure orange, green, and violet together, than carmine, yellow, and green.

Unger* finds the solution of the harmony of colors in the ratios of their vibration rates. Those ratios corresponding to the consonant intervals of music, such as red and blue, or violet and orange, answering to the major fifth, are pleasurable; those corresponding to dissonant intervals are discordant and disagreeable. He has constructed major and minor color chords, and even a system of passing color discords. Sully explains the pleasurable feelings which come from the comparison of colors which harmonize, by assuming that these feelings rest upon a conscious perception of the relations of likeness which exist between them. Grant Allen† looks to physiological evolution for an explanation of the æsthetics of color. Red and orange colors are less frequent in nature than green and blue, hence the nerve centres for these colors are in a higher state of nutrition. "The structures for the perception of green and blue, on the contrary, being habitually stimulated to the proper extent, do not yield any specially agreeable feelings under ordinary circumstances."

But even in the domain of natural facts, observers do not altogether agree, for Fox and Gould, in substantiating their theory of the origin of the color sense, assert that yellow and green are the most commonly perceived colors, and red and blue the least. Allen also ascribes certain effects to lumi-

* Unger, quoted by Sully, in *Mind*, vol. iv, p. 172.
† Allen, "The Color Sense."

nosity. "The luminous intensity of red, orange, and yellow is considerably greater than that of green, blue, and violet. Hence their stimulating powers may be plausibly considered as greater than those of the less luminous colors." "But above either of these causes, we may place, I think, the hereditary tendency of the human eye derived from our early frugivorous ancestors. Red, orange, and yellow are the common hues by which our fruits may be distinguished from the surrounding masses of green foliage. From the combination of these causes, it happens that the sensation of red or orange is the most agreeable of all the pure color perceptions."

The associationists find material in our individual experiences to explain many of these facts. "Throughout our lives," says Herbert Spencer, "reds, blues, purples, greens, etc., have been connected with flowers, sunny days, picturesque scenes, and the gratification received along with them." "It equally holds good that on festive occasions pleasant excitements have been joined with perceptions of bright colors." Each of us finds in his own experience that under certain conditions some special color may awaken its own peculiar emotions, as, for example, green confectionery may involuntarily excite feelings of antipathy, through the fact that we have been taught to associate this color with poisonous properties. And yet it can hardly be doubted that color may produce within us certain feelings which arise independently of any principle of association, although these feelings may be of a very vague character. Wundt says that "a simple sense idea, which has no relation to our past mental history, will hardly be able to excite an emotion, though it may call up quite intensive sense-feelings."* It is from this fact that language has derived certain adjectives which we apply to color, such as "deep," "strong," "quiet," "warm," "cool," "harsh," "soft."

From the combination of these various causes, hereditary, physiological, psychological, associational, there has arisen a most complex mass of symbolic color ideas. The most simple of these are of such a nature that most persons will agree upon them. It will generally be admitted "that feelings of sober-

* Wundt, "Human and Animal Psychology," p. 375.

ness or gloom go with black, of excitement with red, of cheerfulness with light green, of cool quiet with dark blue, of intense sensuous pleasure with saturated purple," but there would be far less general agreement as to what tone of feeling belonged with orange or tan-color, or that "red signified the glowing of conscious love." It is said that, "White and black have a direct significance, because light is white, and darkness black. Beyond this colors become symbolized only because definite objects to which they belong get to be associated with them in thought."*

Mental diseases are often accompanied by mystical ideas about color. Some lunatics endeavor to recognize good and evil by the differences in the color of things, and, in reading, understand secret meanings which words have, according to their color. Certain degenerate authors have had paper specially manufactured for their books, with each page of a different color, or of several colors, to convey mystical meanings. Others color each letter of their epistles differently for the same purpose. Richard Wagner, during the hours in which he was engaged in composition, is said to have been clad in and surrounded by colors varying with his moods.

Many religious ceremonials and customs have much of color mysticism about them. Black absorbs the sun's light. It signifies death and mourning. White reflects all the colors of the spectrum. It contains and glorifies them. Therefore it denotes purity, victory, holiness. The preacher, clad in black, shows that he has died to the world and its temptations; that he has renounced its foibles and pleasures and is lifted above them. His white over-garment denotes that he walks in the divine light, and partakes of its purity and holiness. The black and white garments of nuns, novices, catechumens, and priests have a similar significance. Blue signifies the dwelling-place of God. In religious art the angels are placed in a blue nimbus. This is also the color of the upper garment in the pictures of Jesus Christ. The cardinals' red hats show that they are ready to spill their blood for the Saviour.

In secular matters, red is said to be the color of strong feelings of any kind, whether of love or hatred, good or evil. It

* Delitzsch, "Iris."

is the color of undeveloped ideas. The bloody Jeffreys when in his bloodiest mood wore a red cap. Mephistopheles often wears red clothes. The red flag and red lantern signify immediate danger, and virtually cry out hold! stop! beware! Peter Ibbetson in his frenzied moments saw scarlet. That the color of sin is scarlet we have learned from the Bible; but it is only a recent discovery that the color of the perspiration of persons in fits of sinful passion is pink.

Yellow signifies the sun. It stands for the emotions of mirth, jest, and faith. It signifies the goodness of God, fruitfulness, marriage. Venus is represented in a yellow tunic, and ancient pictures of St. Peter show him in a yellow mantle. It may mean constancy or inconstancy; for, in the early days of Rome, brides wore a yellow or orange-yellow veil, while in Greece public courtesans were clothed in saffron garments. In China, yellow is the color of royalty; but in that country of curious contradictions, where to remove the hat is a sign of disrespect, the seat of honor is on the left, and the compass points to the south, it is not surprising that the emperor should clothe himself in yellow, and the mourner in white.

Among civilized nations, and among many savage tribes, white is the color of peace, and red the symbol of anarchy, war, and violence; yet among the natives of Tierra del Fuego white is the color of war, and red that of peace and friendship.

It is said by some authors,* that yellow and golden light correspond to the intellectual, green to the utilitarian, red to the sensual, and blue to the spiritual, moral, or religious nature of man, and that these relations are definitely the result of his development by evolution. In the everyday walks of life, in the necessary humdrum occupations which man has carried on from day to day, he has been brought into constant contact with the verdure of the vegetable world. His dwelling-places have been in the leafy woods, and his paths have lain across the green fields. In a hundred ways green has been associated with his ordinary and useful occupations. The rarer sight of ripe red fruit, of some gorgeous flower, the flow of blood from his slain victim, have given to red the unusual and stronger association of violence or love. The vault of

* Fox and Gould, *American Journal of Ophthalmology*, vol. iii, p. 251, *et seq.*

heaven above, with its remote and changeless blue, in and beyond which was unfathomable mystery, was where he placed his gods, if he had any, and thus the association of blue with religious and moral feelings came naturally. The theatre of his occupations, the environment of his mental activities, was the yellow light of day, hence this color was associated with the domain of intellect. Perhaps such an explanation as this is too fanciful to be scientific, but there is evidently a kernel of truth in it. If we must explain the origin of the color sense on the grounds of evolution, it may help a little.

The symbolism of color in dress has much that is commonly understood and agreed upon, even though not absolute. We use black garments to signify grief, gray to denote peace, white to express joyousness and innocence. One writer, carrying this symbolism on into the future, says that in that distant day ladies will use color to indicate the state of their affections. "Robes of bright red will be a sign of preference for a single state; gray or neutral tint will indicate that the wearer is looking about for a spouse; dark purple intimates that she has made her choice; purple and orange when she is betrothed or married; light blue when she is divorced or a widow and would marry again." Such a plan would be very convenient for both sexes, and the prophecy might be extended. Men, too, might adopt a system of similar symbols. Black clothes might be worn to indicate that their wearers have had sufficient experience with the fair sex, and are not to be looked upon thereafter as other than formal friends; brown, to indicate that they are not eligible to marriage, either from being already married or from disinclination, but that they are ready for a jolly time and are not at all opposed to flirting; blue, to signify that they wish to marry, but have a limited income and would prefer a young woman with money; green, to indicate that they have been once married, but are anxious to try it again.

The symbolism of color has many other aspects. In heraldry it has special and definite significance. The use of colors as emblems of societies, political parties, religious organizations, and nations is well known. In every instance the

habit of association lends to these colors the power of awakening particular emotions.

The range of influence which color has upon our feelings is necessarily great. In part, as we have seen, it is essential or inherited. To a greater extent it depends upon the accidents of education or experience. The pleasurable emotions which we derive from it are conditioned on the one hand by our capacity for æsthetic feeling in general, and on the other by the degree of cultivation which our color sense has received. With many of us, the scale of our color conceptions may barely extend beyond the primary hues of the spectrum, and the finer sense of harmony and discord in color combinations may be totally lacking. The subjects of Reichenbach claimed to have seen the colors of the ultra-violet rays, but if we ordinary mortals have not this transcendental "odic" power, there is still abundant room within the limits of the common spectrum to train our appreciation of one of the most precious gifts within the sphere of bodily sensation. Nature is lavish with her color charms, but their secrets are not open to the dull eye of inattention. If we wish to see and to feel them we must learn to use a greater measure of our own natural capacities. The key to the kabala of color is in the possession of each of us, and we have only to search for it in order to unlock the world of feelings which I have thus briefly indicated.

THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE.

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

WHEN, on January 28, 1898, the declarative resolution of Senator Henry M. Teller for the payment of the national debt according to the contract was coming to a vote in the Senate of the United States, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts offered an amendment to the effect that the national debt should be paid in *gold* dollars worth more than twice as much as the dollars in which the debt was contracted. For this dishonest, malign, and fraudulent proposition Senator Lodge secured twenty-four votes all told. That ballot represented the naked strength of the goldite contingent in the Senate of the United States.

Less than three months afterwards, on April 16, when the resolution recognizing the *independence* of Cuba (including the Turpie amendment recognizing the *Republic* of Cuba) was brought to the ordeal of a vote, the resolution and the amendment were adopted by the vote of sixty-seven Senators in the affirmative. Twenty-one Senators voted in the negative, and all of these—except (for special reasons) Senators Pritchard and White—had either voted for Lodge's gold-bug resolution or had been paired in its favor! Substantially, the two lists —one in favor of the Lodge amendment and the other against the recognition of Cuban independence—are identical! The division in neither case was a strict party division. In each instance two or three alleged Democrats appeared in the baleful column.

Thus, in the year 1898, it becomes a historical fact that the goldite oligarchy in the United States and the party opposing Cuban independence are identical. They are twain in unity. They are not two parties, but one party, having the same evil genesis and the same nefarious purpose and destiny. Here, then, is the list of the unadulterated and unambiguous goldite, anti-Cuban Senators who, throwing off all disguise, voted *for* the gold-bug scheme of Senator Lodge, and then with equal

unanimity voted *against* the recognition of Cuban independence. It is a list which represents a whirlpool where two rivers run together—Aldrich, Allison, Burrows, Caffery, Elkins, Fairbanks, Hale, Hanna, Hawley, Hoar, McBride, McMillan, Morrill, Platt (Conn.), Platt (N. Y.), Sewell, Spooner, Wellington, Wetmore. These gentlemen constitute the American Committee of The Invisible Empire.

In the minds of reasonable beings the question will at once arise why the attorneys of the money power in the Senate of the United States should be opposed to the recognition of Cuban independence. It would seem that the proposition to establish gold monometallism in the United States and the proposition to recognize the independence of Cuba are as far apart in subject-matter and intent as are the poles of the heavens. In a well-ordered world it would be so, but not so in this! The action of the goldite contingent and the anti-Cuban squad in the Senate in both cases sprang from the same fundamental inspiration. The motive in each was derived from The Invisible Empire.

For some time it has been my purpose, when opportunity should offer, to call the attention of the American people to the fact that they are no longer under the government of the American Republic. They have passed under another sceptre. They are the subjects of another power—a power unseen, but felt in hall and hamlet, by every man and woman, by every parent and child, by every nabob and wage serf within the borders of the United States and throughout the world.

Aye, more; I would if I could transmit this message respecting the condition which has come to pass in our own country to every nation in the world, and say with equal emphasis that in *that* country also to which the message is borne, neither its government nor any of its visible forms of society are really the controlling forces by which the nation is directed; for that nation, whatever nation it may be, as well as our own, is only a province in The Invisible Empire.

Not a nation in the world is exempt from the dominion of the Universal Monarchy. The political autonomy of every one has been surrendered, openly or covertly, to the will of a ruler whom none have seen, but before whom every state and

principality, every republic and kingdom and empire of the world bends a supple knee.

No nation on the face of the globe has any longer an independence that is more than nominal. If so, what is that nation? Is it Great Britain? Great Britain owes a war debt of more than three thousand two hundred millions of dollars. By this she is bound for all time and eternity—unless she breaks the fetter. She can never pay the debt, and she knows it. She never expects to pay it. To pay the interest is as much as she expects to do through the long years of her future. Of this incalculable sum every inhabitant of the United Kingdom owes more than eighty-one dollars. A family of father and mother and ten children sit down to their breakfast with an everlasting, unpayble debt over the table of nearly a thousand dollars. The father could not pay ten dollars if he were stripped. Every child born under the home flag of the empire is confronted before its mother sees it with a due bill for eighty-one dollars. Such is Great Britain, and such is her thraldom. From being the most independent sovereignty that ever existed in the world she has become the leading satrapy in the Invisible Empire. She now inquires humbly at proper intervals of the syndicate of European bankers what she may do and what she may not do. Patient little lamb she has become on the table of her shearers!

Aforetime the institutional structure and wide domination of Great Britain by sea and land made her to be the most important and perhaps the proudest state in the world. Now she has passed without much protest under the sway of the viewless sceptre that is stretched out over all mankind. Great Britain, content for long to be called the United Kingdom, then in 1876, in the heyday of the spectacular Disraeli, becoming an empire, having under her dominion nearly four hundred millions of people in India; asserting her power on all the continents and in all the greater islands of the seas, has gone into occultation and dim eclipse behind the disc of a power greater than herself! It is one of the marvels of human history.

Is France the exception? The French Republic is only an appanage of the Unseen Power. Not three years had elapsed

after the brilliant imperial shell in which Napoleon III had dwelt for eighteen years was crushed in the crater of Sedan, until the new Third Republic, instituted by Thiers and Gambetta, was invaded by the powers of the Invisible Empire. Seeing the splendid recuperative energy of the French people and the ease with which they had met the exorbitant demands of Germany, the silent emissaries of the Invisible Empire came in and insinuated themselves into the heart of the government. They entered the precincts of the Treasury and got possession of the keys. They tampered with the ledger and with the resources of the nation. They got the nation in debt to themselves to the extent of $6,218,871,328.* Knowing that all the products of human labor are balanced against the money unit with which they are measured, the silent burglars next attacked the money unit of the French nation and corrupted it—just as they did in the United States. From that day to the present they have dwelt in the vaults of the French bourse. Out of that subterranean abode they have stretched forth their spectral hands, touching the reins and directing the chariot of the republic until its administration, like that of our own, has become neither more nor less than a humble agency of the Invisible Empire.

Is it Germany? That great power also has fallen before the shadowy throne. On that throne sits a spectre who is not the Kaiser Wilhelm, but the head money-lord of Amsterdam. The German Empire, notwithstanding the bloody victories by which it came into being, notwithstanding its glory through three successive reigns, notwithstanding its array of statesmen and generals and its avalanche of armies, is a weakling, a puling petitioner for the milk of life at the breast of that prodigious hag that suckles every national treasury in the world. The German Empire dares not, any more than any other nation dares, to do any important national or international act—to colonize, to make discoveries, to organize expeditions, to plant states in Africa or Australasia, to declare war, to send

* Every French child within the dominion of the Third Republic is in debt one hundred and sixty-two dollars before it is born! It has been noted that the birth-rate in France is exceedingly low. It would appear that the burden of proof is on the other side! For why should any child be born that is already in debt one hundred and sixty-two dollars? It were better not!

ambassadors to a congress, to make peace, or to survey a new canal—without first getting down prone, with its knees and elbows in the dust, and its huge war-belted abdomen trailing the ground before the lank-jawed, cadaverous, ossified Shylocks of the Invisible Empire.

It is not Bismarck; it is not Caprivi; it is not Hohenlohe; it is not the roustabout, audacious German Kaiser, who goes clanging on his big horse down the boulevard of the Lindens thinking himself something when he is nothing;—it is not any of these or all of them combined who direct the course of the German Empire, but it is the invisible and silent scouts of the Empire of Money who rule and reign from the mouths of the Rhine and the Weser to the boar-haunts of the Schwartswald. William II is only a pawn or a puppet on the board, moved or turned or pulled, uttering big words full of vanity when the Money Power with its knee on his chest presses his organs and makes him bawl.

Is it Russia? The autocrat Nicholas II is one of the mighty; but is he a real autocrat or only a figure and image of an autocrat? Is the autocracy in *him*, or in his *supply of gold?* Does his supply of gold lie at his disposal, or is it under the control of one of those crafty clerks who prepare in the night schemes of finance for the undoing of nations?

The war debt of Russia is 2,225,996,596 rubles. It will be greater before it is less. It has been growing ever greater since the Crimean War, and it will grow greatest at the last when Russia and England shall once more measure swords in a struggle of life and death over the mighty spoils of the East. The autocrat owes all his accumulated gold and many times as much to the bondholders who are his creditors, and who smile upon him with the sardonic smile of the Rialto. In private conferences they tell him and his finance minister what may and what may not be done. Autocrat of all the Russias? Autocrat of nothing! Not even autocrat of himself! The emergence of the Russian Empire and the establishment of the Romanoffs as constitutional sovereigns are both impeded, if not rendered impossible, by the restraint and strangulation of that beautiful "business interest" which owns the Empire and uses the Tsar for its secretary.

Is it Austria? The Reichsrath and the Bundesrath wrangle over questions of progress. They call themselves Liberals or Conservatives. Leaders of factions brawl, and orators roar for thirty hours at a session. Meanwhile the descendant of the Hapsburgs dresses himself in insignia and thinks himself an emperor when he is no more than a clerk. The money magnates of Vienna look on amazed at the froth and spectacle. They watch the superficial surging of the waves and then beckon each other away to a banquet. They note the effect of this and that on the price of their stocks, and they tell the Austrian newspapers to encourage the one thing or the other thing to the end that there may be for themselves a better bear sowing and a richer bull harvest. Meanwhile they send word in cipher despatches to their friends in Berlin and Amsterdam and Paris and London and Washington that the national honor is preserved and the public credit sustained. The crown of Hapsburg is to these men no more than a brass ring, and the vaporings of the Reichsrath, and the rushings-up and the tumblings-down of the ministry are to them better sport than the pictured "pillow-fight" of the biograph.

Is it Turkey? Poor old ridiculous Islam cuts the sorriest figure of all. The war debt of Turkey is $809,757,120. She too has the public credit to sustain. The national honor of the Ottoman Empire is very dear—to the men who are her creditors. To them the preservation of her integrity is like the apple of an eye for tenderness. Whenever, therefore, any contingency arises likely to impair the ability of the Sublime Porte to pay its coupons, the Powers are tapped on the shoulder by the viewless fingers of the Secretary of the Invisible Empire, and they are told to remember their pledge to keep the Sultan on his feet—until the bonds are paid.

Is it the Oriental Empires? Until recently it might be truly averred that China and Japan and the other great powers of eastern Asia were beyond the dominion of the Invisible Empire; but it is not so now. Each and all they have fallen or are falling before the conquering power that has laid its hand upon the world, and by consuming its substance is reducing mankind to the plane of beggary and servitude.

It is one of the marvels of human history that China with her four hundred millions of people—long secluded and defended by barriers which she herself imposed—has at last been broken in by the combined force of pagan assault and Christian intrigue, and has been forced to admit the commercial spirit, with all the accompanying blessings of a national debt. The European bankers have sat in conclave, and agreed that British capitalists may have, without competition, the whole batch of Chinese five-per-cents and carry them for twenty-five years in order to uphold the public credit.

Poor, old, yellow China no doubt imagines that the light is coming in, for now she has credit in Europe! She is at last in the swim. She already has a glimmering perception of what "the preservation of national honor" means; and it will not be long before her Bankers' Committee will instruct the Pekin *Gazette* to disseminate gently among the people the belief that a national debt is a national blessing.

Persia, also, has become a province in the Invisible Empire. For the privilege of making war she has become indebted in a bond to her Imperial Bank.* True, her credit is not yet very high, but as soon as her Secretary of the Treasury becomes a skilful financier and gets in touch with the Amsterdam syndicate he will discover the process of refunding; then his bonds will begin to go. The agents of the Invisible Empire will buy them up for 20 per cent of their par, and henceforth unto the end of time every mulberry tree and melon patch and rosebush in all Persia will be mortgaged in order to uphold the public credit.

As to the minor powers that flourish here and there, in places visible and places obscure around the borders of the earth, every one of them has either succumbed to the power of the Universal Monarchy or else is awaiting its turn to fall; for the process is very easy—and I will try to describe it.

Whenever the Invisible Empire beholds a state that is still independent or that aspires to independence, some intrigue of

* "Almost the entire burden of taxation [in Persia] lies upon the labouring classes. The amount collected from Christians, Jews, and Parsees is very small. . . . In May, 1892, the government concluded with the Imperial Bank of Persia a contract for the issue of a loan of 500,000 pounds. . . . The loan . . . will be repayable in eighty half-yearly installments together with 6 per cent interest." — "The Statesman's Year Book," 1898, p. 812.

international character is devised whereby the aspiring state shall be involved with its neighbors in war. The moment that war begins the given state is obliged to provide the means of war, and to this end a system of ways and means must be immediately provided. Whoever under such circumstances has common sense and common patriotism must discover even at a glance the true method of providing a war revenue. In America there is hardly a farmer, a carpenter, or a hunter who has not sense enough to make out, with a little study, a true scheme of ways and means. In the first place, a *currency* must be devised that shall meet the emergency and fulfil all the conditions of money. Of a certainty, all metallic money will disappear. Of a certainty, it will never come back until the day of piping peace shall return, until the stock exchange is again efflorescent, and until the trust has fixed itself like Hugo's *peuvre* in the sea-bed of the industrial life. So the nation in war has to say *Fiat lux;* that is, *Fiat pecunia.* A new money is created, and if it were not for the Invisible Empire *the new money would remain forever as the medium of exchange in that country.*

In the next place, the old patriot who is acting as our chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means would lay his hands on the accumulated wealth of the state. He would make the nabobs dance. He would say to them: "Gentlemen, where did you get this money, anyhow? Really, you seem to be in a flourishing condition. If I remember rightly the members of your family have not worked any for several generations. You have *incomes* that are measured by six or seven figures. I propose to tax them. I propose to give it to you hot. I propose to cut these excessive and intolerable revenues of yours to the quick. I shall have to call upon the poor men of this nation to do the fighting, and I call upon you to pay the bills. *Your* scheme is to make the poor men fight the battle and then to mortgage them and their families to yourselves to all posterity in order that you, without turning a hand, may multiply your millions into billions. You shall not do it. As long as this war lasts your bloated incomes shall bleed. While the soldiers bleed, you shall bleed also."

Of course our patriot financier will be answered with a

howl. The millionaires will tell him that property is sacred; that it is monstrous to tax an income. In America they will add that the Supreme Court has said so. But our patriot chairman of the Ways and Means Committee will go on and tax the incomes just the same, two per cent, four per cent, ten per cent, if it shall be necessary, and the nabobs shall dance. Then he will proceed with his taxation. He will tax all intoxicants until the dealers in them and the drinkers of them shall get cool in both their pocket-books and their œsophagi. Then he will fall afoul of luxuries—things of which the human race has little need—and he will tax them for the good of the country. By these means he will fill his treasury full to overflowing, and then he will tell his fighters to fight. They will go into the battle with the knowledge that there is no scheme of robbery behind them. The enemy will be beaten, as he is always beaten, by the soldiers of truth and righteousness:

> 'For Freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won."

All this, remember, is done by one who is, by hypothesis, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in some state which has been precipitated into war. Actually, however, the business is not managed in this way. The state which has been driven by intrigue into war is at the same time driven into debt. The agents of the Invisible Empire buy up the debt when it is at its stage of greatest depreciation. Then, since the national honor is to be preserved, they begin to turn the crank, and in the course of a few years bring the debt, which they now own, to par; then they carry it to a premium; then they get it refunded into long bonds; then they take possession of the government in order to preserve the public credit; that is, in order to prevent the bonds from being paid. This done, they take the clippings of the bonds semi-annually to the treasury, and the everlasting robbery of the nation begins. This is the way the business is accomplished, and this is the way in which the more than twenty thousand millions of war debt resting upon the nations of the world has been produced.

Twenty thousand millions of debt! And every dollar of it

is owned by the Invisible Empire! The interest at four per cent amounts to eight hundred millions of dollars a year! And it is intended that this principal and this interest account shall run forever! While civilization continues—as long as mankind shall be organized into nations—so long will this intolerable incubus rest day and night on the labor of the world. Under the horrid nightmare every workingman in every country under the sun becomes and remains a slave. It is needless to say that such a debt will absorb the entire property of the world. It will drink the ocean dry. It will suck up at the rate of eight hundred millions a year the whole wealth of mankind and then demand the resources of another planet to satisfy the vacuum in its infernal maw.

How then shall some man say that there is no Invisible Empire? I agree that the sceptical inquiry is not wholly unwarranted; for the Invisible Empire is not constructed on a historical basis. It has no territorial foundation—though nearly all the better territory of the world is mortgaged to it. The Invisible Empire has no constitution. It needs none. It has no army; for that were expensive. The Invisible Empire incurs no expense. Its outlay is supplied by the nations. Where is the capital of the Invisible Empire? In its capital. Where is its chief interest? In its interest. What is the fundamental principle of its government? Its principal. The Invisible Empire is everywhere and nowhere. It is everywhere where the spoils of a nation's life are to be gathered, and nowhere where mankind is to be benefited. The Invisible Empire has its seats in stock exchanges and boards of trade and bank vaults and railroad offices and stock rooms of telegraphs and telephones, and club houses and cellars of trust companies and safe deposits and bucket-shops and goldite newspaper sanctums and steam yachts and ballrooms and champagne bottles, and in every place into which the wealth produced by others has been poured to be consumed by those who did not produce it. The Invisible Empire is like the air; you cannot *see* it, but you can *hear* it and *feel* it. Like death it has all seasons for its own.

Who made the Invisible Empire? No man made it. War made it. But war did not make it without the intrigue of

men. Without war there had been no Invisible Empire. Without men to take advantage of war the universal monarchy had never existed. Without men who were willing to take the property of all other men and to appropriate it without an equivalent; without men who would gather the blood of all other men and use it as a fertilizer for their gardens and conservatories, the Invisible Empire had never arisen on the world.

Until the close of the eighteenth century—until the beginning of the nineteenth—there was no Invisible Empire. Even then it was only a rudimentary power, of the presence of which nations were unconscious. Out of the Age of Revolution and the all-consuming Napoleonic wars, the Invisible Empire took its rise. It began with the first national debt converted into bonds; and the first bondholder was the first emperor.

If we should be asked to name the most disastrous circumstance with which human history has ever been afflicted, we should without hesitancy name the bonded war debt of a nation. War is itself a great disaster. Pestilence is dreadful, and famine is a horror; but none of these, nor all of them together are to be dreaded as much as that silent, ever-eating cancer which fixes itself on the hearts of nations, devouring them alive. The beak of the raven of bonded debt is sharper and more ravenous than were the beaks of the Promethean vultures that tore and scattered every day the immortal liver of the chained and writhing Titan of the Caucasus. The Invisible Empire has a hundred such vultures, which it trains, as if they were so many homing pigeons, to fly abroad among the nations and to descend like harpies on the breasts of the strongest and fairest, tearing away and devouring the blood and tissue, until the vultures be gorged, but never satiated.

One of these vultures is now circling around Washington City, where he expects to alight and proceed to havoc as soon as the money power shall succeed in driving Congress to the creation of $500,000,000 of Cuban war bonds! He will probably alight. If it is safe he will alight. If it is unsafe he will fly away; for he never alights in an unsafe place. If

he should alight he will find a haven in the committee room of the Invisible Empire.

That haven has sheltered all the ill-omened visitants that have come to our shores in the last quarter of a century. In the quietude and silence of that chamber of intrigue was devised the scheme of 1869 for the substitution of coin for legal-tender paper in the payment of the Five-twenty bonds. There was engendered the infamous act of 1873. There was invented the plan by which the Bland-Allison act of 1878 was to be ultimately brought to naught. There the scheme of 1890 was consummated by which free coinage was beaten with the hypocritical Sherman act. There the Wilson bill of 1893 was tinkered into the Gorman substitute. There in an evil day the Senate Committee on Finance was driven to assent to the repeal of the Sherman law without conditions. There it was agreed that the income tax should be annulled by the Supreme Court. There the prodigious bond swindles of 1893-4, devised by Rothschild and the Morgan syndicate, were solemnly approved. There every important congressional act since 1873 has been reviewed, amended, mitigated, cancelled, or vetoed according to the whispered behests of the Invisible Empire; and there, if anywhere, the scheme will be matured for laying upon the producers of America for another lifetime another debt of five hundred millions or a thousand millions of dollars for the prosecution of the Cuban war, every dollar of which can be and should be provided for by revenue, by taxation, and by a legal-tender currency.

Moreover, if the twenty-one senators who, on April 16, voted against the recognition of Cuban independence had believed that they could secure the passage of a gold-bearing bond bill for a thousand millions of dollars, they would each and several have been the hottest jingoes who ever put on the cloak of patriotism for the sake of a bond-grab. But they knew that the impregnable Senate would give them not a single gold bond, and they *feared* that they would get no bond at all. Aye, they feared that instead of getting new bonds their incomes and the incomes of all their backers in the Invisible Empire would have to bleed in their country's cause; and *for that reason* they voted against Cuban independence.

The anti-Cuban vote in Congress was a gold-bug vote just as much as that given for the Lodge amendment on January 28. The suffering patriots of Cuba, if left to the care of the goldite oligarchy, might have suffered eternally. The record of the contemners of the ill-starred island is made up; history has put it down in her memorandum. It was the opposing host of patriotism that on April 16 rose against the entrenched oligarchy and crushed it with the administration under it. It was the opposing host of patriotism that recognized Cuban independence, and it is that host that will make the Queen of the Antilles free as the waters that wash her shores!

But, in the meantime, the agents of the Invisible Empire will get their $500,000,000 of bonds—if they can. They will play the same old game—if they dare; and I think they will dare. I think they will manage in some way, while our soldiers are fighting the battle, to take care of the public credit and preserve the national honor! They will get their bonds and add them to the debt of the nation and transmit the burden to posterity; and then in the day of triumph the twenty-one secretaries of the Invisible Empire will march proudly at the head of the procession shouting, *Hurrah for Free Cuba!*

Men of my country! Men of the world! You can accept this situation if you want to accept it. If you have no more love of freedom, no more patriotism, no more sense than to accept it, why then accept it and be slaves forever. If nothing will arouse you, why, then, sleep, sleep! But remember that there is no sleep in the Invisible Empire.

It is not to be expected that the outcry of a solitary voice in this old American town where Liberty was once the watch-word of men will arouse the municipal masses who have accepted industrial and financial servitude as the law of their lives, and who wear their degradation as a badge on their breasts. But it may be hoped that the free men of the great open country, where there are still green fields and running streams and pure air and an overarching sky, will not tamely submit to become dirt-diggers and oxen and dogs in the stalls and kennels built for them by the Nabobs and Begums of the Invisible Empire.

"THE KNOTTY PROBLEM."

BY EDWIN G. BROWN.

To the Editor.

DEAR SIR: Your editorial in the September number of THE ARENA upon "A Knotty Problem" raises a question which has racked many an earnest soul. The failure to get a satisfactory answer to that question has driven multitudes into a blind acceptance of foolish creeds, and other multitudes into blank atheism and pessimism. If to you or me or any one has come an answer which seems at all adequate, we should speak it forth. What has helped us must surely help some of our brothers.

From youth I have had a habit of introspection. For years I have studied, more or less carefully, my own feelings, moods, mental and moral condition. A student of Carlyle, and later of Emerson, Epictetus, and Antoninus, I gradually became conscious of the fact that everything that came to me of suffering, whether of anger or shame, of loss or sorrow or discontent, came from my own failure to do or be the best I knew. I discovered that when I was brave and true, all things good came to me,—serenity, friendship, love; and that when I was false and weak I was beaten down with discontent, contempt, hatred. My lot has been that of the average man. I have neither prospered greatly nor tasted the dregs of dire poverty. I have a few friends, a few enemies. I have been betrayed by those I trusted. I have lain sick and benumbed in the Slough of Despond. I have raved and cursed in the hell of anger and resentment. I have congealed in the Arctic Sea of cynicism and contempt. But always, always, when I have risen to my feet and stood, a man, I have seen that from whatever source my suffering seemed to come, whether from the weakness or the waywardness or the wickedness of myself or others, it did come, primarily, because *I* was not what I should be, because *I had failed* somewhere, somehow, some-

when. Others have done wrong, most assuredly. But *my suffering* has come from *my wrongdoing.*

And so I, one man in this great, strange, incomprehensible universe, stand upon my point and look out with steady eyes and clear brow and see no evil, no wrong, no injustice. Good, goodness, all the goods of the gods come to me when I am good. I can be good. Where is evil? Thus I, alone, one man.

"But O God! O Brother Men! O Sister Women! and you O Ye Little Children, starved, strangled, stifled in the hells of our cities! O Ye Little Children, Ye Helpless and Innocent, how can this, my philosophy, apply to you?" Thus I questioned; and I bowed my head and clenched my hands till the nails cut into the flesh; and I gazed, dumb, dry-eyed, down, up, out, out through limitless space, out, out to the farthest star, to God, if there were a God, for an answer.

And so for years. Nor man nor God, nor heaven nor hell, nor height nor depth, nor outmost star made answer.

But through all the years, I, when brave and true, from my point looked forth clear-browed and steady-eyed, and saw, for me, only good.

Am I so different from other men? Has the God, the Good, the Indwelling Life of All, given to me this inestimable boon, and withheld it from others? Am I, alone of all my kindred, thus armored to annihilate wrong and evil and injustice? Nay, surely. If one may be brave and true, then each and all may be brave and true. If one by bravery and truth may win for himself serenity and love, then so may all. If one may stand firm and strong, and, looking out into God's Universe see only God, the Good, so may all. And evil may be swept from earth.

Would I change one penstroke in "The Cry of The Poor"? No. Would I have any surcease from the labor of lifting and succoring? No. Would I alter one note in the clarion cry against greed and injustice, against gold-lust and God-loss? No. Would I lay down my life gladly to help humanity to freedom and truth and peace? Yea, as Eternity is my witness, Yea. And yet,

"God rules;
All's well in His world."

THE OPEN VISION IN ART.

BY HON. DANIEL PRATT BALDWIN.

"In those days there was no open vision."—*Bible.*

EVERYBODY who has tried it knows the utter dreariness and weariness of the world's great picture galleries. Every tourist knows by sad experience the utter impossibility of a succession of "all days" in the Louvre or the Uffizzi or the Vatican. Of the acres of this "brilliant emptiness covered over with a crust of paint," only here and there and often for days nowhere do we come across a high mood or sentiment or thought behind the paint, "which soothes or comforts or commands," and which is the open secret of high art. For, after all, successful workers on canvas or in marble or in music or in poetry, one and all must possess what the Bible calls the "open vision." He of all persons must be both a "seer" and an interpreter of that spirit which lies behind things and life, and which gives to them their vitality, meaning, and charm. Lacking in this "open vision" the painter becomes a mere colorist, the architect a mere builder, and the poet a rhymester.

What is it that gives its charm to landscape, sunset, skyscape, or cloudscape? Why is it that we are so fiercely glad at the wideness of the sea and so rejoice in the sensation of great height that our sublimest name for the Deity is "the Most High"? Why do we so delight in Life and all her children? To all these questions the answer is one and the same. It is because they one and all suggest that "Presence back of things—that Oversoul which is the joy of elevated thoughts." When Tennyson, in his "Break, break, break," longed for

> Tongue to utter the thoughts that arise in me,

he expressed only a universal fact. This longing great poets, like Coleridge in his hymn "In the Vale of Chamouni," or Wordsworth in his "Lines upon Tintern Abbey," or Browning in "Saul," or Richard Realf in his poem beginning "Fair

are the flowers and the children," have partially put into language. It is this same divine element seeking for expression which makes the human face so beautiful. Let a man walk and talk with God, and invisible chisels tell the secret in lines of nobleness and beauty carved upon his countenance. The eye is a sure index of our spiritual estate. It is because women are so much purer than men ("The pure in heart shall see God") that they are so much fairer and more beautiful. When a nation has become corrupt it loses what the Bible calls the "open vision." On the other hand, when a people is stirred by a great moral purpose, as ours was from 1861 to 1865, this open vision comes to it again in a hundred ways. We have never had poetry or oratory or expression like that which stirred the souls of Whittier, Julia Ward Howe, George William Curtis, Abraham Lincoln, and a host of others during those great days of our agony of bloody sweat. And so it was with Rome "in the brave days of old," with France when led by the Maid of Orleans, and with Holland during the Spanish Fury. One of the greatest books ever written by human hands is Bunsen's "God in History."

Wordsworth admirably expresses this thought in these lines:

> To every form of being is assigned
> An active principle: howe'er removed
> From sense and observation, it subsists
> In all things, in all natures; in the stars
> Of azure heaven, the unenduring clouds,
> In flower and tree, in every pebbly stone
> That paves the brooks, the stationary rocks,
> The moving waters, and the invisible air.
> Whate'er exists hath properties that spread
> Beyond itself, communicating good,
> A simple blessing, or with evil mixed;
> Spirit that knows no insulated spot,
> No chasm, no solitude; from link to link
> It circulates—*the Soul of all the worlds.*

Let us consider some of the fine arts in detail, beginning with statuary and architecture. Statuary is almost wholly confined to the human face and figure. It is simply translating into stone that great scripture: "And the Lord God made man; in his own image made he him, and breathed into him the breath of life; and man became a living soul." But how

about the Greek marbles built without any knowledge of our revelation? The Greeks believed that their gods once dwelt in human flesh, and the aim of their sculptors was to express in stone the great fact that upon the few square inches which contain the human face God or gods have left their truest impress. Greek statuary, however, was subject to an important limitation. It had no conception of spirituality or immortality. It concerned itself only with the present world and its wondrous physical and intellectual beauty. By common consent the Venus of Milo is the greatest statue in the whole world. The subject is a haughty intellectual and physically beautiful queen. Here are the perfection and idealization of the feminine form and intellect, but there is not the slightest suggestion of that spirituality which afterwards became the open secret of Christian art, and which to-day draws the whole world to it in the Sistine Madonna at Dresden.

After our Saviour came and his teachings were understood the sculptor was still occupied with the human face and form. But another conception possessed his soul, which ultimately worked itself out in the divine mother. The Mariolatry of the Catholic Church is the outcome of the fancy that God has revealed himself in the feminine qualities. For centuries the world of art strove to express this God concept either on canvas or in marble through a series of matchless Madonnas, culminating at last in the almost divine works of the almost inspired Raphael. While Raphael and his contemporaries were occupied in this task the equally great Michael Angelo was expressing his concept of God through the masculine face and form. Take Angelo's Moses or that mighty but rival line of Jewish prophets and Greek seers and sybils painted upon the walls of the Sistine chapel. Angelo's Moses is the most successful attempt ever made to express the godlike in humanity in terms of *power*. Look at that mighty face and head; those gigantic arms, the veins of which stand out like ropes; that huge breast with its avalanche of beard; the two horns upon his forehead, and the flash of those marble eyes, and you will find yourself repeating the text, "Our God is a consuming fire."

And so with architecture. Why is it that nature has gladly

given place to the great cathedrals and temples of the world, and "adopted them into her race and granted them an equal date with Andes and with Ararat?" The same reason. It is because they are so many open visions in stone and color suggesting "the high and holy one who inhabiteth eternity." The open charm of the great cathedrals of Europe is that they lead us up to a suggestion and perhaps a realization of God. No one ever feels in them that intense weariness which is the haunting demon of the great picture galleries. In these cathedrals and their services thoughtful souls realize that "open vision" which is, after all, the secret of art, and the most perfect expression of which is the artist's greatest triumph and truest glory.

And the same thing may be said about painting. Ninety-five per cent of all our pictures are ephemeral simply because their painters lacked the "open vision." They may be clever and brilliant bits of drawing, color, and artistic and technical skill, and may even awaken valuable although transient emotions, but they are soon forgotten, or if of sufficient merit to retain a place in some great gallery, only in the end add to its dreariness and emptiness.

Of course we are now speaking of painting in its higher departments. In illustration take Millet's Angelus. Simplicity itself cannot be more simple than this little canvas. A couple of coarse, rude peasants, youth and maid, with rudimentary, half-finished faces, are digging potatoes in an open field at sunset. Suddenly miles away the Angelus bell rings out. It is calling for prayer. Under the influence of that spirit the like of which "was never yet on land or sea" both peasants bow their heads and repeat their paternoster. The air quivers with spirituality. In its presence frivolity becomes reverence, and blear eyes begin to see visions, and dull ears begin to hear echoes of "that soul of all things" which it is the true end of art to realize through color, form, or sound to the human understanding.

The triumph of art in thus translating to us the open vision is by no means confined to Christian countries. There is as distinct a realization of this "soul of all things" in the great temples on the Nile, in the Parthenon, in the mosque of

Abderrahman at Cordova, or that of Mahomet Ali in Cairo, as in St. Peter's at Rome or any English cathedral; and although I have never seen them I have no doubt that in India in the Taj Mahal and other Indian temples and tombs we shall find exactly the same triumphs of color, form, and architecture.

It is hardly necessary to point out that this open vision is the secret and charm of our highest poetry. Shakespeare never attempts it. He is occupied almost wholly with worldly life and character as it is seen in the dramas of history and society. In Milton this open vision is sadly disfigured by the scholastic and dogmatic spirit of his age. Milton's "Paradise Lost" is Calvin's "Institutes" done into English verse. Here we have the best that can possibly be said in behalf of predestination, the origin of evil, and the mysteries of "Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute." In Cowper we have a wonderful realization of this same open vision, but unfortunately it is the open vision hampered by the limitations of the then prevalent theology. Robert Browning has done as much as any secular poet who ever wrote to put this open vision into rhythmic numbers. The key to his poetry and philosophy is love—not the love of man or maid, or of mere sentiment, but that subtle atmosphere in which the world is bathed, and of which Emerson says,

> Deep love lieth under these pictures of time;
> They fade in the light of their meaning sublime.

The burden of Browning's message is "from God to God." I am inclined to think that Mrs. Browning had quite as clear an open vision as her husband; certainly she expresses it in far better language. Nor in this great list must we forget Shelley, Coleridge, Keats, or our American chorus of singers, Bryant, Longfellow, Emerson, Lowell, Holmes, and especially Whittier, to whom was given in an extraordinary degree a vision of "the imperishable presences serene which are the master light of all our seeing." In fact, spirituality is the key to the poetry of the nineteenth century.

Wordsworth was the pioneer and high priest of the open vision in poetry. In his books, side by side with all his puerilities and trivialities, is to be found a legion of the higher truths which suggest the calmness and the power of the

apostles. While Tennyson has caught his spirit and excelled him in his artistic ability, it is the peculiar glory of Wordsworth to have led the way and set the pattern. Everybody knows how in Wordsworth's case this was accomplished at the expense of years of ridicule and neglect. Everybody knows how the great poet created his own taste and his own audiences, which are now as well assured unto him even until the end of the world as those of Plato are to Plato.

Probably in no place does the higher poetry reach its goal more perfectly than in our hymnody. Had it not been for its hymn book Christianity would long since have been numbered among the perished religions. Its hymnody is the lungs of the Christian, into which he draws the airs of heaven and thus cleanses his spiritual blood, poisoned by contact with the corruption of the world. The dogmas of the church are kept alive through the power of the hymn-book. Here also we find, translated into a language which the laboring man, "though a fool, need not err therein," all the mighty hopes which make us men. Every great wave of spirituality leaves its record in some inspiring and inspired hymn. The little volume of gospel hymns originally written by Sankey, Bliss, and a few other elect spirits has done as much towards the preservation of the Christian spirit from the scientific scepticism and agnosticism of the last twenty years as Luther or Wesley did by their poetry in their respective centuries to protect it from other equally dangerous foes that then surrounded it.

All art is expression. We are surrounded by a shoreless and fenceless world of beauty and spirituality, and art, whether in color, stone, sound, or words, is simply its translation—always more or less imperfect. No work of art is genuine unless it leads us up to and points out to us the Beyond. That is the greatest canvas, cathedral, statue, or song in which the inexpressible is the most clearly hinted at and the invisible the most closely approached. That is the greatest poem which, like Wordsworth's "Ode to Immortality" or Browning's "Saul," brings us face to face with the mighty fact that "The things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are unseen are eternal."

For this reason music is the closest to religion of all her handmaids. Music is the white-robed maid of honor whose office is to bring in the bride. Music is the fairy bridge over which we poor mortals may pass from this kingdom of limitations, where we see as through a glass darkly, to that higher kingdom where "hope shall change to glad fruition, faith to sight, and prayer to praise." Abt Vogler truthfully says:

> "God has a few of us to whom he whispers in the ear;
> The rest may reason and welcome; *'tis we musicians know.*"

And for this reason art will never be exhausted. As well attempt to exhaust space or find the beginning of time. Better poems will yet be written and better pictures yet be painted than have ever been either written or painted. We have only just begun to realize the possibilities and white splendors of marble. Music, with its beautiful disdain, still soars above us like the dome of a June sky, notwithstanding all the mighty works of all its mighty masters. And why not? Poetry, painting, architecture, music, and sculpture are so many beautiful roads to the Most High. Their highest province is Expression—the realization and translating to our dull human minds of that "light which never was on land or sea," of "that calm soul of all things," of that "power not ourselves which makes for righteousnes," and of that Divine Personality of Love which is the open secret of all the religions and the inspirer of all that is greatest and best in human conduct —the poet's dream, the artist's ideal—the unveiling of whose ways in humanity and time constitutes revelation.

LOGANSPORT, IND.

OUR WAR VETERAN.

BY ZOE ANDERSON NORRIS.

OUR war veteran drew a pension of $25 a month because he was deaf; but why he should have drawn a pension for such a reason was one of the mysteries to me. Think of the noise he missed, the thundering of heavy wagons over rough roads, the whir of machinery, the quarrelling of men and women, the crying of babies, the thousand and one rude sounds which go to try the soul of the man who hears, and from which he calmly sat apart, serenely aloof from that much, at least, of the jar and fret of life.

He had been seriously affected by deafness only of late years; hence the pension. This was also a curious thing. Could the mighty thunder of cannon at so remote a date affect the tympanum thirty years after? If so, how delicate that tympanum! How wonderful that, delicate as it was, it should have borne all the brunt of the battlefield at close range, only to succumb at last at a range of such extreme length!

Perhaps it was the memory of the terrible sound of those guns which beat upon his ears (but how could a memory beat upon ears?) with such turbulence as to hopelessly deafen him to the extent that—at times—he couldn't hear thunder. I say "at times," for there were other times when he could hear 'most anything. Strange as it may seem, I am positive he had seasons of deafness and, notwithstanding the drawing of that pension, seasons again of hearing very well indeed; though, on account of the pension, of course I shouldn't want this to go any further.

I have seen him when his wife asked him for a five-dollar bill with which to buy much-needed shoes for the children; and it was really pitiful the way he closed his hand hollowly behind his best ear as he vainly endeavored to catch the drift of her remark. Her voice seemed more remote to him than the thunder of those cannons that had fatally deafened him

thirty years before; that is, those cannons that had thundered in his ears thirty years before and deafened him thirty years after, or—it is impossible to explain it. To tell the truth, I don't understand very well how the thing happened; and how can you explain a thing you don't understand yourself?

Somehow the war veteran was never able fully to comprehend his wife's meaning in regard to those shoes and that five-dollar bill; and she, afraid of attracting the attention of all the neighbors by her frantic efforts to make him hear, finally went to work at something or other—taking in sewing or washing or mopping, I have forgotten just which—and made money to buy the shoes herself, seeing that was the only showing to get them.

But that very same day a friend of his whispered to him from across the street: "I say, Jim, don't you want to play a game of checkers?" and the deaf man promptly crossed over, and went on upstairs with him to a little back room, where the two played until the sun went down and the room grew so dark they couldn't see the checker-men.

The same thing often happened. His deafness was not confined to different days, hours, or minutes. Periods of complete deafness were so closely followed by other periods of hearing better than most, that I began to look upon our war veteran as something of a curiosity.

I was walking up street with him one morning, attracting the attention of the passers-by, screaming out all my private affairs at the top of my voice, when we passed two men standing on a corner. One of them, in an ordinary tone, said to the other:

"Did you see that long string of newlights John Grimes caught out at Salt River yesterday?"

The war veteran's deafer ear was turned to the man who spoke, but he brightened visibly, hurried me straight home, and commenced to look for his fishing tackle. Such a tremendous overhauling of dust-covered things in the attic in search of old fishing-coats, leggins, trousers, and boots as ensued; such climbing over hayracks in the barn, reaching for last season's long fishing poles hung on two nails driven high up and far apart, leaving room for the heavy poles to sag a

very little in their natural position of bending over the water; and such industrious seining for minnows in the clear, shallow, pebbly creek down at the foot of the meadow as there was!

Then, behold our war veteran, armed and accoutred, tramping merrily across those same meadows whistling an old war tune—"Marching through Georgia," I think it was—bound for Salt River and that shady pool under the big willow, or some other place just like it, where John Grimes had caught the long string of newlights the day before!

But it was when the news came of the blowing up of the Maine that our war veteran showed, for a while, to the greatest advantage. He glowed with enthusiasm, like an old war horse that sniffs the smoke of the battlefield from afar off. He beamed and bristled and bragged, instantly overflowing with ardor and reminiscences.

"Let 'em come on, them Spaniards!" he thundered, rolling up his sleeves. "We'll lick 'em, like we did the rebels." His own brother had been a rebel, by the way. And he forthwith began to tell us for the seven hundredth time about the battle of Perryville.

Somehow I never quite understood about that battle, the way he told it, though I knew every word of that way by heart. It seemed very vague and indefinite. Charlie, my youngest brother, declared that the war veteran told it as though he had seen it from behind a tree, and the tree had been a long way off. That being the case, the intervening smoke would naturally have obscured his field of vision, giving to his narrative of the event a certain effect of misty obscurity. I never could tell, from his account of it, which side won; neither could Charlie.

The war veteran devoured the papers daily for the progress of affairs at Havana. He could not be enticed from them by checkers, chess, or long strings of fish. But, marvellous to relate, as the accounts grew more and more startling and war seemed really upon us, the papers bristling with pictures of battleships and racy with the preparations for the fray, his enthusiasm suddenly abated. He became thoughtful, even sad, and by and by he visibly paled at any chance remark—spoken in an undertone or otherwise—upon the subject of our

war with Spain. Later, he pushed aside all the papers that were brought to him as though even the pictures of battleships made him sick.

Finally, one beautiful spring morning, he took to his bed, and all our efforts to rally him proved ineffectual. He slowly and gradually sank, failing day by day, literally fading away from our sight into that other world where wars and rumors of wars are—it is to be hoped for his sake—unknown.

We made a final effort to save him. His wife whispered to me across the bed: "I believe it is the war with Spain that has scared him so. Let's tell him it is over."

She was a good woman, but she believed, in such extreme cases, in the efficacy of a little white lie.

I went out of the room and returned immediately with a late paper.

"The war with Spain is over!" I cried in a loud voice, pretending to read the words off.

The war veteran turned his head on the pillow and smiled weakly up at me.

"You can't fool me," he said; "I heard Sally tell you to tell me that."

And Sally had spoken in a whisper!

The next day he died, and his pension went to his widow, who has willed it to her oldest son, who will probably leave it to his widow; thus handing it down from generation to generation along with the other precious heirlooms—the little thin battered teaspoons upon which the children had cut their teeth, and the old-fashioned solid-silver candlesticks.

PLAZA OF THE POETS.

THE DIAL OF ARDEN.

BY WINWOOD WAITT.

Under the dim old towers of Arden,
  Half in glimmer and half in gloom,
All in the desolate high-court garden,
  Lost in a wilderness world of bloom;
Hard by the ruined fountain lying,
  Gray, forgotten, and overgrown,
Still to the constant sun replying,
  Gleams the dial of sculptured stone.

The great oaks trample in silken grasses;
  The ivy mantles the mighty wall;
The beeches, heaving their billowy masses,
  Lift to the battlements grim and tall;
The broken nymph, by the fountain basin,
  Tips her tankard of tarnished gold,
With a stony stare at her grotesque face in
  The pool's dead shallows—as of old.

And over the dial the deepening mosses
  Creep, like the shadow of Time; and slow
The years drift by with their gains and losses;
  The great oaks bourgeon, the beeches grow.
One by one, in the high-court garden,
  The statues moulder in rain and sun,
And the vast stone shields on the gates of Arden
  Crumble and darken, one by one.

But oh for the glory, the glow, and gladness
  That rounded life in these green arcades!
For the laughter and song and the music's madness
  That winged the dance down these colonnades!
Gone—with the pomp and the pride of Arden—
  The glitter of jewels, the roses' glow,
And the voices that gladdened the high-court garden
  With music a hundred years ago!

Gone are the gallants who trod the measure
Of life to the rhythm of revel and song!
Gone, with the glitter and whirl of pleasure,
The glory and state of the titled throng!
Over their dim baronial brasses
The mornings glimmer, the evenings fall;
"And the winds, like friars, are chanting masses"
In empty chamber and ruined hall.

Gone are the gay court lords and ladies
Whose young hearts mantled with love's delight;
Over their ashes the beechen shade is
Stirred by a ghostly wind in flight!
Only the old stone dial, lying
Hard by the fountain pool, remains,
Still to the constant sun replying,
While the years drift on with their joys and pains!

THE HIDDEN WORD.

BY ANNIE L. MUZZEY.

The laws of spirit are not rudely taught
In clear-cut, sharp-drawn, dagger-pointed words
That have the brutal edge of unsheathed swords,
Which may compel assent, but win us not.
The heavenly truths are mystically wrought
In flowing textures and in varied chords
Caught up by priests, philosophers, and bards,
And flashed from all the prisms of human thought.

Condemn not one who bravely tries to spell
The secret word, the cabalistic sign,
With accent and a meaning unlike thine.
Each soul of all in his own way must tell
The message which, in God's eternal plan,
Is hidden in the life of every man.

THE CAMPAGNA.

BY MINNETTA T. TAYLOR.

They bought the pleasant, fertile plain,
The golden plain, the plain of Rome,
Its olives, fields of waving grain,
Its broad canals by many a home.

They bought it, and the city smiled,
Or went unheeding on its way,
By greed and pomp and strength beguiled,
The idle pageant of a day.

So fell the shadow of the lords,
A little shadow, made at noon;
But force lay back of wingèd words,
The shadow grew and darkened soon.

Unwise to feed so many men,
Who needs must eat ere they could toil;
So much of grain returned again
To those mere tillers of the soil.

The owners made the plain a mead,
A grassy ocean swelling green,
Whereon their wealthy flocks might feed,
With here and there a herdsman seen.

The masters and the herdsmen died;
The land was bound in phantom chain,
It still belonged to absent pride,
It festered in the heaven's rain.

The good soil murmured in the night,
Uncared for; it rebelled by day;
The nettles of an evil spite
Choked up each winding waterway.

The human heritage of hope
Was changed, at last, to useless care;
The open country's flowery scope
Became a narrow, fixed despair.

And now it is a desert place,
A vast, gray, empty, hungry death,
That stares at Rome with threatening face,
And poisons her with fever breath.

The vulture loves the desert pale;
He stoops and listens to the sea,
If he may hear the self-same tale
Told, O America, of thee.

EXIT.*

BY GEORGE MARTIN.

"Thank God, or my demon, or both,
The conflict is past;
I part with the world, nothing loth;
I am victor—at last.

"I have passed through the fire that burns
But does not consume;
Through blackness and lightning by turns,
In the lowlands of doom.

"All evils that shock and appall
Have made me their prey;
Tossed upwards and downwards, a ball
Of sensitive clay.

"Some happiness, ecstasy, bliss,
Has also been mine;
What world among worlds like to this—
Infernal, divine?

"Thank God, or my demon, or both,
The conflict is past;
I part with the world, nothing loth,
I am victor at last."

So saying, he leaped from the deck
Of the good ship of life;
A flash, and a bubble, a speck;
And the Wind blew his fife.

Montreal, December, 1897.

*This poem, inspired by the large number of newspaper accounts of suicides of late, was included in a letter recently addressed by the venerable bard of Canada to a young friend in Boston, Mr. F. Tillemont-Thomason, with permission to publish it.

THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

"AN OUTWORN TALE."

Alfred Austin, the alleged poet laureate of England, has recently, in one of his impossible poems, characterized the American Revolution as "an outworn tale." No doubt Mr. Austin and all men of his type regard our heroic struggle for national existence as a story that ought to be not only worn out but also forgotten. The theory of these creatures is that the brave battle of our fathers to become a people independent among the nations of the earth should now be remanded to oblivion.

But why should our American Revolution be forgotten? To our way of thinking it is no more a worn out tale than is Thermopylæ and Sempach and Runnymede. Our fathers in 1775 stood, like the Spartans, in a pass and defended it with their lives against the oncoming host of Europe. A good part of the force against us was, like the army of Xerxes, made up of mercenaries. If ever a just cause was submitted to the ordeal of fire and battle, that cause was the one for which our fathers fought. If ever a conflict was flecked in every part of the field and in its every circumstance with the lights and shadows of heroism, that conflict was the one which our fathers waged and won in the war of independence. The names of the places and of the men of that great epoch are indelibly stamped on the heart of this nation; at least we had supposed it to be so. We have been accustomed to think that Lexington and Concord are names as immortal as Salamis and Zorndorf. We were taught in childhood to think of Bunker Hill as a place eternally sacred. We learned to regard Valley Forge as a scene of infinite sorrow which our patriot sirès endured all winter long in order that their children might have an inheritance of freedom. In our school days we wept hot tears over the vision of those poor huts and naked bleeding feet and pinched visages and hatless heads of our brave fathers who suffered in that camp of mingled despair and glory. Now we are told that it is an outworn tale. A foreign rhyme-

ster, appointed to be laureate of England, not by merit, but because he was a protégé of Lord Salisbury, and a weak fugleman of British conservatism, teaches us that our noble rebellion and immortal battle for liberty is a story to be forgotten in order that the shipping interest may be promoted.

Moreover, this poetical descendant of Shadwell and other heroes of "The Dunciad" finds a ready response in the canting press of the United States. We have not seen a reference to the laureate's effusion in any American newspaper *except* in the form of a compliment to Austin's miserable rot about our Revolution's being an "outworn tale." The leading newspapers of Boston, published within plain view of the Bunker Hill Monument, took up the sentiment of Austin and repeated it with approval! I do not doubt that the sycophant journals are sincere in echoing Austin's sentiment. They too think that our battle for liberty is something to be forgotten. Doubtless they think so because they have forgotten it themselves—or perhaps they never heard of it! They are all of a kind. They are the organs of that commercial spirit to which love of country is a stranger.

I noticed that on the morning of Patriots' Day—that anniversary of Concord and Lexington, which, by the law of Massachusetts, is a legal holiday throughout the State—four flags all told were displayed on Huntington Avenue: one was on the Copley Square Hotel; two were hung from the windows of the Hall of the Legion of Honor; and *one* was on a private residence! This display fairly expressed the remaining patriotism of a city once the glory of the world, but now subject to a despotic commercialism that would not hesitate to pull down the monument of Bunker Hill and use the stones in building a dray bridge over the Charles River to Copp's Hill.

To Alfred Austin the American Revolution may be an outworn tale; but to some of us it is a tale of glory and heroism for which, sooner than let it die, we in humble imitation of our fathers would gladly perish as a poor sacrifice on the altar of national independence. No, Mr. Austin Laureatus; the American Revolution is not an outworn tale. On the contrary it will survive until poetical flunkeyism shall disappear from the earth.

THE AMERICAN DEMIURGE.

Machiavelli has come again. The old apostle of intrigue has got to Washington and ensconced himself in the House of Representatives. There he is doing his perfect work. The question with him, as it has always been, is how to take advantage of the situation. War with Spain has broken out, and ways and means have to be provided. In order to meet the excessive expenditure it has devolved upon the author of the Dingley Zollverein to devise a measure by which the thing is to be done. With the assistance of Machiavelli he has brought forth his scheme. We are to have $500,000,000 of additional bonds! In order to make them "popular"—in order that the people may have them and not the bondholders—the bonds are to be issued in 25-dollar bills and in multiples of the same. Note the latter clause—"*in multiples of the same.*" They are to be short bonds (only ten years) so that they may be soon extinguished.

Meanwhile, the goldite newspapers are set to work to tell the people about this popular bond scheme—how patriotic it is and how the people are to be bondholders! All of them are to participate in the advantages of holding the public credit. It is openly admitted that such advantages are great; but in this case the people are to get the full benefit of the appreciating bonds.

All this is richness. Have we no memory? Have we no sense? Have we no perception of the thing that is intended in this scheme? The 25-dollar clause is put in as a bait. Are the American people in a condition to pay for 25-dollar bonds? Have they even money enough to buy their provisions and to pay their debts? Are the millions who have been crushed under the criminal legislation of the last twenty-five years able to pay for a bond of any denomination under any circumstances? Maybe it is the design to issue a *few* 25-dollar bonds and the remainder in "multiples of the same!" A few thousand 25-dollar bonds may be issued, and the remainder of the $500,000,000 be in thousand-dollar or ten-thousand-dollar bonds. According to current arithmetic a thousand and a hundred thousand are both multiples of twenty-five! Besides,

does not everyone foresee that long before the expiration of the ten-year period some Secretary of the Treasury will see "the necessity of refunding" these $500,000,000 into thirty-year bonds—in order to uphold the public credit? It is safe to say that under the existing powers not a single dollar of the aggregate would be discharged by payment at maturity. It is intended, in a word, to add the whole sum to the national debt.

Moreover, we are told by the newspapers that at first only a small part, say twenty per cent, of the whole $500,000,000 would be issued, and that this would be done according to the exigency. Is there anybody in America fool enough to imagine that Lyman J. Gage, having the option of issuing $500,000,000 of bonds, would not avail himself as quickly as possible of his power to throw the whole mass on the market in order that his friends of the Morgan syndicate might snap them up? Let no man lay the flattering unction on his soul that Mr. Gage is not a perfect gentleman when it comes to this kind of business. We can easily conceive the state of mind which he would be in with authority to sell $500,000,000 of bonds. True, only $100,000,000 might be necessary, or $50,000,000, or no millions at all; but give the option to the present Secretary of the Treasury and be would experience all the hardships and pangs of insomnia until the last bond was in the hands of his friends. Then the American people might whistle. We know these gentlemen perfectly. We understand their methods, and we await the issue.

As we have said in our leading article for this month, we think that the intriguers will get their bonds. We think that the American people will have laid upon them the full $500,000,000. That done, we shall join the catalogue of European states that have a perpetual bonded debt. That signifies industrial slavery for American producers to the end of time. If the American people like this sort of thing, then we can only say that the American people like this sort of thing. But we add that they will get enough of it to satisfy them, and posterity will have to dance to the music.

ARE SPIRITS WISER THAN WE?

If the dead live, what do they know? What is the limit of their perception and reason? Are they prescient? Can they, by study, understand the hidden things of the universe?

Perhaps there is no question about which human beings hold more erroneous and unwarranted notions than about the limitations of spirits. In a vague way we who live in this conditioned sphere are wont to think that when we escape from it we shall be wise and good; at least it is imagined that we shall be wiser and better than we are in the present state of existence.

Reasoning from this point of view we get a notion that the spirits are wise while we are foolish. But on what ground can this notion be verified? *Why* should the soul become wise and good simply by escaping from mortal life? It is indeed rational to suppose that death is an experience which can only be understood afterwards. To this extent therefore a soul may be wiser for going hence. It may also be wiser to a limited degree from entering into another scene, just as a traveller is wiser for going to Rome or Cairo. He sees many things that are new.

But we should not suppose that a soul can become infinite simply by going through the narrow door of death. How should prescience or omniscience be acquired by dying? The conditioned soul, becoming the unconditioned, cannot, we think, any more than previously, divine the majesty and mystery of the universe. We cannot see how the unconditioned soul may be moved by emotions greatly above the plane of the present life; if so, whence should come the increment of strength and wisdom? No doubt the overwhelming splendor which so appalls the imagination of the living will continue to appall the disembodied spirit. To reckon that the soul becomes all-wise by death seems to us as irrational as to suppose that it becomes all-powerful. The greatest soul that ever lived in this visible temple of flesh could not after death, we think, any more than before death, exert an appreciable influence on the motion of a world or on the order of events in the spiritual dominions.

CONCERNING OURSELVES.

With this number of THE ARENA we conclude the XIXth Volume. Our XXth Volume will begin with the number for July. We are able from this pleasing crisis in our history to consider the past and to anticipate the future.

THE ARENA, after an existence of nearly ten years, is in the full force and vigor of youth. It has risen on the wave of the New Era as if to greet the coming century. At no previous time has the approval of the public been more emphatically expressed, or the influence of the magazine been more widely disseminated. Our circulation now extends into all parts of the civilized world. Our subscribers are heard from as far as Hawaii; they speak out in Australia and New Zealand.

We enter upon our new volume and new fiscal year with the highest prospects of a still greater extension of our influence and usefulness. Our number for July, being the initial section of a volume, will be of unusual value and variety. We wish, as it were, to observe the decennial of our birth. Our readers may look forward to the appearance of the July issue with confidence that it will be in the very van of hopefulness and humanity; they will find that no preceding number of THE ARENA has been better adapted to their desires, more fraught with valuable additions to current knowledge, more vehement in protest against false standards of life, more able and sincere in the advocacy of whatever tends to the betterment of prevailing conditions.

It is our purpose in the July number to give an example of what a true American magazine should be. In doing this several elements of usefulness and power will be considered. The burning questions now uppermost in the thought and purpose of the American people will be frankly and fully discussed. Social and economic themes will occupy a reasonable portion of space. Literature and art will be honored and exemplified in interesting productions. All the topics of current interest will be presented in the fearless and patriotic manner for which THE ARENA articles have become proverbial.

We address this message to our readers first, to our friends in general, and still more widely to the public. It is not conceivable that the public is unconcerned as to the great issues which are debated in THE ARENA. If the public be unconcerned about these issues, then THE ARENA is not unconcerned about the public. We expect, whether in discouragement or full spirits, whether in evil report or good, to prosecute this work. We intend to say what we were sent into the world to say, and to give to all patriots and friends of humanity the welcome opportunity to say what is in them also.

Let every earnest son of man, therefore, give heed to the movement and purpose of the age as reflected in the pages of THE ARENA. Let every American citizen, in particular, lay to heart the weighty matters which are presented in this magazine. All we ask is that everyone for himself shall read and consider. Why not? Why should they having eyes see not, and having ears hear not? The vision of civilization is passing ever, as if in panorama, across the landscape. Why should any be blind? Why should any be indifferent? What is it to be indifferent but to act the part of the ostrich that buries his head in the sand and heeds not the oncoming army of Arabs or even the simoom? America is full of human ostriches who perform the coward's act by sinking their head in the sand and saying, "All is well; there is no tribe of Arabs; there is no coming storm."

THE ARENA recognizes what is; it hopes for what shall be. It believes in the future; it turns from the past as from a gloomy and sorrowful conflict in which right has been crucified and humanity left bleeding by the roadside.

They who will join hands with us, let them speak. They who will rise up and stand and march with the column of progress, let them enlist. As a part of the beneficial work which is within the reach of every patriot, let him support the Magazine of the American People. Let him extend the influence of THE ARENA among his neighbors and friends to the end that all may know the truth, and by the truth be made free. Let our subscribers renew before the expiration of their term and induce a host of others to join us, beginning with the great number for July.